X

FIVE

afro-american 11/19/62

44 win seats in 15 states

By SAMUEL HOSKINS

WASHINGTON

With the four incumbent colored congressmen being returned, the election, Tuesday, of a fifth brought the number of colored members in Congress to an 85-year high.

Only in two other Congresses in the history of the nation have more than five colored members sat together in the national legislative body.

This was in the 43rd Congress, 1873-1875, and the 44th Congress, 1875-1877.

* * *

THERE WERE seven colored members in the 43rd, four from South Carolina and one each from Alabama, Florida, Mississippi.

The 44th had eight colored members, two each from Mississippi and South Carolina and one each from Alabama, Florida, Louisiana and North Carolina.

The four incumbent colored members elected Tuesday, are Reps. William L. Dawson, Illinois; Adam Clayton Powell, New York; Charles C. Diggs Jr., Michigan and Robert N. C. Nix Sr., Pennsylvania.

* * *

THE NEW MEMBER is Augustus F. (Gus) Hawkins, 55, of Los Angeles, who will represent the recently created 21st California Congressional district.

A Democrat, he served 28 years as a member of the California House of Representatives.

In addition to the five congressmen, colored candidates were elected to such posts as state attorney - general, state treasurer, member of a state supreme court and municipal court and to a number of lesser offices.

These included six to States Senates and at least 39 to State Houses of Representatives.

* * *

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S office was won by Edward W. Brooke, Boston Republican, who scored an upset victory over his Democratic opponent, Francis Kelly.

Brooke, a lawyer, was Massachusett's first colored candidate to run for a statewide office when he was a candidate two years ago for

(Continued On Page 12)

Whole Page

WHEN YOU FINISH READING YOUR AFRO PASS IT ALONG TO A FRIEND

44 win seats

(Continued from Page 1)

Secretary of State.

He defeated Kelly by a vote of 1,052,411 to 823,048.

Gerald A. Lamb of Waterbury, Conn., also the first colored candidate to seek state - wide office in the state's history, won the State treasurer's post.

His opponent was William D. Graham, a lawyer on the Republican ticket. Lamb, a dental technician, won the Democratic nomination, last May 22.

* * *

IN MICHIGAN, Otis Smith, running on the Democratic ticket, survived the back-lash created by the election of Republican George Romney as Governor to become a justice of the State Supreme Court.

In Georgia, LeRoy Johnson, an Atlanta attorney, made political history by being elected a member of the State Senate.

This was the first time a colored person has been elected to the Georgia Senate in 92 years.

Johnson, who billed himself as a New Frontiers Democrat, defeated another colored candidate, T. M. Alexander, Republican and insurance company executive.

* * *

A STATE—BY—State summary of voting results in states where colored candidates were elected or sought office include the following:—

ALABAMA

While no colored candidates seeking public office on municipal, county or state levels survived the last May 2 primary, six colored members were nominated to the Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee.

All were elected without opposition, Tuesday. Alabama Democrats tried unsuccessfully to keep colored candidates for the executive committee off the ballot, but reversed their stand after the issue was taken to court.

CALIFORNIA

IN ADDITION to electing the man who will be the fifth colored member of Congress, three colored members also were elected to the State Assembly.

Two of the candidates were incumbents, but the third — a newcomer — defeated a white Republican.

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut was one of the two states which elected a colored candidate to statewide office, that of State

Courts, and seven to the State Legislature.

Party-wide, the House of Representative members are five Democrats and two Republicans.

KENTUCKY

In Hopkinsville, Dr. P. C. Brooks, director of Brooks Memorial Hospital, was elected to the board of education.

His election marked the time a colored person was ever designated to serve on the board. Colored constitute 35 per cent of the population of the town.

Dr. Brooks, who has operated the hospital since 1944, defeated a white incumbent, Dr. J. J. Labold, a veterinarian who served on the board for 12 years.

Dr. Brooks started his practice here in 1930.

MARYLAND

FOUR COLORED candidates were elected to the State Legislature, one to the State Senate and three to the House of Representatives

The State Senator is the first colored woman to be elected in Maryland history. Of the House members, one was an incumbent and one the son of a national official of the NAACP.

The young candidate first came to public notice as a result of his leadership role in sitdown demonstrations.

MICHIGAN

Michigan also is one of the five states which elected colored Congressmen. Additionally, a colored Supreme Court Justice was re-elected to an eight-year term.

Also elected were a State Senator and six members of the State House of Representatives re-elected.

MISSOURI

THE STATE of Missouri elected five colored members to the House of Representatives, four from St. Louis and one from Kansas City, all Democrats.

According to the Kansas City Hall, the majority of the state's colored voters supported Sen. Edward V. Long, Democrat, who was elected.

Long's opponent was Crosby Kemper, banker and conservative Republican.

NEW YORK

In addition to re - electing Rep. Powell, voters of the Greater New York Area elected two colored State Senators and four members to the State House of Representatives.

However, colored voters also contributed sustantially to the re-election of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Sen. Jacob K. Javits, both Re-

ELECTED TO U.S. CONGRESS

WILLIAM L. DAWSON, Chicago — ADAM C. POWELL, New York — CHARLES C. DIGGS JR., Detroit — ROBERT N. C. NIX SR., Philadelphia — AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, Los Angeles

Georgia Senator, 34, new in politics--not in in leadership

ATLANTA, Ga. — When Leroy R. Johnson won election to Georgia's Senate, he became the first colored legislator since 1907 and the first Senator since the Reconstruction.

The 34 - year - old attorney is not a veteran office - seeker. This was his first campaign and he won it on a Democratic ticket by defeating T. M. Alexander, pioneer Atlanta businessman.

Being a "first" is no novelty to Mr. Johnson. In 1957, he was the first colored criminal investigator on the staff of a Southern solicitor general.

"I've always been interested in politics," says Mr. Johnson. This is reflected in the fact that he specialized in the study of political science that led to his receiving his master's degree from Atlanta University in 1951.

* *

EDUCATION FOR this Atlanta native started in the local public schools. This phase ended with his graduation in 1945 from Washington High School.

He then entered Morehouse College, a branch of the Atlanta University system, and majored in sociology and history. Following graduation in 1949, he entered the graduate division of Atlanta University.

From 1950 through 1954 Mr. Johnson taught social science in a local high school. He then entered the North Carolina School of Law and received his degree in 1957.

That year, Solicitor General Sol C. Webb named him an investigator—a post he kept until May, 1962 when he entered the private practice

LEROY JOHNSON
Sets Georgia precedent

was the first colored vice organization of the Atlanta Junior Voters League.

* * *

MR. JOHNSON is also a vice president of the Georgia Association of Citizen's Democratic Clubs, chairman of the executive committee of the Fulton County Citizens' Democratic Club and vice president of the Southern Conference of Democrats.

Professionally, he belongs to the Georgia Bar Association and is vice president of the Gate City Bar Association.

His professional and political activities have not kept him from rendering service in other community organizations.

He is a member of Wheat Street Baptist Church, a director of a local paper, a director of Campfire Girls, a member of the Executive committee of the Atlanta Committee for Corporate Action, and a YMCA director.

As far as political philosophy is concerned, Mr. Johnson regards himself as being strictly "New Frontier."

He says: "I will first condition myself to learn something about the Senate. . . I don't intend to go over there waving a red flag."

While a student Johnson was president of American Law Students Association.

This organizational activity carried over after graduation into his interest in the Voters League and into his

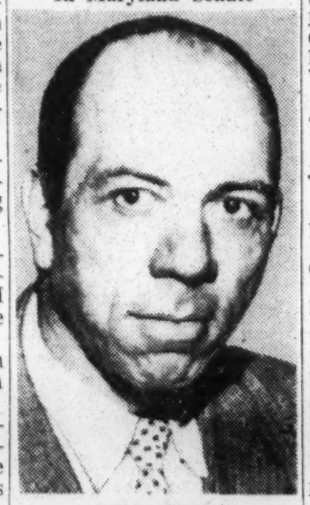
3 win seats on Nashville city council

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Three colored members presently serving in the city council won in last week's election without facing a run off.

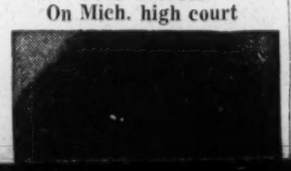
They are Z. Alexander Looby, 20th district; Harold M. Love, 19th and Robert Lillard, 16th.

29 colored congressmen in 93 years

MRS. VERDA WELCOME
In Maryland Senate



OTIS SMITH
On Mich. high court



ELECTION BOX SCORE

U.S. Congressmen

William L. Dawson, Democrat, Chicago.
Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, New York City.
Charles C. Diggs Jr., Democrat, Detroit.
Robert N. C. Nix Sr., Democrat, Philadelphia.
Augustus F. Hawkins, Democrat, Los Angeles.

State Attorney - General

Edward W. Brooke, Republican, Boston.

State Treasurer

Gerald A. Lamb, Democrat, Waterbury, Conn.

State Supreme Court

Otis Smith, Democrat, Detroit.

Municipal Court

Mrs. Edith Sampson, Democrat, Chicago.

State Senate

LeRoy Johnson, Democrat, Atlanta, Ga.
Mrs. Verda F. Welcome, Democrat, Baltimore.
James L. Watson, Democrat, New York City.
Ivan Warner, Democrat, New York City.
Fred Smith, Democrat, Chicago.
Theodore D. McNeal, Democrat, St. Louis.
Basil Brown, Democrat, Detroit.

House of Representatives

ARIZONA

J. D. Holmes, Phoenix

CALIFORNIA

Rev. F. D. Ferrell, Democrat, Los Angeles.
Mervyn Dymally, Democrat, Los Angeles.
Byron Rumford, Democrat, Oakland.

CONNECTICUT

Wilfred X. Johnson, Democrat, Hartford.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Charles Armstrong, Democrat.
Corneal A. Davis, Democrat.
Davis Y. Carter, Democrat.
Cecil A. Partee, Democrat.
Lycurgus Conner, Democrat.
William H. Robinson, Republican.
J. Horace Gardner, Republican.

INDIANA

James S. Hunter, Democrat, Gary.

MARYLAND

Mrs. Irma Dixon, Democrat, Baltimore.
Clarence Mitchell III, Democrat, Baltimore.
Ernest E. Young, Democrat, Baltimore.

MICHIGAN

George Edward, Democrat, Highland Park.
Mrs. Maxine Young, Democrat, Detroit.
James Bradley, Democrat, Detroit.
David S. Holmes, Democrat, Detroit.
Hiram McNeely, Democrat, Inkster.
Roger B. Townsend, Democrat, Flint.
Arthur Cartwright, Democrat, Detroit.
Daisy Elliott, Democrat, Detroit.

MISSOURI

Mrs. Deverene Calloway, Democrat, St. Louis.
Hugh White, Democrat, St. Louis.
John Conley, Democrat, St. Louis.
James P. Troupe, Democrat, St. Louis.
J. McKinley Neal, Democrat, Kansas City.

NEBRASKA

Edward R. Danner, Democrat, Omaha.

NEW YORK

Bertram Baker, Democrat, New York City.
Lloyd E. Dickens, Democrat, New York City.
Thomas Jones, Democrat, New York City.
Mark T. Southall, Democrat, New York City.

OHIO

Carl Stokes, Democrat, Cleveland.
Dave Albritton, Republican, Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA

Mrs. Frances R. Jones, Democrat, Philadelphia.
Ulysses Shelton, Democrat, Philadelphia.
Herbert Arlene, Democrat, Philadelphia.
Mrs. Susie Monroe, Democrat, Philadelphia
Hampton Riley, Democrat, Philadelphia.
Freeman Hankins, Democrat, Philadelphia.
Sarah Anderson, Democrat, Philadelphia.
Paul M. Lawson, Democrat, Philadelphia.
Leroy Irvis, Democrat, Pittsburgh.

WEST VIRGINIA

Mrs. Elizabeth Drewry, Welch, Democrat.

WISCONSIN

Isaac N. Coggs and Raymond Lee Latham, both Milwaukee, Democrats.

County Offices

Edward M. Snead, Democrat, Cook County commissioner, Chicago.
Charles A. Matthews, Democrat, Essex County Freeholder, Newark, N.J.
Members, Jefferson County
Helene Hale, niece of Dr. Ralph Bunche, county chairman of Hawaii Island.
Democratic Executive Committee — Arthur Shores, Orzell Billingsley Jr., James Johnson, Charles Moorer Jr., the Rev. Nelson H. Smith Jr., and David H. Hood, all of the Greater Birmingham Area.

Race had no role in his election, Lamb points out

While no colored candidates seeking public office on municipal, county or state levels survived the last May 2 primary, six colored members were nominated to the Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee.

All were elected without opposition, Tuesday. Alabama Democrats tried unsuccessfully to keep colored candidates for the executive committee off the ballot, but reversed their stand after the issue was taken to court.

CALIFORNIA

IN ADDITION to electing the man who will be the fifth colored member of Congress, three colored members also were elected to the State Assembly.

Two of the candidates were incumbents, but the third — a newcomer — defeated a white Republican.

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut was one of the two states which elected a colored candidate to statewide office, that of State treasurer.

The significance of this is seen in the fact that the colored population of the entire state represents only 4.4 per cent. When nominated last summer, Lamb said:—

"I do not expect to run for office of treasurer as a colored person, any more than I do as a Waterburian, an Episcopalian or a dental technician."

A colored member also was elected to the State Legislature.

GEORGIA

THE STATE MADE political history by electing its first colored State Senator in 92 years.

In this respect, the actual election was anti-climax as the two candidates nominated by the Democratic and Republican Parties are colored.

The Democrat emerged as the victor, with 70 percent of the colored voters of the district supporting him.

INDIANA

James S. Hunter, veteran Democratic legislator from Lake County, was reelected for a 12th term. Hunter entered the House in 1951. Last September, he was appointed a member of the Indiana Legislative Advisory Commission replacing Birch Bayh who resigned to seek a U.S. Senate seat and won.

ILLINOIS

In addition to electing one of the five colored members in Congress, Illinois elected colored to two judgeships, Superior and Municipal Senator and six members of the State House of Representatives re-elected.

MISSOURI

THE STATE of Missouri elected five colored members to the House of Representatives, four from St. Louis and one from Kansas City, all Democrats.

According to the Kansas City Hall, the majority of the state's colored voters supported Sen. Edward V. Long, Democrat, who was elected.

Long's opponent was Crosby Kemper, banker and conservative Republican.

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However, colored voters also contributed sustantially to the re-election of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Sen. Jacob K. Javits, both Republicans.

Edward Dudley, colored candidate seeking election to State Attorney - General, was defeated.

OHIO

The first colored Democrat was elected to the State House of Representatives. He joins a colored Republican who won an easy victory to be re-elected.

The bid of Leo Harris of Cleveland to become the state's first colored congressman was futile. His opponent was incumbent Congressman Charles A. Vanik, Democrat, who was re-elected.

PENNSYLVANIA

VOTERS RE - ELECTED Rep. Nix, one of the four colored members of Congress, and returned 10 members to the State House of Representatives, nine from Philadelphia and one from Pittsburgh.

The colored vote of the state's two largest cities contributed substantially to the victory of Democratic Sen. Joseph S. Clark, who beat off a determined bid by a Republican opponent.

The bid of a Philadelphia candidate to become the first colored member of the State Senate was unsuccessful.

NEW JERSEY

In Newark, a colored member of the Essex County Board of Freeholders was re-elected and in East Orange two colored members were elected to the City Council.

In the cities of Paterson an alderman was elected and a City Council member in Plainfield.

TEXAS

In Houston, Mrs. Charles Charles E. White, who made history two years ago by being elected a member of the school board, was re-elected.

To win, she beat off the bids of five opponents, one of whom was colored.

LEROY JOHNSON
Sets Georgia precedent

3 win seats on Nashville city council

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Three colored members presently serving in the city council won in last week's election without facing a run off.

They are Z. Alexander Looby, 20th district; Harold M. Love, 19th and Robert Lillard, 16th.

Of the three, only Lillard opposed the new metropolitan government in the summer campaign. Long associated with Mayor Ben West's majority in the council, Lillard spoke out against the charter in the June campaign.

* * *

THREE OTHER colored persons failed to get clear majorities and will face rival candidates in a run - off Nov. 27. In one instance, both candidates are colored.

John L. Driver and Mrs. Mabel Suggs, both colored, are seeking a council seat in the 21st district. Mansfield Douglass III, will face a white opponent, Neal Johnson, for a seat in the 28th district.

Dr. W. S. Davis, president of Tennessee A. and I. State University, was elected one of the three members of the new Nashville - Davidson county metropolitan board of education here.

HAYES DAY SET

LYNCHBURG, Va. — The 15th annual Virginia Seminary Hayes Day celebration will be held at the college here on Dec. 5th at 9 a.m.

AFRICAN RAIL LINK PROPOSED AT LAGOS

LAGOS, Nigeria (NNPA) — Delegates to the first African Railway Congress, representing the independent African states, began work at Lagos Tuesday on proposals to link the major rail systems on the continent.

ALTHOUGH A NEOPHYTE office - seeker, Mr. Johnson is no stranger to Atlanta leadership circles. For five years, he was on the executive committee of the powerful Atlanta Negro Voters League.

This organization has pushed registration of colored voters to the point where in the past only non - hostile whites could be elected to city office and, this year, a colored man could be elected to the state legislature.

Dr. Rufus Clement, Atlanta University president now and at the time of Mr. Johnson's student days there, paved the way some years ago by being elected to the city school board.

While a student in North Carolina, Mr. Johnson was president of the Law School Student Bar Association. He was the first colored vice organization of the Atlanta Junior Voters League.

* * *

MR. JOHNSON is also a rector of Camphre Girls, a member of the Executive committee of the Atlanta Committee for Corporate Action, and a YMCA director.

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From 1950 through 1954 Mr. Johnson taught social science in a local high school. He then entered the North Carolina School of Law and received his degree in 1957.

That year, Solicitor General Sol C. Webb named him an investigator—a post he kept until May, 1962 when he entered the private practice of law.

He is married to the former Miss Cleopatra Whittington, a school librarian. They have one son, Michael V., 11.

* * *

29 colored congressmen in 93 years

WASHINGTON

The election of Augustus (Gus) F. Hawkins of Los Angeles, last Tuesday, as the fifth colored member of Congress raises the total number of colored members who have served in the national legislative body to 29.

The first colored members in the history of the nation were elected to Congress 81 years ago when Georgia and South Carolina sent one representative each to the House and Mississippi a Senator.

The only other colored Senator to serve also came from Mississippi, and was a member of the 45th Congress 1877-1879.

* * *

WHEN HAWKINS takes his seat next January, it will mean that the five colored members represent the largest number to serve in any Congress since the 45th.

There were seven colored House members in the 43rd Congress, 1873-1875, and the same number plus a Senator in the 44th Congress, 1875 - 1877.

There were no colored in the 50th Congress or any of the 13 Congresses between 1901 and 1931.

Prior to 1931 when Oscar DePriest was elected in Illinois (Chicago), all colored Congressmen came from states in the South.

* * *

DURING THE 62 years between 1869 and 1931 there were 22 colored congressmen from eight Southern states Some served more than one term.

Two came from Alabama, one each from Florida, Georgia and Louisiana, three from Mississippi, four from North Carolina, nine from South Carolina and one from Virginia.

Since 1931, six colored have served in Congress: three from Illinois, and one each from Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania.

OTIS SMITH
On Mich. high court

RETAINS SEAT — Mrs. Charles E. White, only colored member of the city board of education in Houston, Texas, retained her seat in the election last week against five opponents.

CSC security force aids police

WILBERFORCE, O.—The Central State College Security Force, headed by Chief Donald Darling, has been called in to assist the Xenia, O. police in their search for two bandits who held up a Western Union office on election night.

The CSC police unit was called in, along with the Highway Patrol, when it became obvious that the two bandits had escaped the initial net spread by the Xenia police immediately following the robbery.

Three members of the assigned Security Force unit who are assisting the local authorities are graduates of the Criminal Investigation and Identification Bureau of the Ohio Police Academy, and figure to be of great assistance in the investigation. Xenia is four miles from the CSC campus.

Davis Y. Carter, Democrat.
Cecil A. Partee, Democrat.
Lycurgus Conner, Democrat.
William H. Robinson, Republican.
J. Horace Gardner, Republican.

INDIANA

James S. Hunter, Democrat, Gary.

MARYLAND

Mrs. Irma Dixon, Democrat, Baltimore.
Clarence Mitchell III, Democrat, Baltimore.
Ernest E. Young, Democrat, Baltimore.

MICHIGAN

George Edward, Democrat, Highland Park.
Mrs. Maxine Young, Democrat, Detroit.
James Bradley, Democrat, Detroit.
David S. Holmes, Democrat, Detroit.

burgh.

WEST VIRGINIA

Mrs. Elizabeth Drewry, Welch, Democrat.

WISCONSIN

Isaac N. Coggs and Raymond Lee Latham, both Milwaukee, Democrats.

County Offices

Edward M. Snead, Democrat, Cook County commissioner, Chicago.

Charles A. Matthews, Democrat, Essex County Freeholder, Newark, N.J.

Members, Jefferson County Helene Hale, niece of Dr. Ralph Bunche, county chairman of Hawaii Island.

Democratic Executive Committee — Arthur Shores, Orzell Billingsley Jr., James Johnson, Charles Moorer Jr., the Rev. Nelson H. Smith Jr., and David H. Hood, all of the Greater Birmingham Area.

Race had no role in his election, Lamb points out

HARTFORD, Conn. —State Treasurer - elect Gerald A. Lamb, who made political history in this state, last Tuesday, ran as a Democrat and was elected as a Democrat.

His name was offered as the Democratic candidate, last July, at the party's convention in Hartford by Mayor Edward Bergin of Waterbury.

When convention delegates voted their approval, Lamb, a dental technician said:

* * *

"I DO NOT want to and do not expect to run for the office of treasurer as a colored person, any moe than I do as a Waterburian, an Episcopalian or a dental technician.

Mr. Lamb, 37, is a native of Elizabeth City, N.C. He served in the U. S. Coast Guard from 1942 to 1946.

He served three terms as an alderman in Waterbury, is secretary of the Connecticut Federation of Democratic Clubs and a member of the Goodwill Elks Lodge of Waterbury.

He is married to the former Verna Grier. They are the parents of one child.

GERALD LAMB

HIDE GRAY HAIR
Get
SLICK BLACK
DOUBLE ACTION
1 COLORS GRAY HAIR BLACK
2 DRESSES HAIR IN PLACE
AT YOUR DRUGGIST

ManZan for PILES
When simple piles cause discomfort and itch, enjoy fast palliative relief with DeWitt's ManZan — now even more effective with *Allantoin*, a special healing agent. ManZan also contains a vasoconstrictor to help reduce swelling. For soothing action, buy ManZan . . . ointment or suppositories.
DeWitt's ManZan PILE OINTMENT

No Nagging Backache Means a Good Night's Sleep

Nagging backache, headache, or muscular aches and pains may come on with over-exertion, emotional upsets or day to day stress and strain. And folks who eat and drink unwisely sometimes suffer mild bladder irritation...with that restless, uncomfortable feeling.

If you are miserable and worn out because of these discomforts, Doan's Pills often help by their pain-relieving action, by their soothing effect to ease bladder irritation, and by their mild diuretic action through the kidneys—tending to increase the output of the 15 miles of kidney tubes.

So if nagging backache makes you feel dragged-out, miserable, with restless, sleepless nights, don't wait, try Doan's Pills, get the same happy relief millions have enjoyed for over 60 years. For convenience, ask for the large size. Get Doan's Pills today!

Afro scores .970 batting average in voting forcast

WASHINGTON

A check of the AFRO's pre-election forecast of how the colored vote would go on Nov. 6 shows predictions were 97.7 per cent correct.

Excluding predictions in which the outcome was almost a fore-gone conclusion, there were 45 which carried a high "hazard element."

Of these 45, the AFRO predicted 44 correct. Included among these were predictions that former Vice President Richard M. Nixon would be defeated in California, Mrs. Verda F. Welcome would be the first colored woman elected to the Maryland State Senate, and Edward R. Dudley would lose in New York.

* * *

ALSO THAT IN Florida, former Sen. Claude Pepper would be returned to Congress, Pennsylvania Sen. Joseph S. Clark would be re-elected, Gerald A. Lamb would defeat William D. Graham in Connecticut and in Georgia Leroy Johnson would be at his GOP opponent, T. M. Alexander.

The single instance in which the predictions went astray was that all Democratic congressmen in Maryland would be re-elected. One congressman who had been indicted in the savings and loan institutions was defeate loan institutions was defeated.

Consequently, this prediction was only five-sixths correct or one-sixth wrong.

THE ONE really "long shot" which the AFRO got right was predicting that Maryland would elect a Democratic Senator to replace Sen. John M. Butler, who did not seek re-election.

The predictions would be the results of consultation among Dr. Carl Murphy, chairman of the board; C. W. Mackay, editor - in - chief; Arthur Carter, managing editor; Samuel Hoskins, assistant managing editor who wrote the forecast article, and Max Johnson, political writer who specializes in Maryland politics.

Attorney General - elect says vote 'shows progress'

BOSTON, Mass. — "I didn't hear one racial epithet during the whole campaign," said Edward W. Brooke following his election, last Tuesday, as Attorney General of Massachusetts.

A Republican, he defeated Democrat Francis E. Kelly, former Lieutenant Governor and onetime Attorney General.

A native of Washington, D. C., the attorney general elect had tried three times before for election to public office, without success.

* * *

IN 1960, he ran for Secretary of State and received over a million votes.

He was the only Republican elected this time in an otherwise Democratic sweep of all state offices.

"I think it's progress," Mr. Brooke said of his election, adding: "Hardly anyone mentions I'm colored any more."

* * *

HE ALSO observed that during the entire two - month campaign he was not asked more than five questions on civil rights, and "didn't even receive any crank mail."

He and his wife and two daughters, Remi, 13, and Edwina, 10, reside in Roxbury, a suburb of Boston.

EDWARD BROOKE

Got a cold? 666 cold medicine will

NOW TREAT ALL COLD SYMPTOMS

666 gives extra-fast decongestant action because it's liquid, no waiting to dissolve. Keeps you "regular" too.

There are 5 major symptoms of a cold: stuffiness, achiness, fever, constipation, and general "sick-feeling." 666, the time-tested and proven cold medicine, fights all 5. No "one-ingredient" product can do this. 666 was made especially for colds... and only for colds. It really works!

The fast decongestant action of 666 works through the blood stream... reaching places where nose drops and sprays can't possibly reach. Its gentle laxative action keeps you "regular" during this critical time. The unexcelled effectiveness of 666 has been proven to thousands of users.

When you have a cold, take 666, and see what real relief can be like. Satisfaction guaranteed... or your money back. At all drug counters, only 49¢. If you prefer tablets, take 666 cold tablets... same fast relief. Convenient and economical, too.

Help your Skin

by Relieving Itching, Stinging Misery of Acne Pimples, Bumps, Eczema, Ringworm, Irritated Feet

and other common skin discomforts

Don't let your skin troubles get you down! Thousands of people have found that Black and White Ointment brings quick, soothing relief to itching, stinging skin misery. You, too, can enjoy this same wonderful help. Start using Black and White Ointment this very day! Buy it at your favorite drug counter. Sold on a money back guarantee!

And to keep your skin clean, use Black and White Skin Soap, daily.

Large 75c size contains 4½ times as much as regular 35c size. Trial size 25c

Genuine BLACK AND WHITE OINTMENT SOLD ALL OVER THE WORLD

BLACK AND WHITE OINTMENT

The Week In Records

By ALBERT ANDERSON

LENA, GIBBS SHARE JAZZ SPOTLIGHT

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Two of the most popular names in jazz and entertainment share the record review spotlight this week. Lena Horne provides a sparkling new waxing of a number of choice standard tunes, while Terry Gibbs showcases delightful big band music.

Following are the details of the review:

"LOVELY AND ALIVE": —(RCA Victor LP) featuring singer Lena Horne. Music arranged and conducted by Marty Paich.

Tunes: "I Concentrate on You," "I Get the Blues When It Rains," "I've Grown Accustomed to His Face," "I Got Rhythm," "I'm Confessin" (That I Love You)," "I Want to Be Happy."

Side 2: "I Surrender, Dear, "I Found a New Baby," "I Understand," "I Let a Song Go Out of My Heart," "I ain't Got Nobody," "I Only Have Eyes for You."

* * *

THIS ALBUM of songs personalized by the pronoun "I" features Miss Horne in one of her finest performances, reminiscent of the days when she held forte at New York's Cafe Society before moving on to Hollywood and television fame.

Her soft, mellow voice caresses 16 ballads heard on the disc in a most romantic way, particularly the evergreens, "I Get the Blues...," the "Confessin' " blues and "I Surrender, Dear..."

* * *

"EXPLOSION": — (Mercury LP) featuring Terry Gibbs and his big band. Tunes: "Tico Tico," "Big Bad Bob," "The Big Cat," "Soft Eyes," "Billie's Bounce," "Take Romance," "Do You Wanna Jump Children?" "Nature Boy," "Jump the Blues Away," "Sleep."

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These tunes and the Latin rhythm, "Tico, Tico" are the top tunes in the set.

GOLD IN THEM DISCS — Smiles adorn the faces of the Isley Brothers as they hold their gold records, symbolic of the rock 'n' roll tune, "Twist and Shout," with which they sold a million copies. Left to right are Wally Roker, promotion chief for Wand Records, the three Isleys — Rudy, Kelly and Ronnie—and Marvin Schecter, vice president of the label which waxed the hit.

Ray Charles hit with 25G suit

GREENSBORO, N.C. — (NNPA) — Singer Ray Charles was named Tuesday in a $25,000 civil action charging breach of contract when he failed to appear for a scheduled performance in Roanoke, Va., last Sept. 16.

The suit, filed in Guilford Superior Court, was brought by Oliver W. Arnold, who said he made partial payment of $1,750 to Charles at the time the contract was signed.

Arnold's action sought court attachment of funds held by T. Ellis Stone and Robert H. Kent of Greensboro, and Jim Crockett of Charlotte, who were promoters of the Charles show held here Monday.

One out of 200 passes vote test in Holly Springs

HOLLY SPRINGS, Miss. —Frank Smith, a 22 - year old field secretary for th Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has requested Justice Department aid from President John F. Kennedy because only one

Vote campaigners car for Ga. work need typewriters,

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"In our Atlanta office, we need mimeographing paper so that we can increase our press service, and so that we can have better communication between protest groups. We need typewriters, pens, pencils, and other office supplies.

We appeal to concerned Americans to help us in our struggle."

3 more counters in Ga. desegregate

ATHENS, Ga. — The NAACP peacefully integrated three lunch counters

DATA 'N CHATTER:

The King doesn't sing, he just plays on next disc

By DARCY DEMILLE

CHICAGO — (ANP) — FROM HOLLYWOOD TO HARLEM.

Marian Anderson reveals that she will join Carl Sandburg as guest of honor at the Star Spangled ball to benefit the international culture center for youth at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel.

This gala will bring out leaders from the cultural, social and economic worlds. A highlight will be the presentation of the original manuscript of "My Country 'Tis of Thee" to Mrs. Kennedy for the 'house that's white.'

This will be an evening of glamor for the glamorous too because more than 20 top American designers will present originals during a fashion review.

* * *

HOW'S THIS for a survey report! Detroiters no longer shout in church!!

According to a recent poll conducted, (I can't imagine why), among 'member' churches, shouting during church services is definitely on the down grade.

One minister who asked that his name be withheld, said that if anyone shouted or prayed aloud in his church, his parishoners would probably fall over in a dead faint.

Another minister who spoke out when queried, said that the only time a voice was raised in his church, was that of a visitor!

RUTH BROWN is sporting a new fur coat.

A full-length sable, this one is a gift from her Danny-boy who rushed out and ordered it to celebrate the up-surging rating she's receiving from the revival of her biggest hit, "Mama."

'Member way back when Nat Cole was the 'middle man' in the King Cole Trio?

It was Nat's twinkling piano that made his first recordings (Sweet Lorraine, Lucky So 'N' So) such great hits.

Well Cole fans are in for a treat. The fella who lives and works in that Capital tower out in the woods-of-Holly have talked Nathaniel into making an album of piano music.

No singing, just Cole playing the 88's in his own inimitable way. He'll play Jimmy Van Heusen's compositions.

* * *

NANCY WILSON hopes the expected baby turns out to be twins! Speaking of babes and babies, isn't Olga James on Sir Stork's list??

Sidney Poitier's next flick might well be "The Longships," a story about the Vikings.

To be filmed in Yugoslavia and directed by Jack Cardiff, the picture will also star Richard Widmark and probably have George Peppard in the cast too.

They will make quite a team.

NAT "King" COLE

NANCY WILSON

Meredith attends Ole Miss concert

OXFORD, Miss.—(ANP) — James H. Meredith took in his first student program, a 2½ hour symphony orchestra concert, at the University of Mississippi without incident last week and said afterwards: "I enjoyed it very much."

The 29-year-old Air Force veteran attended the concert along with 400 other persons, including the chancellor of the university, J. D. Williams, and his wife. He sat within 30 feet of the Williamses. He appeared relaxed.

* * *

MEREDITH ENTERED Fulton Chapel through a side door with a Justice Department attorney and seven deputy U.S. marshals, and he was hardly noticed during the program.

However, authorities kept watchful eye for possible trouble. Dean L. L. Love and Tom S. Hines, director of student personnel, watched Meredith from a hallway door in the rear of the auditorium and university policemen and military personnel were stationed outside.

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These tunes and the Latin rhythm, "Tico, Tico" are the top tunes in the set.

Californians hired as African natives

HOLLYWOOD — (ANP) — Several colored Americans have been hired as "extras" for the movie, "Drums of Africa," a film of an African safari depicting scenes in Nairobi but actually cast in by Culver City, Calif.

Hired as extras for native roles were Morgan Roberts, Calvin Brown, Francois Andre and Billy Hines, all colored Amercians. Roberts is a supply clerk with the Los Angeles Board of Education; Brown is a postal clerk; Andre, drama editor of a Los Angeles newspaper, and Hines, a singer and songwriter whose latest jazz tune is "I Want to Love."

Philly musician faces dope charge

PHILADELPHIA — (ANP) —A popular Philadelphia jazz musician, identified as Louis Judge, 40, last week was arrested and held in $25,000 bond after undercover agents posing as purchasers trapped him and found a bag full of marijuana, described as the largest amount conficated in a decade.

Judge was arrested at a Philadelphia intersection by federal agents after he allegedly accepted $215 in marked money for a pound bag of marijuana ordered by an undercover man.

He faces 10 to 20 years in prison because of a previous narcotics conviction in Texas, agents said.

'Greatest Story' inks tan director

HOLLYWOOD — Wendell Franklin was signed by George Stevens recently as assistant director of the religious film, "The Greatest Story Ever Told," which portrays Sidney Poitier as Simon of Cyrene.

The former NBC employee is at present on location in Arizona. He will serve as one of the group of second assistant directors. Franklin is the only colored member of the Screen Directors Guild.

SPEAKS AT BENNETT

GREENSBORO, N.C. — The Rev. Morris H. Tynes, pastor, Monumental Baptist Church, Chicago, Ill., will speak at Bennett College vesper service on Nov. 18, at 4 p.m., in Pfeiffer Chapel.

charging breach of contract when he failed to appear for a scheduled performance in Roanoke, Va., last Sept. 16.

The suit, filed in Guilford Superior Court, was brought by Oliver W. Arnold, who said he made partial payment of $1,750 to Charles at the time the contract was signed.

Arnold's action sought court attachment of funds held by T. Ellis Stone and Robert H. Kent of Greensboro, and Jim Crockett of Charlotte, who were promoters of the Charles show held here Monday.

One out of 200 passes vote test in Holly Springs

HOLLY SPRINGS, Miss. —Frank Smith, a 22 - year old field secretary for th Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has requested Justice Department aid from President John F. Kennedy because only one colored person here (Marshall County) has succeeded in passing a preliminary voter registration test out of 200 applicants.

Smith, a senior at Morehouse College in Atlanta who has been in Holly Springs for five months, stated:

"We are convinced that the colored people in this county are being deliberately denied their right to vote because of their race."

* * *

IN HIS letter to the President, Smith asked "the dispatching of a representative to this area to help plan actions in preparation for a suit. Please inform us as to whether tyou will cooperate whether you will cooperate with us in this matter or whether we will have to do it on our own."

Smith said that of the 24,000 persons in Marshall county,17,000 are colored. Of these, only about 25 have registered to vote.

UN action may isolate South Africa

NEW YORK (NNPA) — A sweeping resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on Tuesday could isolate South Africa from the rest of the world.

If effective, the resolution, which called on all members to break off relations with South Africa, would oust the apartheid government from the world body.

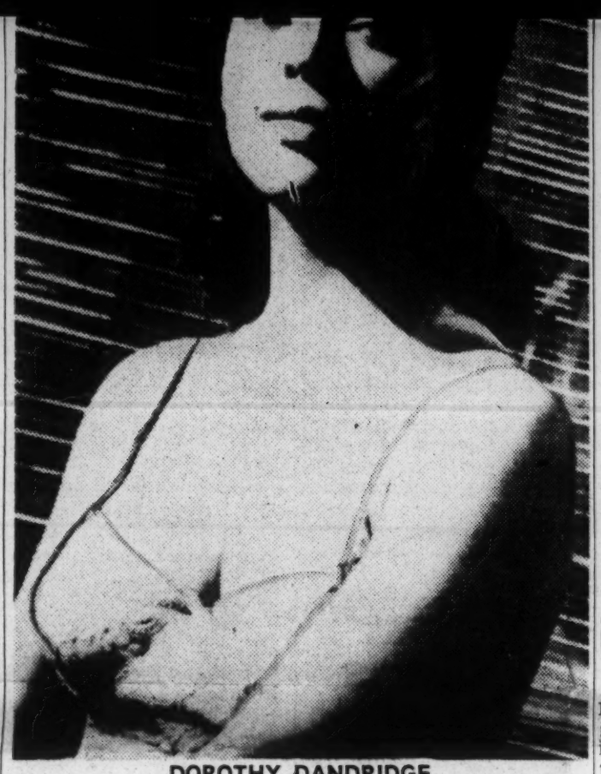
By a vote of 62 to 16, with 23 abstentions, the Assembly called on all members to boycott South African goods and shut off all exports.

Sammy Jr., Mai adopt youngster

HOLLYWOOD (NNPA) —. — Entertainer Sammy Davis Jr., and his Swedish - born wife, Mai Britt, have adopted a child, the couple announced Thursday.

They now have two children. Their daughter, Tracey Hillivi, was born to Mrs. Davis 16 months ago.

The new addition to the Davis family is 2½, year-old Mark Sidney Davis, whose adoption was approved by the Los Angeles County Adoption Center.



DOROTHY DANDRIDGE

Dot Dandridge asks eviction of hubby

LOS ANGELES — Beauteous actress Dorothy Dandridge, 38, last week filed suit to end her three-year marriage to Jack Denison, 48-year-old white restauranteur, charging cruelty and asking the court to eject him from her home.

The actress-singer and Denison were married on June 22, 1959. They have no children.

In her divorce suit, Miss Dandridge charged her husband with using physical forced her on several occasions. However, it was not known for what reasons he used physical force.

MISS DANDRIDGE, reportedly wealthy from her successes in the movies and on stage and in television, made it plain that the house is her private property.

She scored a recent hit in Houston, becoming the first colored artist to perform in a downtown night club there.

According to Dot, there is no chance of a reconciliation. She, Miss Dandridge is currently appearing at the Chi Chi Club in Palm Springs.

Landlord has to pay for evicting tenant

LOS ANGELES—(ANP) — Linda Weaver, now Mrs. Offie Wortham of Santa Monica, received a check last week for $1,000 in an out-of-court settlement with the owners of the Coral Tree Manor, large apartment building.

The settlement followed charges made by Mrs. Wortham that she was evicted last Dec. 14 from her apartment after she entertained colored guests and it became known that her fiance was also colored.

Tournament of Roses condemed

PASADENA, Calif. — The the Tournament of Roses in selecting only Caucasian girls as queens and attendants in the annual Tournament of Roses activities has been roundly condemned by the Pasadena branch of the NAACP.

At a meeting of the branch executive committee a resolution was adopted deploring the practices of the Tournament of Roses Committee. The resolution called upon boycotting the selection of the Rose Queen or her attendants until such discriminatory selection ceases.

CHICAGO — The keynote speaker for the National Conference on Religion and Race will be **Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.** of Atlanta, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The conference is scheduled for Jan. 14-17.

order to help the field and office operations of SNCC.

Mr. McDew said, "We have urgent need for automobiles to help our field secretaries get around in the rural counties of Mississippi and Alabma as they encourage rural colored citizens to register and vote.

"In our Atlanta office, we need mimeographing paper so that we can increase our press service, and so that we can have better communication between protest groups. We need typewriters, pens, pencils, and other office supplies.

We appeal to concerned Americans to help us in our struggle."

3 more counters in Ga. desegregate

ATHENS, Ga. — The NAACP peacefully integrated three lunch counters in this university town here this week, following an extended selective buying drive.

The Rev. William J. Hudson, local NAACP president, achieved the final victory through negotiations with Mayor Jack R. Wells.

The stores, two Woolworth and one W. T. Grant, were picketed last spring by the NAACP youth council, according to Vernon E. Jordan, NAACP field secretary in Georgia.

However, one Kress store and three local drug stores local drug stores refused refused to abide by the agreement. The Rev. Mr. Hudson announced that they will continue to be bypassed by colored citizens through the Association's selective buying

Jamaican beauties eye star roles in movies

KINGSTON, JAMAICA — (ANP) — Fans throughout the world who have become disgusted with the menial roles being given colored performers in Hollywood may soon derive some satisfaction from seeing a number of beauties cast in starring roles in the movies.

The later became a possibility last week after actress Ginger Rogers and her husband, William Marshall, announced that they had signed a 10-year agreement with Prime Minister Alexander Bustamente of Jamaica to establish a film industry on a $10,000,000 initial investment in that island.

* * *

SO ELATED were the Marshalls over the transaction, which will provide employment for hundred of Jamaicans, that they said they envision the development of a Jamaican film festival to rival those of Cannes, France and Venice, Italy.

To achieve this end, they are banking both on the availability of local talent and the natural setting which Jamaica provides. Known as "The Island in the Sun," Jamaica abounds in tropical beauty.

* * *

THE MARSHALLS plan to bring their motion picture industry to Jamaica early next year. They also plan on establishing a permanent home in Jamaica.

The development was also seen as a significant indication of confidence in Jamaica's stability by American enterprise and industry, paving the way for more such investments in the newly independent nation.

MacMillian backed on arms to India

LONDON — (NNPA) — Prime Minister MacMillan's rebuke of President Nkrumah of Ghana, who wrote Thursday that he was "distressed and saddened" by Britain's pledge to send military aid to India, was endorsed Friday by the Cabinet.

In a letter dispatched to London, Dr. Nkrumah complained about Britain's support of India and said the Commonwealth was not a military alliance.

Mr. MacMillan replied that he considered it right and proper to go to the aid of a member country "under attack and in danger."

Says Rhodesia doomed if Africans take over

LONDON (NNPA) — If an African government takes over soon in Southern Rhodesia, the result would be a greater mess than the Congo situation, Sr. Edgar Whitehead, prime minister of Southern Rhodesia, said in London Tuesday.

En route home from the United Nations, Sr. Edgar said Southern Rhodesia would become a completely non-racial state within 15 years if given "immunity from outside pressure."

ably fall over in a dead faint.

Another minister who spoke out when queried, said that the only time a voice was raised in his church, was that of a visitor!

RUTH BROWN is sporting a new fur coat.

A full-length sable, this one is a gift from her Danny-boy who rushed out and ordered it to celebrate the up-surging rating she's receiving from the revival of her biggest hit, "Mama."

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It was Nat's twinkling piano that made his first recordings (Sweet Lorraine, Lucky So 'N' So) such great hits.

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However, authorities kept watchful eye for possible trouble. Dean L. L. Love and Tom S. Hines, director of student personnel, watched Meredith from a hallway door in the rear of the auditorium and university policemen and military personnel were stationed outside.

New entertainment fad credited to Ella, Dizzy

NEW YORK — It isn't the "Nova" in Bossa Nova that makes the jazz craze from Brazil so intriguing. In the opinion of jazz expert Leonard Feather, it's the "Bossa" that counts, all the way.

"Nova" means "new," of course, and Feather, writing in the current issue of Show Magazine, refuses to get excited over this element.

There is nothing new, he insists, about new jazz fancies; they come and go all the time. If Bossa Nova has any staying power (and Feather suspects it has) credit the "Bossa."

* * *

WHAT IS "Bossa?" In Portugese patois, it means flair, style, bizazz. Or, as Hollywood composer Shorty Rogers puts it, "It's an inside word, like our funk, or soul.

"Ella Fitzgerald has bossa. Dizzy Gillespie and Miles Davis have bossa."

The history of Bossa Nova, defined by Feather in Show as "a lovechild of the Portugese-Indian-African elements in the music of Brazil and the Afro-American-European essence of jazz," is brief, but bewildering.

Some credit its origin to Brazilian guitarist Laurindo Almeida.

* * *

FEATHER, however, favors the theory that Bossa Nova was inspired in Brazil by the records of Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, and Thelonius Monk.

The rhythms of these American jazz masters, Feather believes, so beguiled the

ELLA FITZGERALD

Brazilian buffs that they wedded American jazz to their native samba.

He also credits the score written by Antonio Carlos Jobim and Luis Bonfa for the film, "Black Orpheus," with bringing Bossa Nova to international attention.

Hospital admits medic to staff

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—Charlotte Memorial Hospital last week admitted Dr. C. Warren Williams to its private medical staff and broke a tradition of segregation.

Last May, Dr. Williams accepted a limited scientific membership in the North Carolina Medical Society. Other colored physicians had been seeking admission to the society on a basis of full equality rather than in a limited capacity. They censured Dr. williams for his acceptance.

Now local colored doctors are suing in federal court for admission to practice on a full professional basis in Charlotte hospitals. As it is now, they must turn over their hospital patients to white doctors.

BBC celebrates 13th anniversary

RALEIGH N.C. —Barnes Business College held its 13th annual Founders' Day Program recently. The guest speaker was Arthur L. Lane, Fayetteville, attorney.

J. H. Wooten, principal of Dillard High School, introduced Mr. Lane, who spoke on "The Role of the Independent Business College in Our Educational Systeam."

Hugh V. Brown, chairman of the advisory board, spoke on "The contribution of the School to the Community".

L. Thomas Dortch, president of the Goldsboro alumni chapter, and Mrs. Pandora D. Penny, president of the Raleigh alumni chapter announced that the chapter will give a $100 scholarship to a worthy student.

Plaques were presented by Mrs. Barnes, president - director, to the parent of the year and to an alumnae, Sylvanus Best of Washington and Mrs. Pandora D. Penny of Raleigh.

EXHIBIT

CHICAGO (ANP) — A photographic exhibit showing the life of four East African tribes has been opened to the public at the Chicago National History museum. The exhibit, on display through Nov. 30, depicts the tribal life of the Segeju, Wambugwe, Gorow and Sonjo.

Grace Bumbry Carnegie hit

NEW YORK — Grace Bumbry, internationally famous Mezzo-soprano, delighted a large audience in her first recital in Carnegie Hall here last week.

Accompanied by Frank Rupp, famous concert pianist, Miss Bumbry gave a highly commendable performance.

Rupp is the regular accompanist of another great concert singer, Marian Anderson. Miss Bumbry won a Marian Anderson scholarship several years ago.

Miss Bumbry's appearance at Carnegie Hall, mecca of some of the world's greatest singers and performers, was sponsored by Sol Hurok, concert impressario.

Who's Who taps 12 at Savannah

SAVANNAH, Ga. — Some 12 Savannah State College students have been nominated for inclusion in "Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges." They are:

Delores J. Bowens, Fitzgerald; Freida M. Brewton, Claxton; Ernest B. Brunson, Savanah; Anne Helen Cruse, Savanah; Norman B. Elmore, Savanah; Bobby L. Hill, Athens;

Rosalie Holmes, Savanah; Zeke Jackson, Waynesboro; Bernita Kornegay, Hazelhurst; Leander Merritt, Ocilla; Jack E. Millines, Milledgeville; and Mary Moss, Fitzgerald.

Mardi Gras ball bows to rights

NEW ORLEANS —(ANP) —The Bunch Club of New Orleans, described as one of the city's oldest and foremost carnival organizations, last week announced the cancellation of its 1963 "Carnival Dance" and plans to concentrate on serious social and civil rights projects during season next year.

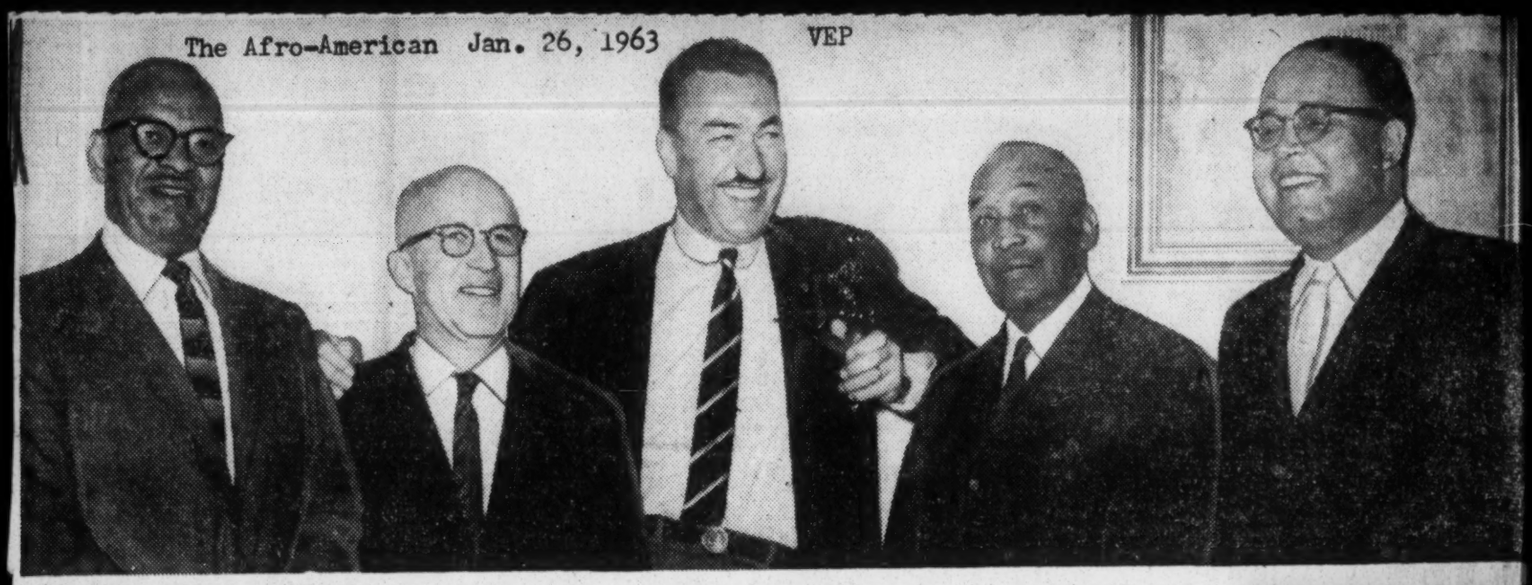
Two years ago the club canceled most of its dances and directed much of its funds towards civil rights projects. A similar line will be followed this year.

The club took the initial step in this direction in 1957 when it voted to modify its program and to move in the direction of "social action." This action was followed in 1960 by the cancellation of all carnival activities.

afro-american

IN ATLANTA, Ga. this week, Georgia Senator-elect Leroy Johnson (facing camera), the first colored person to sit in the Georgia Senate for more than a half century, tries out the seat for size with his fellow senators during a legislative orientation session at the State Capitol. The Senate officially convenes on January 7.

The Afro-American Jan. 26, 1963 VEP



AND NOW THERE ARE FIVE — For the first time in history, five men of color took seats in the House of Representatives with the convening of the 88th Congress. All are Democrats. From left to right, William L. Dawson, 76, Chicago, dean of group who began his 11th term; Augustus J. Hawkins, 55, Los Angeles, elected in November; Adam Clayton Powell, 56, NYC, beginning his 10th term; Robert N. C. Nix, 57, Philadelphia, beginning his 4th term; and Rep. Charles C. Diggs, 40, Detroit, who begins his 5th term. This is an exclusive AFRO photo by Cabell.

Dawson and company get 8 Committee assignments

By SAMUEL HOSKINS

WASHINGTON

The five colored members of Congress were given a total of eight assignments to standing House Committees, Thursday, for a gain of three assignments over the total number they held in the 87th Congress.

The assignments were made by the House Ways and Means Committee, which is headed by Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D., Ark.)

The gains are accounted for by one additional assignment to Reps. Charles C. Diggs Jr. of Michigan and Robert N. C. Nix Sr. of Pennsylvania and a single committee seat to Rep. Augustus Hawkins of California, all Democrats.

* * *

REPS. WILLIAM L. DAWSON of Illinois and Adam Clayton Powell of New York both Democrats, r[illegible]ained [illegible]irmanship of t[illegible] [illegible]rnment O[illegible] [illegible]n, a[illegible]tee leaves the unit still tightly in control of Southerners and conservative Republicans.

The Ways and Means Committee voted to limit membership of the Committee to 25, with fifteen seats going to the Democrats and 10 to Republicans.

Of the Democrats, nine are Southerners and six, including Dawson and Diggs, Northern Democrats.

ONE OF the Republicans expected to be assigned by the GOP leadership is Rep. Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia, who in the past has voted consistently with the Southerners.

This means that any two of the remaining nine Republicans voting with the Southerners can stymie the effort of the Liberals, and if three team with the Dixiecratic bloc the non-Southerners can be out-voted.

Newport News picks councilman

NEWPORT, NEWS, Va. — The City Council in regular session on last Monday afternoon, elected the first nonwhite to the Newport News Planning Commission after voting earlier to increase the present seven members to 15.

Soloman M. Travis, was one of eight to be added to the City Commission becoming the first of his race to serve in this capacity.

Mr. Travis, a native of Newport News, is employed as a Supervisor in the Machinery Division of the Newport News Shipyard. He is well-known for his leadership in labor circles, having served a number of years as an officer in the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, a local union of shipyard workers.

He is active in the civic and religious life of the community, is married and lives with his family at 1146 34th St.

Arkansas Gazette 1-29-63

Negro Is Appointed To Arsenal Board

Research

Gazette State News Service

Pine Bluff, Jan. 28.—Earnest H. Taylor of 18 Detroit Street, Little Rock, has become the first Negro to be appointed to the nine-man Board of Civil Service Examiners at the Pine Bluff Arsenal.

Taylor is an architect assigned to the Engineering and Service Division at the Arsenal. He has worked there 10 years.

The Board studies applications and certifies applicants for employment at the Arsenal.

Memo from **JACK MINNIS**

file Negro Candidate

Letter from Marion J. Brooks, Chairman, Ft. Worth Urban League — dated 2-13-63

"A Negro has filed for place #3 on our City Council".

Tennessee

Gov. Frank Clement ran afoul of trouble in pushing for the 3 per cent sales tax levy on all utilities bills. Instead of fast passage the past week, more time may be needed to round up a working majority in both houses. . . . City councilman Eugene (Little Evil) Jacobs of Nashville's slum-area Second Ward, and five associates, were convicted of conspiracy to violate election laws in the August primaries last year. A one-year prison sentence was fixed for Jacobs and lesser workhouse terms for his five companions involved in mass voting of absentee ballots. The Fifth district congressional race was involved in the frauds.

Chattanooga Mayor P. R. Olgiati will be opposed by attorney Ralph Kelley, a strong critic of the city administration, and Nathaniel Maxwell, the first Negro candidate for mayor, in the April elections for city offices. Four other Negro candidates will run for major city offices.

Atla. Const. 2-17-63
file "Negro Candidates"

Peek at News

file Atla. Const. 2-17-63
Negro Candidates

Florida

Cuba's shoe production for 1963 has been set at nine million pairs, almost 50 per cent less than early estimates. A Havana radio broadcast, heard here, said lack of hides and other raw materials caused the cutback. Last year's production totaled seven million pairs. . . . Four Negroes so far have qualified to run for the new legislative seats called for in Florida's new apportionment. . . . A Bartow, Fla., circuit court judge has ordered the estate of former Carpenter's Union President William L. Hutcheson to repay $300,000 in misappropriated funds to the union. Hutcheson served for 37 years as president of the union. . . . A total of 42 buildings in the Jacksonville area have been stocked with survival supplies by the Civil Defense Council. The fallout shelters have food, water containers, medical and sanitation supplies and radiological detection equipment.

* * *

B'ham P-H 2-19-63 p.4 file Negro Candidates

Along The Gulf

Pensacola Negro Candidate Reports House Fired On

PENSACOLA, Feb. 18 (AP)—A Negro leader said shots were fired into his home last night because of his candidacy for the Florida House of Representatives. He said he would not withdraw from the race.

Approximately seven .22 caliber bullets were fired into the home of the Rev. William C. Dobbins ,an integration leader who is running for a legislative seat in the Feb. 26 Democratic primary. Dobbins said the shots did not awaken him or his wife.

The minister said he discovered the bullet holes when he went out of the house to get his morning newspaper.

A neighbor said she heard the shots and a car speed off some time after midnight. Several spent .22 caliber cartridges were found in front of the house. Officers said they had not determined if the cartridges were fired from a rifle or pistol.

Five of the bullets pierced a glass-enclosed porch and entered a front bedroom where Mr. and Mrs. Dobbins and their 22-month-old son were sleeping. Dobbins said one of the bullets apparently passed over the boy's head.

* * *

3 Negroes in Runoffs for Florida House Seats

MIAMI (UPI)—Three Negroes won runoff spots for seats in the House Tuesday night in a special election called to reapportion Florida's Legislature. One of them, Ernest D. Jackson, a civil rights attorney, led the field in a nine-candidate race. atla Const. 2-27-63 p.1

Jackson, 41, polled an unofficial total of 7,809 votes for a seat from Duval County to 5,189 votes for his nearest opponent, Neil C. Taylor, a 35-year-old attorney. Jackson and Taylor will meet in a runoff election March 12.

A Pensacola Negro Methodist preacher, William C. Dobbins, a graduate of Yale, ran second in a field of 12 candidates to a retired Navy admiral, Phil Ashler. Ashler, a Harvard graduate, received 5,208 votes to 4,536 for Dobbins.

file Negro Candidates

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1963.

United Press International Radiophoto

AT MASS FOR POPE: Pictured attending rites yesterday in St. Peter's Basilica with Vice President Johnson were Benjamin E. Mays, left, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta; George N. Shuster, former president of Hunter College, who is partly visible between Mr. Johnson and James A. Farley; Prince Albert of Belgium, second from right, and Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister. Service marked end of official mourning for Pope.

Elections + Appointments

Ark Gazette 7-6-63

IRS in S. C. Hires Negro, An Arkansan

Gazette State News Service

Pine Bluff, July 5.—Roy Long, 21, a graduate of Altheimer (Jefferson County) schools and Arkansas AM and N College here, has been appointed an agent for the Internal Revenue Service at Columbus, S. C.

He is the first Negro to be employed in such a capacity in South Carolina. Long also is the fourth Arkansas Negro to be hired in a substantial position by the federal government in recent weeks.

Long said that he had hoped to be employed in Arkansas. He said that he eventually wanted to return to the state.

Long is now attending Atlanta University at Atlanta, Ga., under a tuition scholarship. He has a 3.56 grade average out of a maximum 4 points. He majored in business administration at Arkansas AM and N.

Long will leave Monday for Jacksonville, Fla., for three months of training for his IRS duties.

While at AM and N, Long won the annual Bailey Memorial Essay Contest which included a trip to New York where he attended a meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, and later to Boston to attend a conference of UNESCO. He also was editor of the College paper in 1960-61, vice president of the Business Club and treasurer of the senior class.

His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Long, live at Altheimer.

Negro Elections & Appts

ALL AMERICANS MOVE FORWARD

"We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked 100 years or more. It is time to write the next chapter, and write it in the books of law."

—President Johnson
November 27, 1963

Civil Rights leaders confer with President Johnson. Shown above are Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, James Farmer of CORE, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. of SCLC, Whitney Young of the National Urban League and the President.

President Johnson and Carl Rowan whom the President named Director of the United States Information Agency are shown in conference. As Director of USIA, Mr. Rowan meets with the Cabinet and National Security Council.

"LET US CONTINUE"

President Johnson Asks Nation

(Excerpt from President Johnson's Message to Joint Session of Congress—November 27, 1963)

"The greatest leader of our time has been struck down by the foulest deed of our time. Today John Fitzgerald Kennedy lives on in the immortal works that he left behind. He lives in the mind and memories of mankind. He lives on in the hearts of his countrymen. . .

"On the 20th day of January, in 1961, John F. Kennedy told his countrymen that our national work would not be finished in the first 100 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But, he said, 'let us begin'. . .

"Today, in this moment of new resolve, I would say to all my fellow Americans, let us continue."

President Joh

(Excerpts From State of Union Message)

"Let this session of Congress be known as the session which did more for civil rights than the last hundred sessions combined; as the session which enacted the most far-reaching tax cut of our time; as the session which declared all-out war on human poverty and unemployment in these United States; as the session which finally recognized the health needs of all of our older citizens; as the session which reformed our tangled transportation and transit policies; as the session which achieved the most effective, efficient foreign aid program ever; and as the session which helped to build more homes, more schools, more libraries and more hospitals than any single session of Congress in the history of our republic.

"We have in 1964 a unique opportunity and obligation—to prove the success of our system;

President Kennedy–September 9, 1960, at L
Democratic Party–and every expectation of f

President Johnson is shown above conferring with, left to right, Mrs. Rosa Gragg of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs and Miss Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women.

President Johnson and Hobart Taylor, Executive Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, are shown above reviewing Committee progress report.

nson Wages Total War on Prejudice

to disprove those cynics and critics at home and abroad who question our purpose and our competence.

"If we fail, if we fritter and fumble away our opportunity in needless, senseless quarrels between Democrats and Republicans, or between the House and the Senate, or between the South and the North, or between the Congress and the Administration, then history will rightfully judge us harshly. But if we succeed, we can achieve these goals by forging in this country a greater sense of union. Then, and only then, can we take full satisfaction in the State of the Union. . .

"Let me make one principle of this Administration abundantly clear: All of these increased opportunities in employment, education, housing, and in every field, must be open to Americans of every color. As far as the writ of Federal law will run, we must abolish not some, but all racial discrimination, for this is not merely an economic issue or a social, political, or international issue. It is a moral issue, and must be met this session by the passage of the bill now pending in the House.

"All Americans of all races stand side by side in Berlin and in Viet Nam. They died side by side in Korea. Surely they can work and eat and travel side by side in their own country.

"We must also lift by legislation the bars of discrimination against those who seek entry into our country, particularly those with much needed skills and those joining their families. In establishing preferences, a nation which was built by the immigrants of all lands can ask those who now seek admission, 'What can you do for our country?' But we should not be asking, 'In what country were you born?' For our ultimate goal is a world without war, a world made safe for diversity, in which all men, goods, and ideas can freely move across every border and every boundary. . .

os Angeles, California—*"Every major step forward in the cause of human rights in this century ha uture progress today rests with the Democratic Party."*

President Johnson and Hobart Taylor, Executive Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, are shown above reviewing Committee progress report.

President Johnson is shown above explaining a point to A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The President and Mr. Randolph both expressed their concern on the civil rights and poverty issues.

War on Prejudice and Poverty

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"This Administration today, here and now, declares unconditional war on poverty in America. I urge this Congress and all Americans to join with me in that effort. It will not be a short or easy struggle, no single weapon or strategy will suffice, but we shall not rest until that war is won. The richest nation on earth can afford to win it. We cannot afford to lose it. $1,000 invested in salvaging an unemployable youth today can return $40,000 or more in his lifetime.

"Poverty is a national problem, requiring improved national organization and support. But this attack, to be effective, must also be organized at the State and local level and must be supported and directed by State and local efforts, for the war against poverty will not be won in Washington. It must be won in the field, in every private home, in every public office, from the court house to the White House."

'd in the cause of human rights in this century has been the product of the leadership of the arty."

A PARTIAL LISTING OF FEDERAL POSTS HELD BY NEGRO DECISION-MAKERS

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DR. ROBERT C. WEAVER of New York—Administrator, Housing & Home Finance Agency

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CHRISTOPHER C. SCOTT of Los Angeles—Deputy Postmaster General for Transportation, Post Office Department

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OLIVER W. HILL of Richmond—Assistant to the Commissioner, Federal Housing Administration

GEORGE HOLLAND of Minneapolis—Area Field Director, Department of Veterans Benefits, Veterans Administration

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MRS. RUTH JONES of New York—Collector of Customs, Virgin Islands

WILLIAM B. JONES of Los Angeles—Cultural Affairs Officer, Department of State

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DR. JAMES NABRITT of Washington, D. C.—Naval Board of Visitors

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ALVIN C. RUCKER of St. Louis—Labor Advisor to Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Department of State

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Ark. Gaz.

Negro Candidate Wins Florida Election

12-6-63

LAWTEY, Fla. (AP)—The first Negro candidate in the history of this Northeast Florida farming community was elected to a two-year term on the Town Council Tuesday.

Robert Scott, a brickmason, polled 84 votes in winning one of three seats contested by nine candidates. D. L. Shuford was first with 105 votes. Leslie Phillips got 79 votes and won the other seat.

Negroes outnumber whites 169 to 140 on voter registration rolls in Lawtey, 35 miles southwest of Jacksonville.

Green

Negro Appts + Elections

1st councilman

LAWTEY, Fla. — A 50-year old brickmason, Robert Scott, was sworn in here last week as the first member of his race ever elected to the Lawtey City Council.

Town Marshall M. M. Jordan, fearing trouble, accompanied Scott to the ceremony, but a half dozen loiterers in front of the court house, said nothing.

the Afro-American

1-18-64

Negro Elections + Appointments

Atl. Daily World 1-22-64

Replaces Edward R. Murrow

Rowan To Head U.S. Information Agency

By MERRIMAN SMITH
UPI White House Reporter

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — President Johnson announced Tuesday that Edward R. Murrow has resigned as director of the United States Information Agency USIA and is being replaced by Carl T. Rowan, now ambassador to Finland.

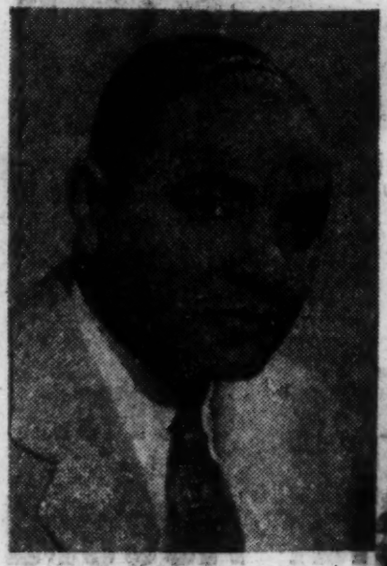
Rowan, a former newspaperman, will become the first Negro in history to sit regularly at meetings of the National Security Council and the Cabinet. Until his appointment Tuesday, the highest ranking Negro in the government was Robert C. Weaver, head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

In a letter to the President, Murrow, a former radio and television personality, noted that he "was separated from a cancerous lung in early October." He said that although he has been assured that the operation was successful and recovery has been normal, "it will be several months before I can resume full-time duty" at the USIA.

During that period, Murrow wrote, "I could not direct its affairs as I would wish, as I have tried to do, or as you are entitled to expect it to be directed."

NOTIFIED KENNEDY

Murrow said he previously had told President Kennedy he might have to resign. He said he had hoped to be able to stay with the Johnson administration and said "my inability to do so is deeply disappointing." His resignation letter was dated Dec. 19.



CARL T. ROWAN

In a "Dear Ed" reply, Johnson told Murrow he, too, had hoped Murrow would remain and "after you recovery, I will be calling on you for advice and help."

Then, in a paraphrase of Murrow's familiar radio-television sign-off phrase, Johnson said "Goodbye, and good luck." Rowan, who was a reporter for the Minneapolis Tribune before joining the State Department in 1961, became acquainted with Johnson when he accompanied the then vice president on his around-the-world tour in 1961.

SHORT NOTICE

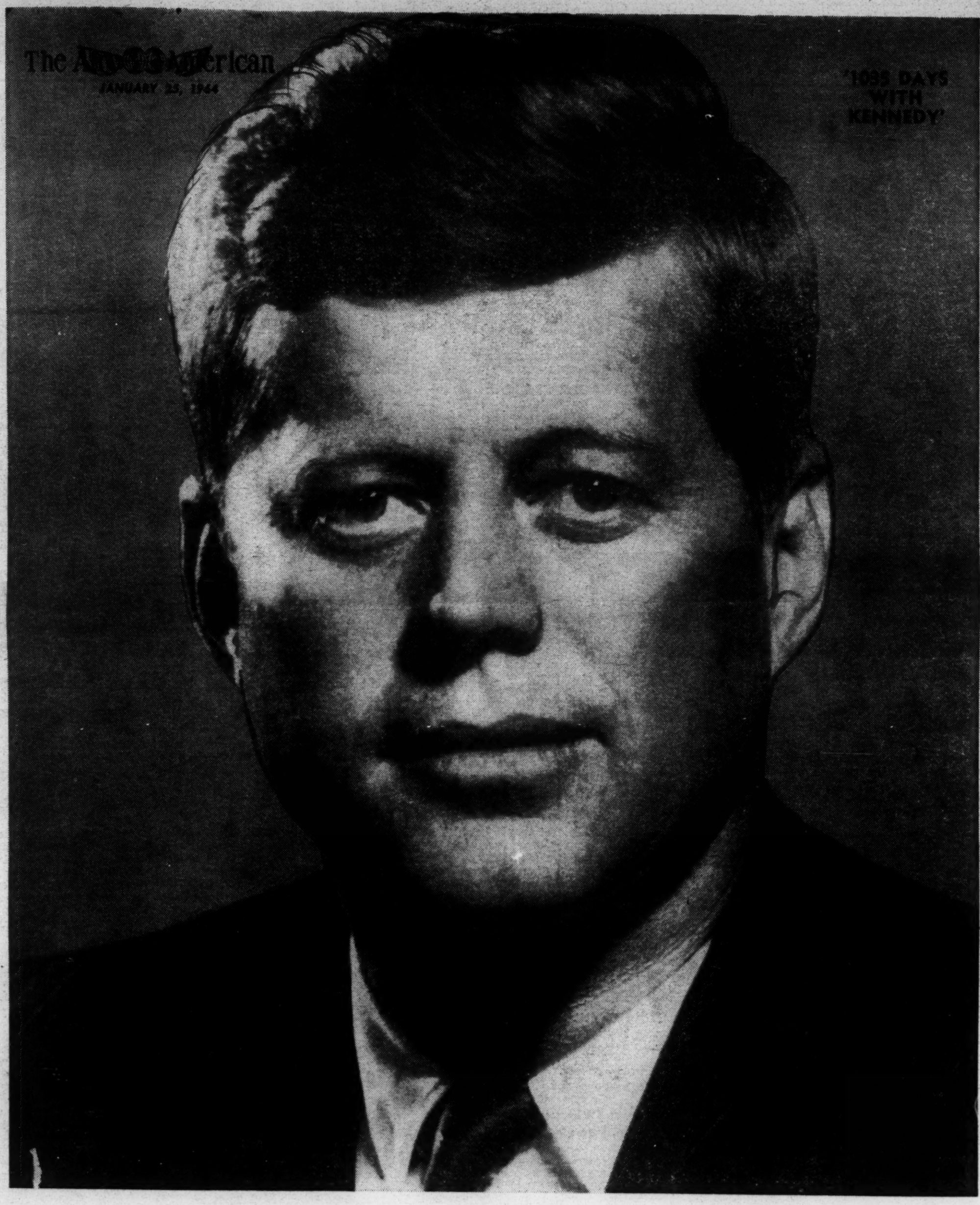
Rowan, who has been visiting in Washington, said he learned of the appointment only Tuesday. He said he would return to Finland "to pay my proper respects to people I have come to love, but will remain in Washington [illegible] to my ac[illegible] with Dr. Johnson. [illegible]n, 38, was born in Ravenscroft, Tenn., and brought up in McMinnville, Tenn. He attended Tennessee State University, a Negro school, before joining the Navy. At the age of 19 he became one of the first Negroes in U. S. history to become a naval officer.

Rowan, who also has done considerable magazine writing, has written several books, including a biography of baseball player Jackie Robinson.

In 1951, he was cited by the Minneapolis Junior Chamber of Commerce as that city's outstanding young man of the year.

Negro Elections and Appointments

Negro Elections + Appointments



JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY May 29, 1917 — November 22, 1963

35th President of the United States — January 20, 1961 to November 22, 1963

THE INAUGURAL

'Ask What You Can Do For Your Country ...'

This is the text of the historic Inaugural Address of President John F. Kennedy delivered in Washington on Janurary 20, 1961:

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, Rev. Clergy, fellow citizens:

We observe today, not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom — symbolizing an end as well as a beginning — signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three - quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe — the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans — born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage - and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation, know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge — and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of new cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom — and to remember that, in the past, those who fooolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required — not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge — to convert our good words into deeds — in a new alliance for progress — to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

LAST HOPE FOR PEACE

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support — to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective — to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak — and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self - destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course — both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

A NEW BEGINNING

So let us begin anew — remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms — and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek and invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah — to "undo the heavy burdens. . .and let the oppressed go free."

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungles of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor — not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong and just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again — not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need — not as a call to battle, though embattled we are — but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation" — a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, north and south, east and west, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

LIGHT FOR THE WORLD

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility — I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it — and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you —ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you — but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you.

With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

AT THE BEGINNING—The Inauguration — President Kennedy served notice that all Americans would be a part and participants in his administration. Here on January 20, 1961, at the U. S. Capitol, Marian Anderson sang the "Star Spangled Banner" as the late president added his tenor voice. This set the tone of All-America for Mr. Kennedy's all-too-brief Presidency.

INAUGURATION: JANUARY 20 ,1961

'Ask What You Can Do For Your Country ...'

HIS GREATEST SPEECH:

"Every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated . . ."

From the House on June 12, 1963, the late President John F. Kennedy delivered a Civil Rights message to the nation via radio and television following the admission of two qualified students to the University of Alabama in the wake of Governor George Wallace's abortive attempt to stop them. Many citizens, colored and white, regarded this speech as President Kennedy's "greatest" on Civil Rights. The full text of the Civil Rights Address of June 12, 1963, follows:

Good evening, my fellow citizens.

This afternoon, following a series of threats and defiant statements, the presence of Alabama Guardsmen was required on the University of Alabama to carry out the final and unequivocal order of the United States District Court of the Northern District of Alabama. That order called for the admission of two clearly qualified young Alabama residents who happened to have been born Negro.

That they were admitted peacefully on the campus is due in good measure to the conduct of the students of the University of Alabama, who met their responsibilities in a constructive way.

I hope that every American, regardless of where he lives, will stop and examine his conscience about this and other related incidents. This nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

Today we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect all of those who wish to be free and when Americans are sent to Vietnam or West Berlin, we do not ask for whites only. It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops. It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants and theaters and retail stores, without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street, and it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal.

• • •

IT OUGHT to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privilege of being American without regard to his race or his color. In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case.

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section of the nation in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day, one-third as much chance of completing college, one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year, a life expectancy which is seven years shorter, and the prospects of earning only half as much.

• • •

THIS IS not a sectional issue. Difficulties over segregation and discrimination exist in every city, in every state of the Union, producing in many cities a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety. Nor is this a partisan issue in a time of domestic crisis. Men of goodwill and generosity should be able to unite regardless of party or politics. This is not even a legal or legislative issue alone. It is better to settle these matters in the courts than in the streets, and new laws are needed at every level, but law alone cannot make men see right.

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution. The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated.

If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot send his children to the best public school available, if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him, if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay? **One hundred years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons, are not fully free.** They are not yet freed from the bonds of injustice. They are not yet freed from social and economic oppression, and **this nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until its citizens are free.**

• • •

WE PREACH freedom around the world and we mean it, and we cherish our freedom at home, but are we to say to the world and, much more importantly, to each other that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master race except with respect to Negroes?

JOHN F. KENNEDY
Tells nation "Every American ought to have the same rights . . ."

Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promises. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them.

The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives.

We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body and, above all, in all of our daily lives.

It is not enough to pin the blame on others, to say this is a problem of one section of the country or another, or deplore it. The fact that we face a great change is at hand, and our task, our obligation is to make that revolution, that change, peaceful and constructive for all.

Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality.

• • •

NEXT WEEK I shall ask the Congress of the United States to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law. The federal judiciary has upheld that proposition in a series of forthright cases.

The Executive branch has adopted that proposition in the conduct of its affairs, including the employment of federal personnel, the use of federal facilities and the sale of federally financed housing.

But there are other necessary measures which only the Congress can provide, and they must be provided at this session. The old code of equity law under which we live demands for every wrong a remedy, but in too many communities, in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens for which there are no remedies at law. Unless the ongress acts, their only remedy is the street.

• • •

I AM, therefore, asking the Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public hotels, restaurants, theaters retail stores and similar establishments.

This seems to me to be an elementary right. Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure, but many do.

I have recently met with scores of business leaders urging them to take voluntary action to end this discrimination and I have been encouraged by their response, and in the last two weeks over 75 cities have seen progress made in desegregating these kinds of facilities. But many are unwilling to act alone, and for this reason, nationwide legislation is needed if we are to move this problem from the streets to the courts.

• • •

I AM also asking Congress to authorize the Federal Government to participate more fully in law suits designed to end segregation in public education. We have succeeded in pursuading many districts to desegregate voluntarily. Dozens have admitted Negroes without violence. Today a Negro is attending a state-supported institution in every one of our 50 states, but the pace is very slow. Too many Negro children entering segregated grade school at the time of the Supreme Court's decision nine years ago will enter segregated high school this fall, having suffered a loss which can never be restored. The lack of an adequate education denies the Negro a chance to get a decent job.

The orderly implementation of the Supreme Court decision, therefore, cannot be left solely to those who may not have the economic resources to carry the legal action or who may be subject to harassment.

Other features will also be requested, including greater protection for the right to vote. But legislation, I repeat, cannot solve this problem alone. It must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country.

• • •

IN THIS respect, I want to pay tribute to those citizens North and South who have been working in their communities to make life better for all. They are acting not out of a sense of legal duty but out of a sense of human decency.

Like our soldiers and sailors in all parts of the world, they are meeting freedom's challenge on the firing line, and I salute them for their honor and their courage.

• • •

MY FELLOW Americans, this is a problem which faces us all—in every city of the North as well as the South. Today there are Negroes unemployed, two or three times as many compared to whites, inadequate in education, moving into the large cities, unable to find work, young people particularly out of work without hope, denied equal rights, denied the opportunity to eat at a restaurant or lunch counter or go to a movie theater, denied the right to a decent education, denied almost today the right to attend a state university although qualified — it seems to me that these are matters which concern us all, not merely President or Congressmen or Governors but every citizen of the United States. This is one country. It has become one country because all of us and all the people who come here had an equal chance to develop their talents.

We cannot say to 10 per cent of the population that you cannot have that right; that your children can't have the chance to develop whatever talents they have; that the only way that they are going to get their rights is to go into the streets and demonstrate.

I think we owe them and we owe ourselves a better country than that.

• • •

THEREFORE, I am asking for your help in making it easier for us to move ahead and prove the kind of equality of treatment which we would want ourselves; to give a chance for every child to be educated to the limit of his talents.

As I have said before, not every child has an equal talent or an equal ability or an equal motivation, but they should have the equal right to develop their talent and their ability and their motivation to make something of themselves.

We have a right to expect that the Negro community will be responsible, will uphold the law, but they have a right to expect that the law will be fair; that the Constitution will be color blind, as Justice Harlan said at the turn of the century.

This is what we are talking about and this is a matter which concerns this country and what it stands for, and in meeting it I ask the support of all of our citizens.

Thank you very much.

Revolutionary speeches

President Kennedy's two civil rights speeches, the first in February and the second in June. Last year (1963) were truly revolutionary speeches in the direct assault upon the entire civil rights question by the head of the American government. This is the first time such a thing has ever happened in the United States.

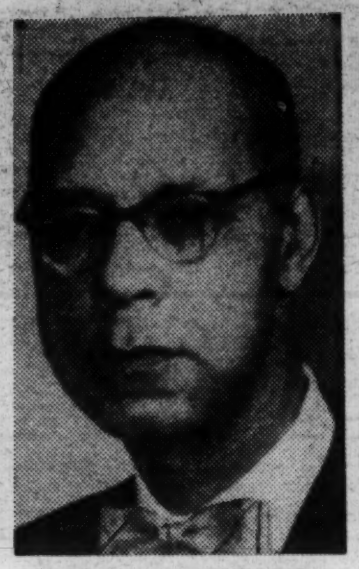
The President knew that he would alienate the white South and many timid souls in the North as well. Yet he realized that as a matter or principle, and just because it is right and has been so late in coming, he had to stand forthright on this question and seek new voting alliances, or not worry about them at all.

President Kennedy's Rights Bill, moderate as it is, is a revolutionary bill, if one takes a look at the past.

CARL ROWAN
Ambassador to Finland

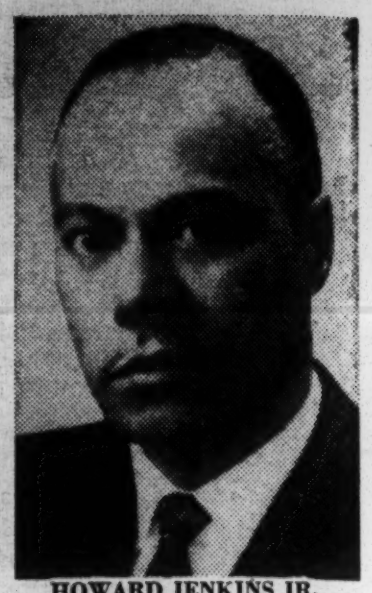
DR. MERCER COOK
Ambassador to Niger

GEORGE L. P. WEAVER
Assistant Secretary of Labor, International Affairs



ROY K. DAVENPORT
Deputy Under Secretary of the Army, Personnel Management

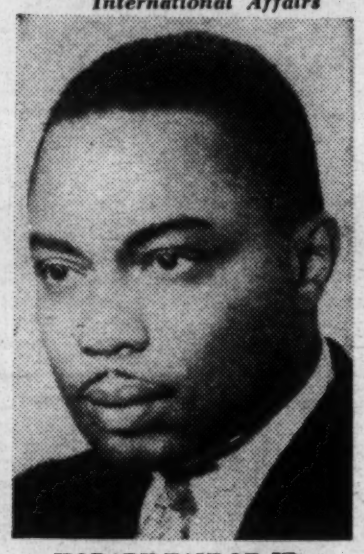
LESLIE N. SHAW
Postmaster, Los Angeles



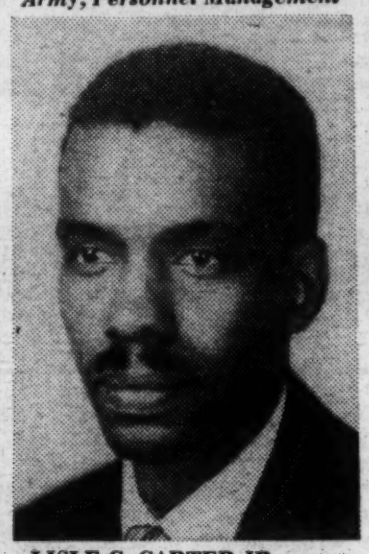
HOWARD JENKINS JR.
National Labor Relations Board

LUKE MOORE
U. S. Marshal

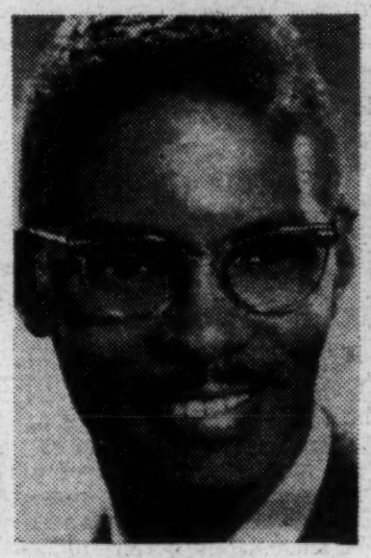
JOHN B. DUNCAN
Commissioner District of Columbia



HOBART TAYLOR JR.
Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity



LISLE C. CARTER JR.
Deputy Assistant Secretary, Health, Education & Welfare



ARTHUR A. CHAPIN
Special Assistant, U.S. Department of Labor

DR. GRACE HEWELL
Program Coordination Officer, Health, Education & Welfare

DR. SAMUEL WESTERFIELD
Deputy Assistant Secretary, State Department

OLIVER W. HILL
Assistant to Commissioner Federal Housing Administration

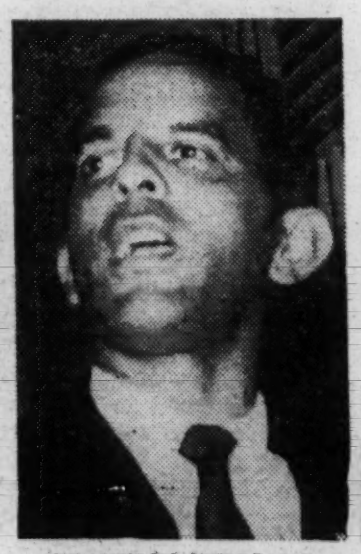
DR. CARL MURPHY
Member, Post Office Advisory Board

MARJORIE M. LAWSON
Judge, D.C. Juvenile Court

ROBERT KITCHEN
Director, International Training, AID, State Department

JOSEPH WADDY
Judge, D.C. Court

LOUIS MARTIN
Vice Chairman, Democratic National Committee

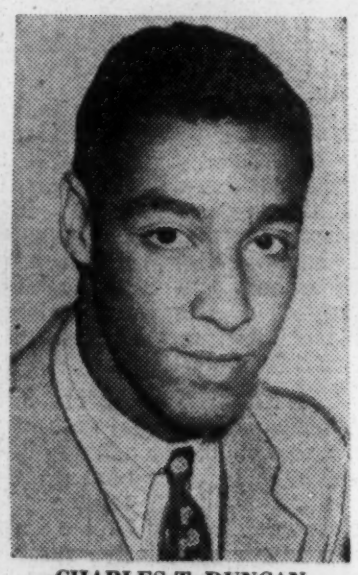


FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
Director, Peace Corps Division, Private & International

DR. SAMUEL D. PROCTOR
Special Assistant to Peace Corps Director (Served 2 Years)

MRS. VIRGINIA BATTLE
Secretary to Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall

DR. ANDREW F. BRIMMER
Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of Commerce



CHARLES T. DUNCAN
Assistant District Attorney, District of Columbia

Sets Precedent

The elevation of colored people to top positions in the government in Washington and in foreign service was a high-water mark of President Kennedy's first year.

Plans for this were a topic of conversation among New Frontiersmen even before the inauguration address plaudits and campaign promises had cooled.

At the end of the first year 1961, the Kennedy record was already superb.

* * *

HE HAD named Dr. Robert C. Weaver to head the Housing and Home Finance Agency and Carl T. Rowan to the No. 2 post for Public Affairs at State. (Rowan in 1963 became ambassador to Finland where he is now.)

Kennedy appointed Andrew T. Hatcher to the No. 2 press spot at the White House and named Thurgood Marshall to the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, in New York, a lifetime judgeship.

ANDREW T. HATCHER

The list goes on — with Clifton R. Wharton becoming ambassador to Norway; James B. Parsons and Wade McCree to life terms as U.S. District judges.

* * *

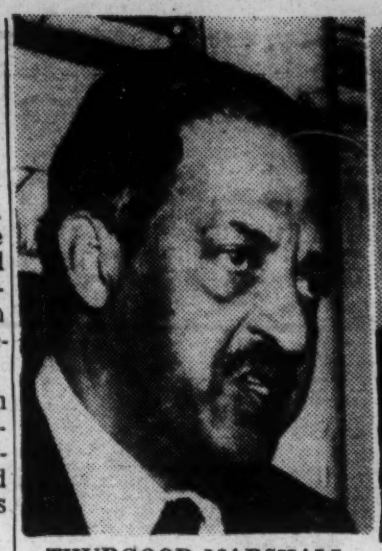
CECIL F. POOLE and Merle McCurdy were sworn in as the first of their race ever appointed Federal District Attorneys in the United States.

Lisle C. Carter was installed as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Many others were tapped or had the word passed to them that they would be.

Then, near year's end, word went out that the President would soon name more colored ambassadors. Just how many was not known but people mentioned as possibilities included Lester B. Granger and Horance Mann Bond of Atlanta.

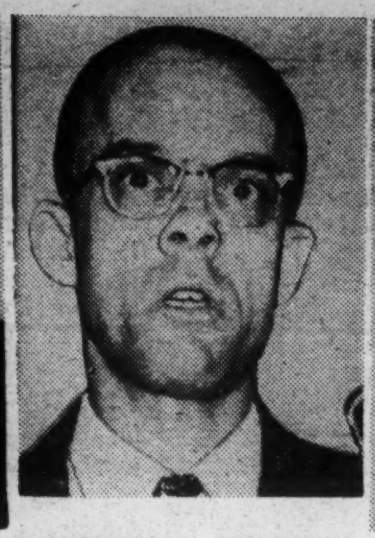
Also Howard Bennett of Minneapolis, Carl Murphy of Baltimore, Mrs. Marjorie Lawson of Washington and John Hope Franklin of New York.

The President subsequently appointed Mrs. Lawson a judge in the District of Columbia.



THURGOOD MARSHALL

WADE McCREE JR.



SPOTTSWOOD ROBINSON

JAMES B. PARSON

Nominated 5 for lifetime judgeships

Perhaps no where will the mark of the late President John F. Kennedy be more indelible than in the area of the Federal Judiciary where he, in less than three years, pushed to seven the number of lifetime colored judges.

By comparison, President Eisenhower in eight full years in office appointed 186 lifetime Federal judges. None was colored. President Roosevelt in slightly more than 12 years appointed 216. Not one was colored.

President Truman appointed 142 during his almost eight years. Two of these were colored: Judge William Henry Hastie, Third Judicial Circuit at Philadelphia, and the late Irvin C. Mollison of Illinois.

* * *

BUT MR. KENNEDY, in his brief presidency, nominated a total of eight colored persons for judgeships. Five of them have been named to lifetime judgeships. Two, on whom Congress failed to act, have been renamed by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

If these two Kennedy nominees—A. Leon Higginbotham Jr. of Philadelphia and Spootswood W. Robinson III of Richmond, Va. — get Senate confirmation, it will raise to the all-time high of seven, the number of lifetime Federal judges.

President Kennedy nominated these judges:

James B. Parsons, U.S. District Court, 7th Illinois, August 7, 1961.

Wade H. McCree Jr., U.S. District, Michigan, September 1961.

Thurgood Marshall, U.S. court of Appeals, 2nd District, New York, September 1961.

A. Leon Higginbotham Jr., U.S. District Judge, Eastern District of Pennsylvania, September 25, 1963.

Spottswood Robinson III, U.S. District Judge, District of Columbia, October 1963.

* * *

IN ADDITION, Kennedy named colored people to the courts of the District of Columbia — Marjorie McKensie Lawson to the juvenile court and Joseph C. Waddy to the Domestic Relations court.

He reappointed Judge Andrew Howard to the D.C. Municipal court in 191. All three are for 10-year terms.

In general, Mr. Kennedy's selections for the bench have been praised by lawyers, other public officials and newspapers. The outcry by Southerners to some appointments only pointed up more clearly the boldness of the action.

At the time Judge Marshall was named, he was the National NAACP's chief legal expert and practicing attorney. Similarly, Spotwood Robinson is a celebrated NAACP lawyer and former dean of the Howard University Law School.

A. LEON HIGGINBOTHAM

When President John F. Kennedy set out to find his chief of housing in 1961, he knew he would have to find an extraordinary man—that is, if the slightest progress was to be made toward better living.

President Kennedy knew from the start of his reign that there was no field of welfare greater than the problem of housing.

The President believed that the home was the citadel of the family. He knew that drab, rat-infested tenements—like those in Harlem—were a detriment to the country.

He knew that such conditions could only drive men to bars, innocent children to delinquency, and breed discontent and frustration that would cause people to rebel in streets.

President Kennedy knew of this first hand. He had seen during his campaign for Congress the noisome tenements in Charleston and East Boston.

* * *

PRESIDENT KENNEDY also knew that no ordinary man would even have the guts to tackle such a mammoth problem as American housing presented. He needed a superman, one with extreme competence and forcefulness.

The man who best measured up to the job was Robert Clifton Weaver.

His 25 years in urban planning, his Ph. D. from Harvard, his two books relating to the housing problem earned him the reputation of knowing more about subsidized housing than anyone else in the country.

But, after finding the man, putting him to work wasn't the easiest job for the President. As usual, he faced opposition from racially-oriented Dixiecrats, but nevertheless, the President won.

And Dr. Weaver became the first of his race to become Administrator of the Agency, which then made him boss of 11,000 employees, a $2.4 billion annual budget and five sub-agencies.

* * *

THE FIGHT that President Kennedy had in getting his nomination approved by the Senate was best illustrated in a AFRO headline that appeared in the Feb. 11, 1961 edition. It cheered:

They Tried, They Pried And Southerners Cried, But U.S. Was On Weaver's Side.

Dr. Weaver, who was chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors when President Kennedy named him also knew that good housing meant more than bricks and mortar.

"Housing it more than shelter," Dr. Weaver once said, "Housing is people."

That was the human viewpoint that the President cherished.

And had the President had his way, housing would have had a representative in the Cabinet. That's how important he thought housing was.

* * *

BUT, AS IT happened, Congress said "No" and the Kennedy ideal of creating a department of urban affairs and housing, with Dr. Weaver as its head, was killed.

But, with the Kennedy spirit still prevailing, the extraordinary Dr. Weaver may still wind up as the first Cabinet member.

President Kennedy thought he was the best man for the post.

DR. WEAVER TAKES OATH OF OFFICE AS HOUSING CHIEF AS PRESIDENT KENNEDY LOOKS ON FROM THE LEFT

KENNEDY AND LINCOLN

The murder of President Kennedy in Dallas, Tex., has been widely compared to the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

Both Presidents gave their lives in efforts to reshape the nation into a more democratic society. Neither came to the White House with the conviction that the racial problem was the most serious crisis confronting the republic.

Lincoln said his first goal was to preserve the union, and that if it was necessary for the colored race to remain in slavery to achieve that end, he would be powerless to emancipate them.

Kennedy entered the White House convinced that America's greatest danger was the threat from international tyranny.

• • •

LIKE LINCOLN, Kennedy believed strongly, personally, in equality but he did not see it as the most compelling business. Like Lincoln, the racial issue was forced upon him. He could do not other than confront it and oppose those sought to perpetuate their policie of the colored man's exclusion. aim was to attack the racial problem

Accordingly, the President's first aim was to attack the racial problem in those places where national unrest might most easily occur — in the public places and in voting.

As the situation worsened last spring, he recognized the need for a wide and sweeping civil rights program and urged it upon the Congress, in one of the most remarkable speeches ever made by a President to the nation? So the question of hatred — hatred by some Americans for other Americans — drowned all the other pertinent business of state and consumed the first energies of John F. Kennedy.

• • •

HIS WAS THE most articulate and far-reaching indictment of racial torment of any President since Lincoln. His were the ringing words that Americans who could fight and die together could live and work together. From him came the reminder that unemployment in the colored community was twice that among whites and that income was but half, and that life expectancy was seven years less.

John F. Kennedy rose to the challenge of racism. He opposed it strongly and with conviction. He recognized that hatred and brutality and defiance of the federal and constitutional law must be stricken down in all their forms. It was part of the irony and tragedy of his murder that he was cut down by an extremist whose hatred outweighed his every other consideration.

John Kennedy's lieutenant, Lyndon B. Johnson, worked seriously to carry out the Kennedy goals of wiping out discrimination in employment by those companies which did business with the federal authority. Although Texas - born, political analyst William S. White said of him, "There is no intolerance in the man."

Now the unfinished business of John Fitzgerald Kennedy devolves on President Johnson, and his supporters, in Congress and across the nation. That business is to wipe out the mass hatred and oppression which is so widespread in this nation.

AN EXAMPLE of President and Mrs. Kennedy's attitude on civil rights was the historic White House reception given in February, 1963 on Lincoln's Birthday, commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The affair drew more than 1200 persons from all walks of life from all over the country and was the talk of the 1963 Winter Season. Never before in history had so many colored guest been invited to the White House for a reception of any kind.

TOPS WITH SPORTS HEROES

PRESIDENT KENNEDY AT 1963 BASEBALL OPENER IN WASHINGTON D. C. STADIUM

(Among the President's guests where two youngsters, Levi Frazier and Daniel Hartnett)

By SAM LACY

The tragic death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy a little over two months ago, dealt a severe loss to the world of sports.

No White House occupant of recent memory displayed as much genuine interest in athletes and athletics as did the young Chief Executive who was felled by an assassin's bullet, Nov. 22, in Dallas, Texas.

Himself a football player and swimmer of some medium ability in his undergraduate days at Choate Prep and Harvard, President Kennedy was a fervent admirer of those who played these and other games with high success.

That it was he who breathed life into a long - neglected national physical fitness program, is only one facet of the man's attachment to athletics. During his short reign in Wahington there was constant evidence that he enjoyed being a part of the athlete's world.

• • •

JOHN F. KENNEDY made opening American League baseball games occasions for White House holidays. He attended Army-Navy football games, Big Ten gridiron spectacles and had already accepted an invitation to preside at ceremonies for the National Open Golf tournament, slated for a Washington (DC) club in June.

At such times as he was at the old Griffith Stadium and the new D.C. Stadium for American League baseball, he made a point of personal contact with the likes of Cookie Lavagetto, Earl Battey, Mickey Vernon and Minnie Minoso, to name a few.

• • •

THE ADDRESS at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue was invariably "open house" when new world champions were crowned.

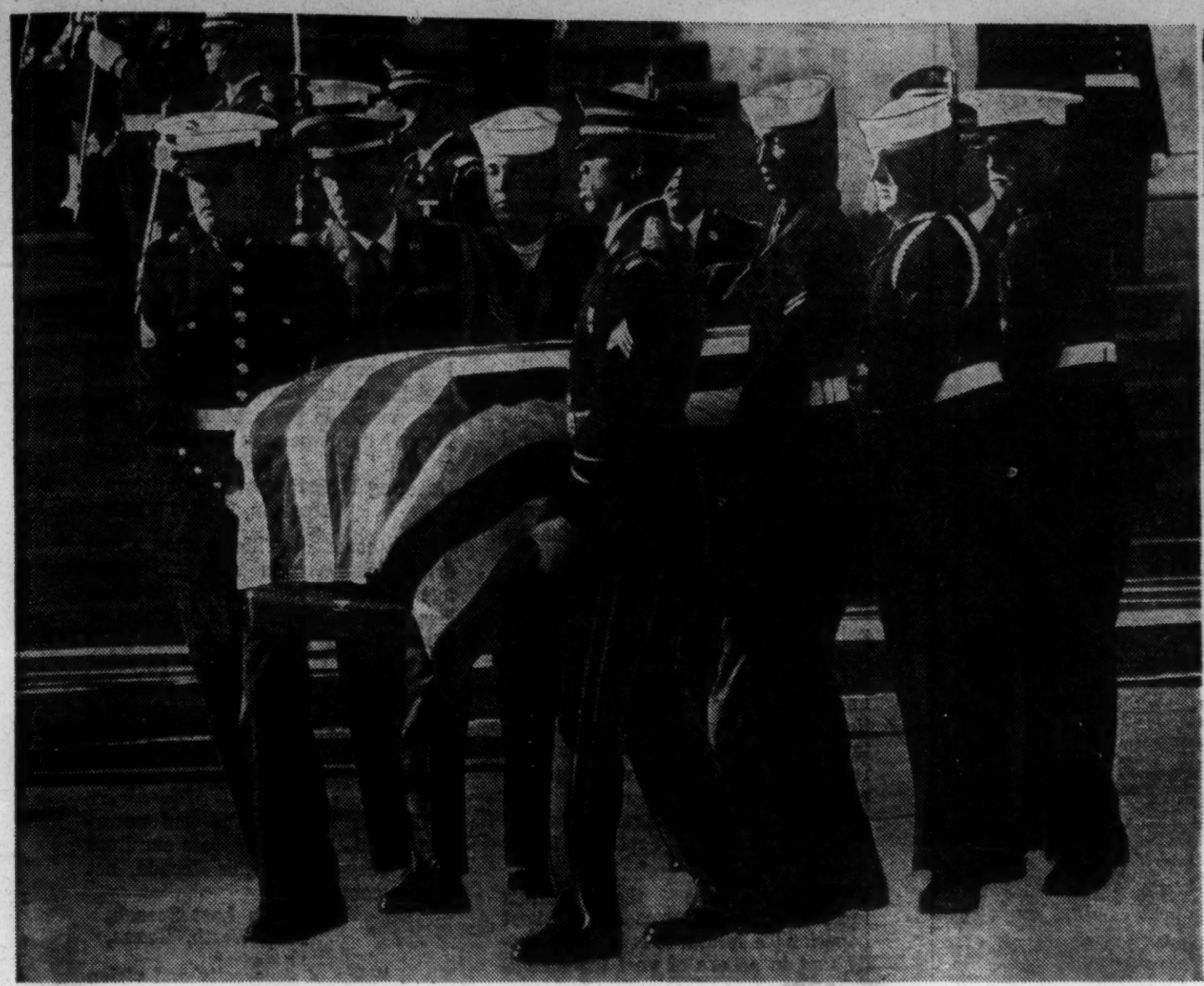
That is how it came to pass that Floyd Patterson and Sonny Liston, Wilma Rudolph and Ralph Boston, Stan Musical and Warren Spahn received special invitations to visit with the President and his family.

The world champion Boston Celtics — Bill Russell, Bob Cousy, et al — were welcomed following their fifth straight basketball championship. The same happened when the United States representatives returned from the 1960 Olympic Games.

Broadjump champion Ralph Boston, sprinters Bob Hayes, Paul Drayton and Edith McGuire, and hurdler Hayes Jones were among the group that had invitations awaiting upon their return from Rome.

No other President in history — the two Roosevelts, Wilson, Coolidge, Harding, Truman nor Eisenhower— exhibited as much enthusiasm for sports, and the individual stars who inhabit it.

And it most certainly wasn't because John Fitzgerald Kennedy was any less busy than were they who preceded him. Rather, it was because none had the abiding love for competitive performance that belonged to him.



SERVICEMEN FROM FIVE SERVICES WERE PALLBEARERS.

GRIEF WAS WRITTEN on the faces of mourners everywhere as a sorrowful nation watched the funeral services after the tragic death of its great, young (46) and beloved President. More than a million filed past the bier in the rotunda of the U. S. Capitol and millions more watched the impressive rites on television throughout the country and the world.

SORROWFUL FINAL JOURNEY

This week as the calendar shows the third anniversary date of the late President John F. Kennedy's historic inauguration on January 20 1961, the nation and the world look back on these sorrowful and mournful scenes of the dark weekend in November.

As an aftermath of the tragic assassination in Dallas, Texas on Friday, November 22nd 1963, 1035 days after his imauguration, the body of President Kennedy was buried in Arlington National Cemetery on Monday, November 25th, 1963. Impressive rites marked the funeral service, in which he was eulogized in his own words.

Everything that was said served to strengthen the fact that the nation's youngest President had become a symbol to the colored citizen of his struggle for full equality as a citizen as a voter, and as a human being in the United States.

Many were quick to point out that it was significant that Kennedy should be interred in the same cemetery where the remains of Medgar Evers lie. Evers, NAACP field secretary for Mississippi was, like Kennedy, the victim of a sniper's bullet. Kennedy in eulogizing Evers had called him a hero of national greatness. So was Kennedy.

It is understandable why Evers devoted himself to the cause of civil rights. He was a colored man and from Mississippi where racial oppression is greatest.

But how did Kennedy develop his compassion for the great human cause?

No man of his Roman Catholic faith had ever been successful in winning access to the White House. He faced the same religious prejudice that had thwarted Al Smith, also a Roman Catholic, in 1928.

* * *

KENNEDY DID what many others faced with prejudice had done and are doing. He set out to fight it with every weapon he could muster — and he won.

But in winning, he must have developed a better understanding of and a sympathy for others who were and are the victims of a cruel and meaningless prejudice — the colored American.

No one can tell, but there is every reason to suspect that because of his priviliged background he might never have understood the problems, the discontent and the urgent militancy of the colored citizen had he not himself been cast in the unhappy role of one confronted by prejudice.

INTEGRATED TROOPS ACCOMPANIED PRESIDENT KENNEDY TO HIS LAST RESTING PLACE, A SYMBOL OF HIS BELIEF IN JUSTICE.

GIFT FROM AFRICA—Indicative of the esteem with which Africans as well as other foreign dignitaries held for the late President Kennedy was the numerous and novel gifts they presented Mr. Kennedy. In 1961, President Fulbert Youlou of the Republic of Congo gave the President elephant tusks during an informal visit to the White House. The 44-year-old African who wears the cassock of a priest was presented a bust of Lincoln by Mr. Kennedy in the exchange of gifts.

KENNEDY QUOTES

"Justice cannot wait for too many meetings. It cannot wait the action of the Congress or even the courts. We face a moment of moral and constitutional crises—and men of generosity and vision must make themselves heard in every part of the land."

At U.S. Conference of Mayors. meeting in Honolulu, Hawaii June 9, 1963

* * *

"THE UNITED STATES is opposed to discrimination and persecution on grounds of race and religion anywhere in the world, including our own nation. We are working to right the wrongs of our own country.

"Through legislation and administrative action, through moral and legal commitment, this Government has launched a determined effort to rid our nation of discrimination which has existed far too long—in education, in housing, in transportation, in employment, in Civil Service, in recreation and in places of public accommodation."

at United Nations General Assembly Sept. 20, 1963

* * *

"Children are the world's most valuable resource and its best hope for the future. It is a real tragedy that in an era of vast technological progress and scientific achievement millions of children should still suffer from lack of medical care, proper nutrition, adequate education, and be subjected to the handicaps and uncertainties of low-income substardard environment."

In White House Statement Oct. 31, 1963

"I believe in America where religious intolerance will someday end—where all men and all churches are treated as equal—where every man has the same right to attend or not to attend the church of his choice—where there is no Catholic vote, no anti-Catholic vote...and where Catholics, Protestants, Jews...will refrain from those attitudes of disdain and division which have so often marred their works in the past, and promote instead the American ideal of brotherhood."

.Meeting With Protestant Ministers Houston, Sept. 12, 1960

"The courage of life is often a less dramatic spectacle than the courage of a final moment; but it is no less than a magnificent mixture of triumph and tragedy. A man does what he must—in spite of personal consequences, in spite of obstacles and dangers and pressures—and that is the basis of all human morality."

From 'Profiles in Courage'—1955

"This is a dangerous and uncertain world...No one expects our lives to be easy—not in this decade, not in this century."

His Last Speech, Fort Worth, Texas,

. . . "Men of generosity and vision must make themselves heard in every part of the land. I do say that all men are equal in their ability, character and motivation. I do say that every American should be given a fair chance to develop in full whatever talents he has and to share equally in the American dream."

In Honolulu, June, 1963

To the world's downtrodden, underprivileged and oppressed, those 1,035 days, from inauguration Day, 1961, to the assassination, November 22, 1963 were too good to be true.

President John F. Kennedy was someone, and in the highest station on earth, who cared about their plight, who articulated their feelings, and achieved results in their behalf.

In those 1,035 days, they felt their burdens grow lighter, their hopes stronger and their sense of being somebody restored.

President John F. Kennedy stood for justice and the equality of all men.

* * *

ON THE PRESSING issue of civil rights—which so many leaders before him had cowardly evaded—he boldly faced and transformed noble precepts into meaningful deeds. He put the full power and prestige of his office behind the colored citizens' drive for human dignity.

He did so not because he thought it would help him politically (it is believed he lost more votes than he gained), but because he thought it was right; because he thought decency and justice demanded it; because he knew it necessary to keep faith in American democracy—and people over the world who were crying for the same freedom colored Americans were and still are seeking.

* * *

ON OTHER ISSUES that were linked with the promoting of a higher quality of life for the little man, he also took action:

He gave aid to newly independent nations in their efforts to remain free. Through the Peace Corps he helped underdeveloped nations to help themselves. He declared war against poverty. He also thought about the welfare of children, the sick, the aged. No one was without his concern.

President Kennedy identified himself with the hopes and aspirations of peoples everywhere. He believed in peace, a good full life for all and, above all, freedom. And, by freedom, he didn't mean one race looking down on another.

* * *

THIS IS WHY the end of those 1,035 days tore into the hearts of men everywhere. This is why most people felt as though they had lost a member of their family when they got the terrible news in November 22, 1963.

This is why the colored sharecropper in Mississippi was saddened because it wasn't his body instead of the President's that absorbed the assassin's wicked bullet.

This is why the Japanese family went 18 miles—every step on foot—to stand in front of the American Embassy as an expression of respect and sympathy.

This is why the students, carrying memorial torches, marched in Berlin.

And this is why the Kayunga Boys Club of Burerere, Uganda became the John F Kennedy Boys' Club less than 15 hours after the senseless tragedy

To the world's downtrodden, underprivileged and oppressed, those 1,035 days were too good to be true. Those days, like a fleeting dream, were only too short. They were unnecessarily short.

This is why the world's great and small in every town and hamlet mourned his loss, and those who could, came in person to Washington to pay a final tribute.

Selassie headed Africans

His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia headed the list of African dignitaries who flew in from their respective countries or posts in the United States to pay homage to the memory of the late President John F. Kennedy.

The Emperor, accompanied by his aides—Ras Andare Atchew Massai, fara-Woro Kidane-Wold and Liji Kassa Wolde-Mariam—was one of two colored chiefs of state to personally make the trip to the U.S. to attend the Kennedy funeral services. The other was Sir Alexander Bustamante, first prime minister of the fledgling independent nation of Jamaica in the Carfibbean.

At least 14 other African nations were represented by high government officials, or their diplomatic representatives either to the United Nations or to Washington.

Afraid to Stay in Office, Resigning Negro Says

LAWTEY, Fla., Jan. 28 (AP)—Lawtey's first Negro councilman has resigned because he said he "was afraid not to."

Robert Scott, a 50-year-old brickmason, said he had been receiving threatening telephone calls since he was elected Dec. 3. He finished third in a field of nine. The top three won seats.

"He received full protection from the town and the Bradford County sheriff's office," Mayor Charles Shuford said after receiving the resignation Monday, "but I didn't want to encourage him to stay in office because if something were to happen, I wouldn't want to be responsible."

Lawtey is a town of 1,000 in northeast Florida. About 140 Negroes are registered voters and 108 are white.

ELSEWHERE in Florida two other race cases were reported.

Theodore Norley, an orthopedic surgeon at Good Samaritan Hospital in West Palm Beach, said he was removed from the staff because he wanted the hospital to accept Negro patients and doctors. The hospital administrator said Norley was removed because he failed to correct a patient's chart.

Gen. Arthur H. Carter (USA-Ret.), president of the hospital, denied that race had anything to do with the action. He said, "We don't have to give a reason. Good Samaritan is a private hospital."

In Quincy, three white persons were charged with disturbing the peace after they went to Gadsden County to start a voter registration drive among Negroes. They were Judy Benninger, former University of Florida student; Rosemary Dudley, former Florida State student; and Dennis Floyd, a student at FSU. Julius Hamilton, a Negro student at Florida A&M was charged with open profanity.

The Atl. Journal
1/28/64

Negro Elections + Appointments

A Stranger No More . . .

Atl. World 2-25-64

Sen. Johnson After A Year In The Senate

United Press International

The confident young man leaned back in his chair, a cigar clenched between his fingers, and pondered his politics.

"That first year paid off in dividends this year," he said explaining the relatively quiet time he spent during his first hitch in the Georgia Senate last year.

"This year the formality that once existed has been watered away. Last year it was Senator Johnson this, and good morning Senator Johnson and good evening Senator Johnson.

The young man is Leroy Johnson, a former meat cutter in a supermarket in Durham, N. C. where he was eventually graduated from the North Carolina College Law School. Today, at 38 Johnson is the first Negro in a dixie legislature in half a century.

"This year there is a handshaking and backslapping kind of approval, a sort of entry into inner circles, including cocktails in hotel rooms" he said.

"I have always been treated well here," he said waving a hand in the direction of the legislative chambers, "but this year the formality has eased."

HE CHANGES

This represents a change not only on the part of Johnson's white colleagues, but also by Johnson himself who last year trod the state capitol's corridors as if he were walking barefoot on razor blades.

Although things may not be going as swimmingly as they might appear, Johnson by virtue of his race and his legislation is the leading advocate of civil rights in the Georgia General Assembly.

And if all his proposed legislation hasn't emerged victorious from the various committees, neither have all the anti-civil rights measures—which he has opposed.

"They like the ole boy over there," said one seasoned observer of the Georgia Senate. While they did not like him enough to pass Johnson's public accommodations bill which ended up in a health study committee, the Senate did recently give him a 43-0 vote on a resolution to join other states in prohibiting the poll tax in federal elections.

represents a predominately Negro section of the city—labeled an "Uncle Tom" for not raising more cain.

IGNORES LABEL

Johnson ignored the label. "I wanted to gain the respect of the Georgia legislature," he said. "I think I did. Now I can introduce civil rights legislation and can deal from a position of strength rather than weakness," he added.

"I have made crystal clear where I stand and where I ought to go in the area of civil rights. They all know it and I think respect me for it," he said.

Johnson says he has never had any "difficulties" at the once stringently segregated Georgia state capitol. This, he adds, includes use of wash room facilities and the employes cafeteria. The "white only" signs have been removed. In his role as the only Negro legislator in the south, Johnson has racked up about 200,000 miles in traveling across the country on speaking tours.

He denied that Negroes would use their "united vote" as a bloc vote, but in good political phraseology he made it "crystal clear" that vote in Georgia, for example, would be used in attempts to unseat men like U. S. Sens. Richard B. Russell and Herman Talmadge.

ICE BOX TREATMENT

The Senate also gave the ice-box treatment to the only two anti-civil rights measures to come up this year—bills to limit picketing and forestall the admittance of Negroes to hotels.

"If I can just keep those two bills shunted off the mainstream, I'll have considered my work this session pretty successful," Johnson said.

In his role at applying pressure to kill the two anti-measures, Johnson sees himself as a "detector" of bills he thinks are bad for Negroes.

The Senate committee that gave one of them the deep freeze treatment was headed by Lt. Gov. Peter Zack Geer, a former vocal segregationist considered a leading contender for the next governor's race.

During Johnson's first term last year, he was rarely heard from. Some Negro groups in Atlanta—he

Negro Election

Negro Elections & Appts.

Jenkins Appointed To Fla. Hospital Board

At/North 2-2-64

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — (FAMU) — The appointment of Thomas Miller Jenkins of Tallahassee to the board of directors of the Florida A. & M. University Hospital here marks the first time that a Negro has served on the board of the hospital which services all Negro Florida A. & M. University.

Jenkins, a law school graduate of Boston University, is dean of the Florida A. & M. University College of Law.

~~Articles~~

Atl. World
3/12/64
p. 4

MRS. FRANKIE M. FREEMAN

NEW MEMBER OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION — Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, of St. Louis, Mo., was recently appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson as a new member of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Mrs. Freeman is a former assistant attorney general of the state of Missouri and associate general counsel of the St. Louis Housing and Land Clearance Authorities. She is a native of Danville, Va.

Negro Appointees

Hatcher

Microfilm Code No.
Pol — Negro
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PITTSBURGH COURIER p. 1
Date: MAR 28 1964

Seek Answer To Hatcher's Future Role

WASHINGTON — Resignation of Andrew T. Hatcher as associate White House press secretary, in conjunction with the departure of Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, has provoked conjecture as to what Hatcher's future political role will be and whether or not another Negro will be named to the post.

Hatcher, who became the highest ranking Negro ever to serve on the White House staff, stepped down last week at the same time that Salinger announced his resignation in order to seek the Democratic nomination for U. S. Senator from California.

The move came as no surprise for insiders, for Hatcher previously had indicated that he would not remain on the White House staff if Salinger decided to leave. The two were close associates long before both came to Washington from the West Coast.

The tie between Salinger and Hatcher more and likely will continue, for Hatcher was one of two men accompanying Salinger when he arrived in California to file for the Senatorial race, just two hours before the deadline.

Hatcher, who reportedly turned down an ambassadorship to one of the African nations recently, is believd to be close to the forces of Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy. These forces, it was reported, had tried to persuade Hatcher to remain on the White House staff, at least until the Democratic convention.

But there were also some speculations that he may try to lay the groundwork to gain Negro support for RFK for the vice presidential nomination.

Immediately following the double resignation in Washington, George Reedy, a longtime Johnson associate, was named new White House press secretary.

Simultaneously, speculation arose as to whether a Negro will be named to Reedy's staff.

Though no official word has been issued as of yet, it is considered by some that the present administration might not deem it as important to have race representation in this area, in light of President Johnson's previous appointment of Carl T. Rowan as head of the U. S. Information Agency. Rowan's appointment made him the highest ranking Negro ever to serve in the executive branch of the government.

In addition, a Negro woman, Miss Gerry Whittington, serves as President Johnson's personal secretary.

On the other hand, it is considered that President Johnson might need a Negro advisor at closer hand to avoid even small blunders, due to the critical state of race relations in the nation, as the time for the national political conventions daws nigh.

ANDREW HATCHER
... resigns

Negro Appt + Election

NEWS ABOUT

FLORIDA

Cunningham

First Negro Councilman Is Reelected

From Herald Bureau, Wire Reports

RIVIERA BEACH — Florida's first Negro to be elected to legislative office since reconstruction days did it again Tuesday. Voters in this North Palm Beach County town returned F. Malcolm Cunningham to the City Council post he's occupied for the past two years.

Politics

Cunningham, a West Palm Beach attorney, won out over the stiff competition of the council's former chairman, Robert H. Carlson. The vote was 1,708 for Cunningham and 1,548 for Carlson.

Elections

N.Y. Post 4-22-64

First Negro Wins Election To City Council in Tennessee

Murfreesboro, Tenn., April 22 (AP)—Robert Scales, the first Negro ever to run for public office here, led a 12-man ticket and won a four-year term on the city council.

Scales, an undertaker and restaurant owner, carried more than 70 per cent of the city's largest district, predominately Negro, and also carried a predominately white precinct.

Negro Elections + App.

N.J. Negro Congressional Candidate Is Nominated

Cite: Daily Ind. 4-24-64

NEWARK, N. J. — (UPI) — Republicans nominated the first Negro congressional candidate in New Jersey history Tuesday in a primary election that stirred little interest and prompted only a fractional turnout of the registered voters.

A dull ballot and rainy, chilly weather combined to keep voters home. In some areas, officials said only 10 to 15 per cent of the registered voters bothered to make it to the polls. The total turnout was about 25 per cent.

There were few noteworthy contests and even less controversial ballots for presidential and vice issues. There were no names on the presidential races although 19 of the state's 21 counties permitted write - in votes.

This prompted only minor response.

In fragmentary returns, U. S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge held a slim lead over Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz. Lodge had 403 votes for 398 for Goldwater.

Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon had 201, New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller 34 and Pennsylvania Gov., William W. Scranton 41.

Segregationist Gov. George Wallace of Alabama picked up 39 write in votes from both Republican and Democratic voters. President Johnson garnered 48 write - ins in the Democratic balloting.

The Negro nominated was William L. Stubbs of Newark, the city's GOP central ward leader. He will run against the 11th Congressional District incumbent, Democrat Joseph G. Minish, in Nov.

Other organization backed candidates won handily. Also on the ballot were 235 delegates to the party convention whose election was a foregone conclusion.

Elections & Appts.

Courier-Post Phila.

Union County's First Negro Judge Sworn In

NEWARK, N. J. — (ANP) — Union County Judge W. Fillmore Wood of Plainfield, N. J., was sworn in last week, for a five-year term on the county bench.

The first Negro to hold a judgeship in Union County, Judge Wood was first sworn in to his present office on June 8, 1961, to fill the unexpired term of Judge Milton A. Feller.

The swearing in ceremony was attended by the judge's family and members of the judiciary and courtroom staff in the Elizabeth Courthouse.

The oath of office was administered by Superior Court Judge Walter L. Hetfield 3rd., while State Senator Nelson F. Stamler held the Bible.

Reappointed to his office by Gov. Hughes, the judge and his wife, Sara Frances, reside with their two children, Fillmore, 17, and Beatrice, 14, at 1833 Range Wood Court, Plainfield.

Elections & Appts.

NEP + Negro Elect App.

Microfilm Code No.
Pol-Tenn
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CHATTANOOGA TIMES
Date: MAY 5 1964

GOP Has Negro On Primary Unit

By FRED TRAVIS
Chattanooga Times Bureau

NASHVILLE—In an apparent effort to placate Negroes following refusal to place one of them on the Tennessee delegation to the GOP national convention, the state Republican executive committee Monday appointed a Negro on the party's primary board for Hamilton County.

Judson Webb, Chattanooga Negro and cochairman of the GOP executive committee for Hamilton County, was appointed to the board.

His name evidently was added to the list at the last minute and as a result of complaints by Chattanooga Negroes about Tennessee Republicans' decision to send an all-white delegation to the national convention and back Sen. Barry Goldwater, Arizona conservative, for the party's presidential nomination.

Four white persons were named to the board which will conduct the Aug. 6 Republican primary in Hamilton County. They are Dan Hunter, Mrs. Una C. Meacham, Mrs. Cleo Pendergrass and Ray Gouldy.

The list of five white persons for the board had been drawn up over the weekend, but Monday morning, shortly before the state Republican executive committee met, one of the white persons was scratched off and Webb's name added.

Frank Todd Meacham, Chattanooga lawyer and general counsel for the committee, declined to reveal the name removed to make way for Webb. Meacham was in charge of drawing up the tentative lists on the basis of recommnedations submitted to him by Republican leaders over the state.

Rep. William E. Brock III of Chattanooga was reported to have been consulted on the primary board appointments for the Third Congressional District. However, it could not be learned whether Brock had recommended a Negro be placed on the board.

Brock participated here Saturday in the state Republican convention which confirmed selection of an all-white delegation to the national convention at San Francisco.

Speaking to the Republican committee meeting as a state primary board, W. M. Ables Jr., South Pittsburg lawyer, predicted Brock will be re-elected to Congress in November. But he admitted there may be some difficulty.

"Congressman Brock is doing a fine job for his district, and I believe he will win re-election," Ables said. "I believe we will carry Marion County this time. We lost it before."

Patten Abshire, Chattanooga and Washington lawyer, presided. He criticized what he called the "news management' 'by the Johnson administration.

"The people are being fed propaganda until it is difficult for them to know what to believe," he said.

A partial list of the primary boards:

2nd District

Anderson — Roy Loudermilk, Oliver Springs; J. L. Underwood, Oak Ridge; B. N. Hamby, Oak Ridge; H. B. Watts, Lake City, and George Rideneur, Clinton.

Knox—Claude Robertson, Tom Melton, C. E. Pitner, Mrs. C. C. Clabough and Albert O. Bowerman, all of Knoxville.

Loudon—Jim Thompson, Roy Brooks, Jim Zimmerman, R. P. Hamilton, Boyd Duckworth and

Morgan—M. C. Cole, Deer Lodge; Chester Dagley, Wartburg; O. C. Duncan, Sunbright; William Dyer, Wartburg, and William Liles, Petros.

Roane — George Crockett, William Bean Jr., Oliver Springs; Walton Smith, Kingston; I. N. Price, Kingston, and Tom Edwards.

3rd District

Bledsoe—Cecil Angle, Pikeville; Eugene Hixson, Dunlap; Leon Johnson, Neva Hale and Glenn Swafford.

Bradley—Edd Brown, John Clayton, Jack Lacy, Windel Davis and John Blackburn.

Grundy — Charles Bouldin, Gruetli; Frits Pierle, Tracy City; Johnny Crabtree, Pelham; L. E. Bottles, Altamont, and Wade Bouldin, Gruetli.

McMinn — Buck Brown, Englewood; Cary McAllister, Etowah; Bryce Buchanan, Athens; Mrs. H. F. Morrow, Riceville, and Mrs. Noel Knox, Niota.

Marion—J. C. Ables, South Pittsburg; John Ed Webb, Jasper; A. L. Lapin, South Pittsburg; Brane Owens, Jasper, and Herschell Pickett, Whitwell.

Meigs—Fletcher Cofer, Georgetown; W. J. Runyan, Big Springs; Lankford Monroe, Decatur; J. D. Culvahouse, Decatur, and Claude Reed, Ten Mile.

Monroe—J. R. Lewis, Madisonville; Francis Henry, Madisonville; Mrs. Oscar Standridge, Tellico Plains; Kenneth Denton, Sweetwater, and Raymond Curtis, Venore.

Polk—Royal Duncan, Ralph Lillard, Ernest Vaughn, Mrs. C. B. Nicholson and J. C. Tilson.

Rhea — Cordell Hembree, Dayton; Charles Gilbreath, Spring City; Johnny Fischesser III, Spring City; Carl Kelly, Dayton, and Jim Collins, Graysville.

4th District

Bedford—Bil Burris, Ramond Carothers, Wartrace; Fred Davis, L. C. Fritsache, Shelbyville, and W. P. Shofner, Shelbyville.

Cannon—Clyde Hollandsworth, Woodbury; Horace Smith, Morrison; Jesse Nichols, Readyville; Sammie Davenport, Woodbury, and Wade Winnett, Woodbury.

Coffee—W. W. Richardson, Tullahoma; Harold Dance, Tullahoma; Mrs. Harvey Cook, Tullahoma; Cecil Gilley, Manchester, and Mrs. Maynard Tipps, Tullahoma.

Cumberland — Buster Winingham, Taylor Swafford, Mrs. Fairia Hamby, W. M. Stone and James Carson Jr., all of Crossville.

Fentress—Mrs. Elma Upchurch, Forbus; Harvey Peters, Clarkrange; Ray Smith, Jamestown; Lawrence Tanbert, Armathwaite, and Elmo Wright, Jamestown.

Franklin—James Vann, Winchester; Kathleen Gattis, Winchester; H. A. Schultz, Huntland, and R. A. Tipps, Estill Springs.

Putnam — Solon Maxwell, Vestal Jones, Arvin Thomas, Carroll Wallace and Roy Hefever.

Smith—O. U. Blackburn, Brush Creek, Billy Sloan, Pleasant Shade; Henry Morris, Carthage; Hooper Burton, Lancaster, and O. M. Maggart, Elmwood.

Warren—Robert W. Boyd, McMinnville; Steve Smith, McMinnville; Bill Hendrixson, McMinnville, and Bill Stubblefield Jr., Morrison.

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LOS ANGELES
TIMES
P1-Pt3
Date: MAY 21 1964

VEP

Elect & Ap

Long-Time Communist Runs for Supervisor

First Time in 14 Years That Known Member of Party Has Been on Ballot

BY PAUL BECK
Times Staff Writer

For the first time in 14 years a member of the Communist Party will be on the ballot June 2 in Los Angeles.

He is William C. Taylor, a 54-year-old Negro running against veteran supervisor Kenneth Hahn in the 2nd District.

Taylor said Wednesday he has been a member of the Communist Party for 35 years and before coming to California in 1950 was for four years chairman of the party in Washington, D.C.

He is under no illusions that he will beat Hahn, who was first elected supervisor in 1952 after five years on the City Council.

"But I think I'll get near 25,000 votes," he told The Times. "If I don't win, I'll still feel that I have won because the votes will show the Board of Supervisors how people in this district think and it should force them to take up some of the serious problems affecting the people in this district."

With 449,934 registered voters in the district and an anticipated vote of about 200,000 on June 2, the number of votes Taylor pulls has caused some concern in Hahn's headquarters.

A spokesman said if Taylor gets as many as 20,000 or 30,000 votes "it could be used as propaganda fodder by the Communist Party."

Councilman Thomas Bradley, a Negro, asked about Taylor's candidacy, said he considers it "more of a lark. I don't expect he'll get any significant support in the Negro community or anywhere else."

Bernadette Doyle of San Diego, who ran for state superintendent of public instruction in 1950, was a known Communist. Mrs. Dorothy Healy, chairman of the Communist Party in Southern California, said Walter A. Martin, who campaigned for Los Angeles county sheriff in 1950, also was a Communist.

Mrs. Doyle received 605,393 votes statewide against 1,771,245 for former Superintendent Roy E. Simpson. Martin ran fourth with 40,000 votes in a five-man race that drew about a million votes.

Taylor freely discusses his Communist background and his campaign literature points out he is a "Communist spokesman."

He said he is employed by the Communist Party as a writer and is conducting a "low budget campaign" which he hopes will cost about $2,000.

He said he is not assisted financially by the Communist Party. But his two campaign co-chairmen are Communists. One is Mrs. Healy. The other is Pettis Perry, identified by the House Committee on Un-American activities as a Communist official.

Aimed at Minorities

At a May Day rally for Taylor, one of the speakers was Bob Thompson, described in Taylor's campaign literature as "one of the outstanding national Communist speakers . . . currently active in New York." Thompson served nearly five years in a federal prison after his conviction under the Smith Act.

Taylor freely acknowledges his campaign is aimed at the Negro and Mexican-American vote in the Second District, which is about 30% Negro and about 5% Mexican-American.

He said he is seeking the county post "because it is high time that the war against poverty be fought in this area" as well as on city, state and federal levels.

Pushes Three Issues

"My campaign will mainly be on three issues," he said: Decrease the small property-owners tax, increase taxes on large corporations and put more money into county social welfare programs.

Taylor said many of his supporters "do not like my Communist ideas" but nevertheless "see eye to eye with me on some things" because many problems in the Negro community are not being corrected by supervisors.

Taylor also says he is against the initiative to repeal the Rumford Act, wants military spending cut and calls for an end to "mistreatment of Negroes and Mexicans by police or sheriff's deputies."

Taylor, who was required to sign a loyalty oath before filing his nomination papers, said "I had no qualms about that. I don't consider myself or the Communist Party to be subversive."

Pine Bluff Commercial 5-6-64

Negroes Win Alabama Races

Negro Elec. & App

TUSKEGEE, Alabama (AP)—Negroes in Macon County, where racial tension still simmers in the wake of school desegregation, apparently have defeated white opponents in a Democratic primary.

All four Negro candidates seeking county offices led the ticket in yesterday's election.

One faced a possible runoff against a white incumbent, but there were enough uncounted votes—mostly in predominantly Negro precincts—to win outright.

With four boxes untabulated out of 20 in the county, Reverend V. A. Edwards led the runnerup by 209 votes in the race for one seat on the county governing body. He was shy of a majority, however.

The other Negro candidates, including Dr. C. G. Gomillion, one of Alabama's foremost civil rights leaders, apparently were nominated without a runoff.

Democratic nomination in this section is equivalent to election.

Macon is the only Alabama county where Negroes outnumber white voters. The recently published offiical poll list showed 3,499 white and 3,642 Negro voters eligible to vote in local and state races.

Edwards, religious extension director at Tuskegee Institute, had 1,229 votes; Virgil Guthrie incumbent, had 1,020; Hoyt Sheppard received 598; Herman Daughtry 371; and W. C. Dillard 144.

Gomillion, professor of sociology at the Negro college, drew 1,493 votes for a seat on the county school board now held by Emerson Guthrie, a brother of Virgil Guthrie. The incumbent had 949 votes and O. C. Bryant 805.

Two Negro businessmen, William J. Childs and William C. Allen, were nominated for justice of the peace in separate races. Childs, a service statinon owner, had 989 votes to 710 for Kyle Freeman. Allen, who operates a merchandizing store, led James R. Perry Sr., 970 votes to 654.

It was an historic climax to a long struggle for voting rights which finally gave the Negroes an unquestioned majority at the polls after a federal judge ordered all qualified applicants registered.

And it was the first time in almost a century in Alabama that Negroes were able to win a county election.

For many years, Negroes in Tuskegee and elsewhere in the county complained that white registration authorities turned them down because of their race. The federal judge, Frank M. Johnson Jr., concluded in his investigation that there had been systematic discrimination.

Elsewhere in Alabama, two Negro women also sought nomination in the primary, but both were defeated.

Mrs. Amelia Platts Boynton of Selma made an unsuccessful race for Congress against Representative Kenneth Roberts. And in Jefferson County (Birmingham), a Negro school teacher, Mrs. Bernice Johnson, lost in her race for the county school board.

Negro Elections

3 Negroes Win Nomination In Macon Co.; Runoff Due

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP)—Three of the four Negro candidates seeking county office in Macon County appeared Tuesday night to have won Democratic nomination.

The fourth Negro candidate in the county where famed Tuskegee Institute is located was leading four white opponents, but faced the prospects of a runoff June 2.

By contrast, a Negro woman running for Congress and another seeking a place on the Jefferson County (Birmingham) School Board were lagging far behind.

In Tuskegee, Dr. C. G. Gomillion, a Negro college professor, appeared to have won nomination for a place on the Macon County School Board.

Returns from 16 of the county's 20 boxes gave the Tuskegee Institute faculty member 1,493 votes to 949 for incumbent Emerson Guthrie and 805 for O. C. Bryant. The later two are white.

That wasn't enough to get Gomillion by without a runoff, but two of the four still-uncounted boxes were from the all-Negro precinct at Tuskegee Institute.

Another Tuskegee Institute staff member, the Rev. V. A. Edwards, was out in front in his race for a seat on the county governing body, the Board of Revenue, but there was a possibility of a runoff there.

Returns from the 16 boxes counted gave Edwards 1,229 votes; Virgil Guthrie, a brother of Emerson Guthrie, 1,020; Hoyt Sheppard 598; Herman D.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 8)

Selma Times-Jour.
5-6-56

3 Negroes—

(Continued from Page 1)

Daughtry 371, and W. C. Dillar 144.

Two other Negro candidates, William C. Allen and William J. Childs, apparently won the nomination for justice of the peace in their separate races. With five out of eight boxes tabulated in the Tuskegee precinct where they ran, Allen had 970 votes to 654 for his white opponent, James R. Perry Sr.; Childs had 989 votes and Kyle Freeman, another white candidate, received 710.

The three remaining boxes in those races have heavy Negro votes.

In the congressional race in the 4th District, Mrs. Amelia Platts Boynton, a Selma businesswoman and civil rights leader, was running far behind Rep. Kenneth Roberts. With 66 boxes out of 320 counted, Mrs. Boynton had 1,517 votes, Roberts had 11,760.

A Negro school teacher, Mrs. Bernice Johnson, lagged behind her white opponents in the race for the Jefferson County School Board.

It was the strongest Negro bid for political recognition in Alabama in almost a century.

Negro Elections

3-13

7-1964

Four Negroes Win Nomination Races

TUSKEGEE, Ala. (AP)—Jubilant Negro voters set their sights on the coming city election in Tuskegee on Wednesday after nominating four members of their race for county office.

Until the official canvass was made of returns from Tuesday's Democratic primary, it appeared that one of the Negro candidates would be forced into a runoff against a white officeholder. But the official count gave the Negro the nomination outright.

Victory in the Democratic primary is equivalent to election in Macon County, where racial tension still is evident in the wake of school desegregation.

With the historic breakthrough in the county elections, Negro leaders turned their attention to the City Council.

There were rpeorts that Negroes have agreed to put up candidates for two of the council seats. In Tuskegee, as well as throughout the county, they now outnumber white voters.

Two Negroes have filed as independent candidates for county office in the November general election, but whether they get the mass support of the Negro voters remains to be seen.

One of them, Detroit Lee, is running for probate judge against Sheriff Preston Hornsby, who won the nomination for that office with the help of a majority of the Negro voters. Hornsby gained support among the Negroes a year ago by appointing a Negro deputy.

The Rev. V. A. Edwards, religious extension director at Tuskegee Institute, defeated four white opponents for a place on the county governing body.

Another Tuskegee Institute faculty member, Dr. C. G. Gomillion, won the nomination for a seat on the five-member county school board. Gomillion headed the drive for Negro voter registration.

Negro businessmen William J. Childs and William C. Allen were nominated for justice of the peace in separate races.

Tuskegee and Macon County have long been the centers of racial strife, and repeated complaints of discrimination finally brought a federal court order which led to the registration of more voters.

In recent months, the desegregation of three high schools brought mass boycotts by white pupils and in one community, Notasulga, the desegregated school was destroyed by a fire which a state fire marshal said appeared to have been started by arsonists.

Elections and Appts.

3 Negroes Score Breakthrough in Alabama County Primary Election

TUSKEGEE, Ala. (UPI) — Negro voters Wednesday credited a persistent registration drive with permitting them to score their first breakthrough in Alabama politics since Reconstruction.

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Negro dean of the School of Arts and Sciences at Tuskegee Institute, and two other Negroes were nominated over white opponents for Macon County offices in Tuesday's Democratic primary.

A fourth Negro was a strong front-runner for another spot but was forced into a runoff.

The Negroes must run in the November general election but nomination in the Democratic primary usually is tantamount to election in Alabama.

Negroes outnumber white registrants slightly in the county.

Could Be Eventful

Victories in November would mark the first time Negroes have held office in Alabama, except for a minor office holder in an all-Negro community, since Reconstruction.

The Macon County voting, which brought Negrroes victories in three out of seven county offices contested, highlighted a flurry of politics in Alabama and Florida.

In Florida, two mayors — Haydon Burns of Jacksonville and Robert King High of Miami—were forced into a runoff in their race for the governorship. Their opposing views on civil rights were key issues of their campaign.

Wallace Slate Wins

Alabama voters gave Governor George C. Wallace his hand-picked slate of unpledged presidential electors, thus knocking the name of President's Johnson's loyalist electors off the November election ballot. Wallace earlier won a firm commitment from the state's Democratic convention delegates.

But the noise of big-office campaigning failed to overshadow the significance of the voting in Macon County, an area torn during the past year with school integration strife.

Gomillion, who has been in the forefront of civil rights activity in the county for 32 years, received 2,433 votes against 1,015 for Emerson Guthrie and 872 for O. C. Bryant, both white.

The race was for one of the five spots on the County School Board, the agency that was directed by a federal court to open the way for public school integration last fall.

Two for JP Posts

Two Negroes were nominated for justice of the peace posts. Businessman William C. Allen received 1,896 votes over A. R. Perrys' 765. W. J. Childs, a service station owner, had 1,994 to Kyle Freeman's 829.

A fourth Negro, Rev. V. A. Edwards, a Tuskegee Institute staff member, was forced into a runoff with Virgil M. Guthrie for the District Board of Revenue. Edwards had 2,243 votes to Guthrie's 1,080.

Allen and Gomillion expressed pleasure at the outcome and said they would try to serve the best interests of all in the county.

Allen said, cautiously, that he would keep an eye on general election developments before believing he is actually "in."

Worked Since '32

Gomillion recalled that he had worked for the enfranchisement of Negroes in the county since 1932 when there were only about 30 Negroes registered in the county.

By 1940, the Negro registration had risen to only around 100. It reached about 700 after the first administration of then Governor James (Kissing Jim) E. Folsom. Gomillion said Folsom appointed "a white man who dealt fairly with Negroes" as registrar and this helped registration.

In Tuesday's voting, Folsom was defeated in two races. He lost to former Birmingham Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor for Democratic national committeeman and ran third in a contest for public service commissioner. Connor and incumbent C. C. Owen went into a runoff.

Outnumber Whites

The voter registration drives that Gomillion helped get started 30 years ago have continued over the years, with varying degrees of intensity, until today the Negro registration is estimated at about 3,500 in Macon County, or about 200 to 250 more than white registration.

Gomillion, who received about 500 votes more than his two white opponents, surmised that he may have received some white votes.

"I believe I did," he said, "I hope I'm right. I have been saying for years that the two races should learn to work together here."

CHESTER C. CARTER
Moves to new post

Apr-Amor.

Carter given high State Dept. post

5-9-64

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The State Department has appointed Chester C. Carter, of Los Angeles and former Peace Corps official as deputy chief of protocol.

Carter, 43, has recently been deputy assistant secretary of State for Congressional Relations.

Earlier he was deputy Peace Corps representative in Ethiopia and director of Peace Corps activities in Tunisia and the Cameroons.

* * *

HE HOLDS bachelor and masters degrees from the University of Southern Cali-

(Continued on Page 2)

State dept post

(Continued from Page 1)

fornia, and a law degree from Loyola Law School in Los Angeles. He served in the U.S. Army in World War II and the Korean War.

He has also been assistant district director of the Bureau of Public Assistance for the County of Los Angeles.

He is married to the former Claudia Bernard of Los Angeles. They have two children.

Negro Educ & Appt

Two Face Unexpected White Opposition

FOUR TUSKEGEE NEGROES WIN NOMINATIONS IN MACON COUNTY

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — Four Tuskegee Negro candidates, first members of their race to offer for public office in a Democratic Primary, since Reconstruction days, won nominations for offices in Macon County in the state-wide primary election on May 5.

A record crowd of voters stood in line long after the closing hours to settle, without a run -off, the seven county positions contested, and the estimated 4,800 was by far the largest in the history of Macon County.

Official returns from the primary showed that the Negro candidates won clear - cut victories over their white opponents, but it was at first indicated that there was a possibility of a run - off between the Rev. V. A. Edwards, director of Religious Extension at Tuskegee Institute, and one of his white opponents for a seat on the county governing body, the Board of Revenue.

EDWARDS POLLS MAJORITY

According to The Tuskegee News, however, final tabulations showed that Rev. Edwards polled a majority of votes over three white opponents to win the nomination for a seat on the Board of Revenue, thereby eliminating the necessity of a run-off for the position on June 2 The final box gave him the majority.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, at Tuskegee, won the nomination for a seat on the five - member county Board of Education with a total of 2,433 votes. Emerson Guthrie had 1,015 and O. C. Bryant had 872.

Two businessmen, William J. Childs and William C. Allen were nominated for justice of the peace in separate races. Childs led Kyle Freeman 1,994 votes to 829; and Allen ran ahead of incumbent James R. Perry, Sr., 1,896 to 765.

VOTERS SET SIGHTS ON CITY ELECTION

Immediately after the primary, Negro voters set their sights on the coming city election to be held in September. All five members of the City Council will be elected. It is reported that they will probably enter candidates for two of the council seats.

Courthouse records disclosed Thursday that at least two of the Negro candidates winning nominations in Tuesday's primary will have unexpected opposition from two Notasulga white candidates in the general election in November.

Democratic nominees are rarely challenged for county office in Alabama unless Republicans put up candidates. In Macon County, there has been no indication of GOP opposition.

According to the records in the probate office, two Notasulga white men, William B. Ray, Sr., and Herbert F. Ruff, have qualified as in-

Elections

NEGRO CANDIDATES WIN IN TUSKEGEE

Mobile Beacon 5-16-64

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. ----Unofficial returns from the May 5 Democratic Primary indicate that Ed (Nat) Moore and Wilbur H. Hollins were forced into the June 2 run-off for constable in Precinct 42 and Precinct 9 respectively.

Moore led three other opponents and narrowly missed a majority. Hollins ran second in a slot with three other candidates.

MRs. Bernice C. Johnson, making her first bid for public office ran fourth in a six-way contest for the Jefferson County Board of Education. There will be no run-off.

Mrs. Johnson is running for the Board of Education received more votes than Atty. David Vann who was trying to unseat Congressman George Huddleston. She polled 18,423 votes while Vann received 13,604 votes.

Mrs. Johnson has the support of the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council which also supported Congressman Huddleston in his bod for re-election.

In Tuskegee, Dr. C.G. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee Civic Association won out in his bid for a spot on the Macon County Board of Education. William C. Allen and W.J. Childs won out for Justice of Peace.

The Rev. V.A. Edward, a member of the Tuskegee Institute faculty, led four other candidates for a place on the District Board of Revenue. He will face Virgil M. Guthrie in the run-off.

MACON COUNTY: For Board of Education; Dr. C.G. Gomillion 2,433; Emerson Guthrie 1,015 ; O.C. Bryant, 872. BOARD OF REVENUE: Rev. V.A. Edwards, 2,243, Virgil M. Guthrie 1,080 Hoyt Shepherd; 897; Herman 371 W.C. Dillard; 144 JUSTICE OF PEACE: William C. Allen 1,896;A. R. Perry, 765, JUSTICE OF PEACE W.J. Childs 1,994

Cont'd on page 2

Elections

Voter

Negro Put On Housing Authority

Atl. Const
5-21-65

Jesse B. Blayton Sr. was named by Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. Wednesday as the first Negro to serve on the Atlanta Housing Authority's five-man board of commissioners.

In addition, George S. Craft, board chairman of the Trust Company of Georgia, was appointed by Mayor Allen to the housing authority board to fill the post left vacant by the death of Charles C. Thwaite Jr. This term expires in July 1971.

Blayton is president of the Mutual Federal Savings & Loan Association of Atlanta, president of WERD Radio Atlanta Inc., and Carnegie professor of accounting in the Atlanta University School of Business Administration.

Blayton succeeds Dr. Allen D. Albert Jr., who resigned. His term will expire at the authority's annual meeting in July 1965.

The mayor's office said both appointments were made on the recommendation of John O. Chiles, chairman of the AHA. Other AHA commissioners are Edwin Sterne, vice chairman, and Frank Etheridge.

Select. & Appts.

Pittsburgh World 5-23-64

National "Y" Official Wins Montclair Vote

MONTCLAIR, N. J. — (ANP) — Matthew G. Carter, a national executive of the Young Men's Christian association became the first Negro to win a commission seat in a municipal election, here recently.

Carter led a field of 11 candidates for five seats on the city commission, polling, 6,694 votes. He was one of four members of a five-man slate to win after an endorsement by the influential Montclair Community committee.

Elections

TAKING OATH—County Clerk Mahalski swearing in Isaac N. Coggs to the County Board of Supervisors from the Sixth District in Milwaukee, Wis. His family, Atty. Theodore W. Coggs; Irene M. Coggs, wife; Marcia, and daughter, Beth, look on.

Assemblyman Coggs now County supervisor

MILWAUKEE — As a result of a recent election, Assemblyman Isaac N. Coggs finds himself serving in two elective positions.

Coggs won the election as a member of Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors. He has served in the Wisconsin Legislature for the past twelve years.

Coggs is the first colored person to ever hold two positions. However, Coggs will not seek re-election in the fall to the Legislature.

* * *

COGGS HAS LED the fight for civil rights in the State Legislature for twelve years and has been given the name of "Mr. Civil Rights."

A native of Musragee, Oklahoma, Coggs matriculated at Langston University for two years and later graduated from the University of Wisconsin.

Elections + Appts

Shaw says every vote is needed

Afro-Amer

5-23-64

BALTIMORE

Warren S. Shaw, Baltimore's lone colored candidate for Congress, swung into the final lap of his campaign and told his Monday night workers that, "This campaign must be decided upon solely on the issues involved, and not by how much money a political boss pays you to work at the polls."

Mr. Shaw said "I have taken a firm stand on a minimum wage and hour law for wemen so that domestic workers and nospital employees, and other low paid workers will not have to keep on working for an inadequate $6 a day or less."

He went on, "I have said I will continue to work to get higher Social Security benefits for our aged ,and an adequate program for compulsory health insurance, because I believe that in a land of plenty it is foolish to be without medical care for all the citizens."

* * *

THE FOUNDER and president of Manning Shaw Realty, Inc. declared, "I will work for strict enforcement of the present Federal Civil Rights laws now on the books, and for passage of more laws as the need arises."

Shaw said, "I support a sound foreign aid program to countries where it has been shown to be a real helping hand, but not to hostile 'friends' who feel that they can take our money and then slap us in the face while the world looks on; and I stand on the belief that our foreign aid money must go for the real help of the citizens and not in the pockets of corporation owners and unscrupulous ruling classes."

Opening several folders of longhand and typewritten material, Mr. Shaw pointed out, "I am prepared now to offer to Congress some sound concrete steps to cure poverty wherever it exists. I believe that full employment must be attained and that we have now the technological ability to attain it."

Elections + Appts

Paine business manager dies

Afro-Amer. 5-23-64

AUGUSTA, Ga. — Wheeler C. Ervin, business manager at Paine College and the first colored to be elected to public office in Georgia since Reconstruction days died here Sunday following a brief illness.

Mr. Ervin won a seat on the Richmond County Board of Education in 1952 and served a four-year term.

A native of Darlington, S.C., he had served as business manager at the local college for more than 35 years, and had at one time served as national president of the American Association of College Business officers.

A GRADUATE OF the Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., his first job was as state business manager at Voorhees Junior College, Denmark, S.C. He came to Paine College in 1929.

He was a member of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity and served as president of the Tenth Congressional District Republican organization.

He served as a member of the board of directors of the Ninth Street YMCA and for several years conducted the campaign for the United Negro College Fund in Augusta. He was a member of the Trinity CME Church where he served as a steward.

Survivors include his wife, Mrs. Ann M. Ervin; one brother, E. C. Ervin, Darlington, S.C.

Elect. + Appts

New Day In Alabama

Ed. Mercury 5-23-64

Macon county, Alabama, is one of the Black Belt counties of the South with a preponderant Negro population. It also happens to be the location of Tuskegee Institute which means that it has a reservoir of articulate and literate Negroes ready to assume political office.

Until a few years ago Macon county had only a handful of registered Negro voters who were far outnumbered by white voters. Federal intervention demanded and secured by Negroes finally broke up the disfranchisement of Negro voters and now the county has more Negro than white voters.

The inevitable happened three weeks ago. Three Negroes won public office: a county school board candidate and two justices of the peace. Another led the ticket in the race for county commissioner (a position comparable to our county supervisors) and he will undoubtedly be elected in the run-off race. A white sheriff who had the political foresight to appoint a Negro deputy also won his race for probate judge.

What happened in Macon county is going to happen in other Black Belt counties, no matter what Gov. Wallace and his ink may do. In the first flush of their newly won power Negroes are going to elect Negroes to public office, an inevitable reflex to long continued white voting for white office seekers. The only white candidates who can survive will be those who have shown a willingness to break with lily white tradition.

Whites who deplore Negro bloc voting have only themselves to blame; they have tacitly or openly supported bloc voting since Reconstruction and they must expect to reap what they have sowed. It won't be long before Negro legislators will become commonplace in southern legislatures and Negro congressmen show up in Washington to represent southern constituencies.

Negro Bloc.

Town drops rebel ways, elects 1st councilman

Afro-Am., 6-6-64

MURFREESBORO, Tenn. — This Middle Tennessee City recently bucked its usual Confederate character Monday and elected its first colored city council member in history.

He is Robert W. ("Tee-Ninv") Scales, elected Councilman - at - large in an April race in which he led the entire ticket with 1,441 votes. He soundly trounced the incumbent, a well - known white politician.

Drafted for the race by Murfreesboro's colored community, Scales led one predominantly white and one predominantly colored precinct, and got good representation in all other precincts.

THE NEW councilman is a mortician by profession, heading the family firm, H. Preston Scales and Sons Funeral Home which was established in 1916. He also owns several other local businesses.

Scales is a member of the Murfreesboro Chamber of Commerce; the City Bi - Racial Committee; a Mason and an Elk; and a trustee of First Baptist Church.

ROBERT W. SCALES

His wife, the former Miss Mary Carruthers, of Murfreesboro, is a grammar school teacher here. They have six children.

Negro Elections

Atl. Daily 6/11/64

Richmond Elects Negro to Council

RICHMOND, Va. (AP) — Voters have elected the second Negro in this century to Richmond City Council.

B. A. Cephas Jr., a real estate man, ran second only to Richmond's first woman mayor, Mrs. Eleanor P. Sheppard, in Tuesday's municipal election. Mrs. Sheppard received 18,042 votes and Cephas 16,512 as a record turnout of 30,931 voters chose nine councilmen.

Cephas was a member of a nine - member Richmond Forward slate formed to oust the present council majority. The new organization, which also backed Mrs. Sheppard, won six seats to three for incumbents.

Negro Elec.

The Washington Post
Times Herald
FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1964

WBX
BW
RTB
JS
BS
JM

In War Against Poverty

Woman Professor Gets Top Post

A PRETTY YOUNG educator who was raised by an illiterate ex-slave was named yesterday to a prominent post in the war against poverty by R. Sargent Shriver.

Jeanne L. Noble, associate professor at New York University's Center for Human Relations, will head the section of the Job Corps concerned with enrolling thousands of underprivileged girls in proposed homemaking and vocational centers.

"We were anxious to get her and we're happy we've been able to steal her away from NYU," said Shriver, the President's Special Assistant in charge of the "war."

She is "one of the most distinguished experts in the country on the needs of culturally deprived young women," he said.

Miss Noble, who grew up in Albany, Ga., under her great-grandmother's guidance, is one of the best-known Negro professors in the United States.

For the last two years she has worked on the board of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited Associated Community Teams, (HARYOU-ACT) which is attempting to improve opportunities for the restless slum youth of Harlem.

Associated Press

JEANNE L. NOBLE
. . . joins war on poverty

She will use this experience in formulating programs to "strengthen the whole home and family life" in pockets of poverty, Miss Noble said, adding that she is "certainly enthusiastic about this responsibility."

Shriver indicated that he has given her carte blanche authority to determine exactly how this section of the Job Corps will operate.

DURING the two to three days a week she expects to spend in Washington at poverty war headquarters, Miss Noble plans to set up a program that will teach deprived young women:

- Basic intellectual tools such as reading, writing and arithmetic.
- Home arts skills such as child care.
- Marketable skills for getting jobs.

Most women in depressed areas, "especially if they are Negro, will have to work most of their lives," she explained. "At least one-fourth of all families in the country are headed by women, and over 50 per cent of those live in poverty."

She anticipates training them for work as nurses' aides, recreational aides and clerks, among other things.

The centers she set up may be either residential or day schools, and she hopes for cooperation from universities, school boards, businesses and labor unions, as well as for volunteer instructors from national women's organizations.

NYU will continue to pay her a full time salary for teaching part time while she works with the Job Corps.

Miss Noble, who will work with the administrator of all Job Corps programs, Ohio University President Vernon Alden, is a graduate of Howard University. She earned her master's degree and Ph.D. from Columbia University Teachers College. She serves on the Presidential Scholars Committee.

She has won awards for her book, "The Negro Woman's College Education," and co-authored "College Education as Personal Development" with Margaret Fisher.

Negro Elected by Richmond to City's Governing Council

Associated Press

Richmond voters for the first time in 16 years elected a Negro to City Council Tuesday, and they gave him the second highest vote total among 21 candidates.

Two other Negro candidates in Richmond, and Negro hopefuls in at least seven other cities and towns, lost their bids to get on governing boards as municipal elections were held throughout the State.

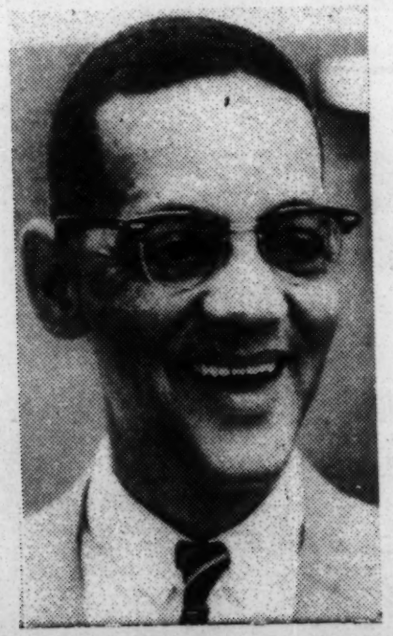
The Negro elected in Richmond was B. A. Cephas Jr., a member of the City Planning Commission and one of the six successful candidates fielded by a new political organization, Richmond Forward, for the city's nine Council seats. He polled 16,512 votes, second only to the 18,042 collected by Eleanor P. Sheppard, the current Mayor and another Richmond Forward candidate.

Oliver W. Hill, who served on Richmond's Council in 1948-50, is the only other Negro elected in the capital in this century.

Three Richmond incumbents were defeated in the election, which polled 30,931 votes, a record for a Council election. The other two Negro candidates, who had been backed by Voters Voice, trailed near the end of the field.

Negro candidates also lost in Danville, where a slate expressing support of the city's handling of last year's racial troubles won election, and in Martinsville, Portsmouth, Norfolk, Hopewell, Culpeper and Lynchburg.

In Culpeper, Mortimer M. Marshall, a Negro funeral director, was disqualified yesterday when it was learned that he had been delinquent in paying his poll tax, officials said. He said he had discussed the matter with the U.S. Justice Department and would appeal his disqualification to the State Supreme



Cephas

FOR YOUR INFORMATION
Louis Martin
Deputy Chairman
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

Afro-Amer 6-20-64 3

2 MAKE BIDS FOR CONGRESS

State Senate, council seats won in elections

BY ART CARTER

The election of one State senator in Nebraska and a city councilman in Richmond, Virginia highlighted last week's local elections and primary voting around the country.

For the second time in this century, a colored candidate won a seat on the city Council in Richmond. He is B.A. Cephas Jr., a real estate operator, who ran second to Mrs. Eleanor Sheppard, the city's first woman Mayor, in the vote tabulations for the nine-member council.

The first colored person to serve on the Council in this century was Attorney Oliver W. Hill, who was elected in 1948 to the first of two terms. Mr. Hill is now wih the Federal Housing Administration in Washington.

* * *

IN LINCOLN, Newark, Senator Edward Danner, only colored legislator in Nebraska, topped his nearest rival by a 3-1 margin, 1801 to 654 votes, to win re-election.

In Oklahoma City, Okla., John B. White, 32-year-old insurance agent, took a 825-vote victory over a white electrical contractor to win the Democratic nomination in Oklahoma County's District 4 House of Representatives primary race.

White now faces the Republican nominee in the November general election and if he wins, will be the first colored person to sit in the Oklahoma House since 1909.

* * *

NONE OF THE FOUR colored persons contesting for seats in the U.S. Congress in Mississippi made a serious dent in the vote tabulations.

The Rev. John Cameron, 31 of Hattiesburg, received only 1,071 votes to 30,749 for Rep. William Colmer of Pascagoula. Mrs. Victoria Gray, also of Hattiesburg, fell by the wayside in her 4,314 vote bid to unseat Sen. John Stennis, 62, of Dekalb. Stennis polled 151,330 votes.

Rep. Jamie Whitten of Charleston collected 32,151 votes to eclipse his opponent, J. M. Houston, 74-year-old retired Vicksburg furniture dealer. Houston received only 1,190 votes.

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville secured only 389 votes to her opponent's, Rep. Arthur Winstead of Philadelphia, 27,222 votes.

* * *

IN ANDERSON, South Carolina, the Rev. J. O. Rich, Baptist minister, lost his bid for a seat in the city council in the Democratic runoff. He polled 975 votes to his opponent's 3,327.

In the regular primary, Rev. Rich led by 81 votes with a tally of 875.

In Petersburg, Va., John H. Owens polled 1,426 votes to qualify for a June 23 runoff election with four other candidates, all white, who failed to gain a majority of the 4,175 votes cast to win seats on the city council. Three councilmen will be picked. Owens is an independent.

In Lynchburg, Va., M. W. Thornhill Jr., president, Lynchburg Voters League, placed sixth in the balloting for the city council with 1923 votes, but only three were elected.

Mrs. Nannie Dupee, the only colored woman seeking office in Virginia, was defeated in her bid for a council seat in Martinsville, and two candidates, the Rev. L. W. Chase and Charles Harris, trailed in the council race in Danville.

* * *

MEANWHILE, TWO candidates have popped up for the fall elections, seeking a seat in the U. S. House of Representatives as the sixth colored congressman to be in that body.

B. A. CEPHAS

Richard H. Austin, certified accountant, is running in the new first district of Michigan at the request of a "Draft Richard Austin" move by a citizens committee. Austin has served as co - chairman of the Michigan Apportionment Commission and is chairman of the Democratic organization of his district.

* * *

IN BOSTON, Noel Day, 31, executive director of St. Mark's Social Center and co-chairman of the Massachusetts Freedom Movement which sponsored a recent boycott on local public schools, is running as an independent for the seat now held by House Speaker John W. McCormack.

In Atlanta, Attorney Donald L. Hollowell is one of the three candidates seeking nomination in the Sept. 9 Democratic primary for Fulton County Superior Court judgeship.

Hollowell will be pitted against the incumbent judge, Durwood Pye, and another white candidate, Paul Webb Jr., also an attorney. Hollowell has been practicing law in Atlanta since 1952.

Nebraska 1964

Afro-American 6-27-64

Mississippi gets first tan marshal

JACKSON, Miss. (UPI) —A former school teacher was sworn in Thursday as a U.S. Deputy Marshal — a post previously held only by white Mississippians.

James Middleton, 42, of Jackson, took his oath in the office of the chief marshal in an unpublicized ceremony and was not available for comment afterward.

But Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary, said the appointment of Middleton was made after Evers requested Atty. Gen. Robert Kenndey nine months ago to name a colored man to the post.

Evers said Middleton, a native of Vicksburg, had his recommendation for the job. He added that Middleton was "The only man we found qualified for the job in the area."

Elect & Appt
Mississippi
1964

Afro-American

Colored mayors selected in two towns in Alabama

7/25/64

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. (ANP) Clyde Foster, an employee of the Marshall Space Flight Center here, last week was slated to become the first colored mayor of a city in Alabama with an integrated council.

He was also to become the second colored mayor in the state when Probate Judge Ashford reinstates a charter for the town of Triana, which has a population of about 250 residents, most of whom are colored.

* * *

JUDGE ASHFORD said a group known as the Triana Improvement Committee and headed by Foster, has been active for five years in efforts to vitalize the charter that has lain dormant since the middle of the 19th century.

Foster's fellow councilmen will be David L. Barnes, William Griffin, Joe L. Fletcher, Mrs. Jessie .J Bennie, and Erskine Parcus, the lone white member.

They will all be appointed by Judge Todd until the next election.

Elections & Appointments
Alabama —
1964

Journal & Guide

Negro Advisor For Lumberton Board

8/22/64

LUMBERTON — (UPI) —Mrs. Ethel Key Hayswood will come out of retirement to be an advisor to the Lumberton city school board because of a request that a Negro be named to the board.

Mrs. Hayswood, who retired last spring as supervisor in the Robeson county school system after 45 years, was appointed by the board Thursday night.

THE SCHOOL board could not enlarge itself but was able to meet the request for a Negro on the board through the appointment procedure.

Negro Elect & Ap.

Journal & Guide

W. Mundle On Board In Richmond

8/22/64

RICHMOND — A Negro insurance executive has been named a member of the City Planning Commission by the Richmond City Council.

The new member is Winfred Mundle. He was appointed to succeed B. A. Cephas Jr., a Negro realtor. Mundle is district manager for the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company.

ning Commission post in

Cephas resigned the Plan-

June after he was elected to the City Council. He received the second highest vote of any candidate in the June 9th councilmanic election. He is the only Negro on Richmond's City Council.

Elect & Apot.

VIRGINIA -

1964

August 25, 1964

Mrs. Bernice C. Johnson, Coordinator
Ninth Congressional District
Alabama State Coordinating Association
1630 Fourth Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Mr. Branton has asked me to convey his and the staff's thank you for your interesting and valuable letter. The vote totals and the analysis of the political climate of Jefferson County are quite informative. It was just what we wanted.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

Negro Section

ATTORNEY ORZELL BILLINGSLEY, JR.
Chairman

MRS. BERNICE C. JOHNSON
Coordinator

Ninth Congressional District

ALABAMA STATE COORDINATING ASSOCIATION

For Registration and Voting

1630 Fourth Avenue, North — Room 622
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA
PHONES 324-1691 — 324-1692

WB

J M Please reply.

August 21, 1964

Dear Mr. Branton:

I promised Mr. Blackwell and Mrs. Whittaker when they were with your staff that as soon as I had tabulated the official precinct breakdown in the May Primary election, in which I ran for a seat on the Jefferson County Board of Education, that I would send the results to your office.

I received 22,018 votes in the above mentioned election. 4,891 of these votes were whites. It is interesting to note that I received some votes in every precinct.

The only method of contact to the white voter was through mail and radio appeal.

Any Negro winning a political job in Jefferson County must be a candidate with enough voter appeal to carry a large segment of the white population. Also the political climate of Jefferson County and Alabama as a whole must undergo revolutionary changes before any political positions are held by negroes to any large degree. Of course in Counties such as Macon where the whites are out voted by the Negro the story may be different.

These are facts asked for by previous members of your staff. I don't know if they are of any value to you.

Respectfully,

Bernice C. Johnson

Bernice C. Johnson, Coordinator
Ninth Congressional District

BCJ:mm

Claiborne Named Assistant Chief Of GOP Campaign

9-1-64

Daily World

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Clay J. Claiborne of Atlantic City, N. J., a veteran of 24 years in Republican politics at the state and national levels, today was appointed asssitant to the director of campaign organization for the Republican National Committee by Dean Burch, GOP national chairman.

Mr. Claiborne will work with Wayne J. Hood of Wisconsin who was named director of campaign organization earlier this month.

Mr. Claiborne served as a special assistant to Rep. William E. Miller when the GOP vice presidential candidate served as chairman of the Republican National Committee from 1962-64.

He began his political career in

(Continued On Page 4, Column 3)

Claiborne Named

(Continued from Page One)

Daily World

Atlantic City with the Hap Farley organization, which has had 54 years of consecutive Republican control of Atlantic City and Atlantic County.

Mr. Claiborne has worked for the GOP in numerous capacities in Atlantic City, with the New Jersey Republican State Committee and with the Republican National Committee.

9-1-64

While a radio news commentator during 1941-42 for station WFPG in Atlantic City, he earned the distinction of broadcasting more news than any other Negro in America.

He has served as national press secretary of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, the world's largest Negro fraternal organization, and edited the Elks News, the organization's officials publication.

Prior to joining the Republican National Committee, Mr. Claiborne served as agent-in-charge of narcotic enforcement for Atlantic County, N. J., for 10 years. He was trained for that post by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics.

Chairman Burch said the appointment of Mr. Claiborne emphasizes that the Goldwater-Miller campaign is interested in all people of this country. We will undertake an effective permanent program to demonstrate that Republicans are not writing off any group of voters."

Negro Appoint.

Predict Election Of Three Negroes In Missouri Race

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — (NPI) — There is a strong possibility that three Negroes will be sent to the Missouri State legislature in November, instead of one, as the result of the final figures from the recent primary election. The three, all Democrats, will face GOP opponents in November, but coming from three predominantly Democratic districts, their victories in the primary are tantamount to election.

The winners were Leon M. Jordan, leader of Freedom, Inc., a 14th Ward political organization; Attv. Harold L. Holliday, and Henry Ross.

Jordan defeated G. McKinley Neal, incumbent veteran Missouri legislator. Neal's defeat was a decisive one—by a 2-1 margin or 3,637 votes for Jordan to 1,789 for Neal.

Holiday, who ran unsuccessfully last year for a city council post defeated five candidates—two Negroes and three whites—by a wide margin for the fifth legislative district nod. He polled 2,301 votes to his nearest rival, incumbent legislator George O. Weatherly who had 1,377.

Ross had no trouble beating his two rivals in the second legislative district.

attle World 9-4-64

Negro Elect + Appd

125 HAGINS STREET
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA
SEPTEMBER 5, 1964

TO: ALL CITIZENS OF TUSKEGEE AND MACON COUNTY

CAMPAIGN FUNDS AND VOTES

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

IS IT NECESSARY TO REMIND OURSELVES THAT THE EYES OF THIS NATION AND WORLD ARE UPON US? JUST LET ANY NEGRO LEADER FROM OUR LOCAL COMMUNITY, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE FACULTY OR THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL, GO AS A DELEGATE OR REPRESENTATIVE TO ANY MEETING ELSEWHERE AND HE IS ALMOST IMMEDIATELY PUT ON ADVISORY BOARDS, BOARDS OF DIRECTORS OR OTHER POLICY MAKING GROUPS.

IF WE ARE TO HOLD OUR HARD FOUGHT AND WON, PRESENT POSITIONS OF ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL GAINS WE MUST USE THEM WISELY. WE MUST USE OUR MONEY WISELY, WE MUST VALUE AND PUT OUR EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES TO GOOD USES FOR THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY AND WE MUST VOTE AND USE OUR BALLOTS TO THE BEST INTEREST OF EVERYONE, NOT SELFISHLY. AGAIN WE MUST VOTE EVEN IF WE VOTE FOR THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS.

WE NEED FUNDS FOR OUR CAMPAIGN AND THE PROMOTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR PROGRAMS OF IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY IN TUSKEGEE, IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF GOVERNMENTAL ADMINISTRATION, IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF PUBLIC SERVICES, PROMOTING COMMUNITY GROWTH, MINISTERING TO YOUTH AND THE AGED, AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CULTURAL TONE OF OUR COMMUNITY. WE ARE A YOUNG ORGANIZATION WITH A LARGE, FORWARD LOOKING PROGRAM OF PROGRESS FOR THE WHOLE COMMUNITY AT LARGE.

TO MAKE A LONG STORY SHORT, WE NEED FUNDS AND YOUR VOTE TO CONTINUE THE JOB WE HAVE SET OUT TO ACCOMPLISH. IF YOUR POCKET BOOK NERVES ARE SENSITIVE, PLEASE DO NOT FAIL TO GIVE US YOUR BALLOT (VOTE). EACH AND EVERY TIME YOU HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO, VOTE AND VOTE WISELY AFTER MUCH THOUGHT AND DUE CONSIDERATION BY TAKING ALL OF THE ISSUES AND PERSONALITIES UNDER CLOSE EXAMINATION FOR YOURSELF AND THE GOOD OF THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY.

CERTAINLY, IF OTHER PUBLIC OFFICIALS NEED TO SOLICIT PUBLIC FUNDS FOR THEIR CAMPAIGN AND WORTHY CAUSES, LIKEWISE WE NEED TO DO SO ALSO. INFORMATIVE CAMPAIGNS ARE EXPENSIVE TO RUN AND PUBLIC SOLICITATION IS ONE OF OUR AMERICAN TRADITIONS IN RAISING FUNDS. REMEMBER WE NEED FUNDS, BUT WE NEED MOST OF ALL YOUR VOTES. PLEASE GIVE US YOUR VOTES ON SEPTEMBER 15TH IN THE CITY RUN-OFF ELECTION AND ON NOVEMBER 3RD IN THE GENERAL COUNTY ELECTION.

PLEASE REPLY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN THE SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE ENCLOSED WHICH DOES NOT REQUIRE A STANP.

YOURS VERY TRULY,

DETROIT LEE

ENCLOSURES (3)

SEPTEMBER 5, 1964

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

ANY FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION YOU MAKE TOWARD MY CAMPAIGN WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED. MOST OF ALL, I WILL APPRECIATE YOUR (VOTE) FOR ME ON NOVEMBER 3, 1964.

$_____ (AMOUNT) _____ (NAME) _____ (ADDRESS)

YOU MAY OR MAY NOT LIST YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS.
IF YOU WANT A RECEIPT FOR YOUR CONTRIBUTION INDICATE: _____ (YES) _____ (NO)

THANKS.

ANY COMMENTS?

DETROIT LEE, CANDIDATE FOR
PROBATE JUDGE OF MACON COUNTY
(THIS IS OUR TIME TO ACT!

MY ADDRESS: 125 HAGINS STREET, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

TO: ALL CITIZENS

City of Tuskegee and Macon County, Alabama

I. LET US ALL UNITE FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF OUR CITY, COURT HOUSE AND COUNTY!

II. LET US ALL (BLACK AND WHITE TOGETHER) CLOSE RANKS AND SUPPORT AND ELECT THIS IMPORTANT THIRTEEN (13)* CANDIDATES, WHO WILL GUIDE OUR DESTINY!

III. LET US BOOST OUR UNIQUE TUSKEGEE AND MACON COUNTY IMAGE & POINT THE WAY!

FOLLOWING ARE THE CANDIDATES FROM WHOM YOU MAY MAKE *YOUR* SELECTION

(CITY RUN-OFF, SEPTEMBER 15, 1964)

* 1.	Your Choice Vote For (ONE)	☐ C. M. KEEVER, Mayor ☐ HOWARD RUTHERFORD, Mayor
* 2. * 3.	2 On The City Council Your Choice	☐ K. L. BUFORD, Councilman, Place No. 3 ☐ T. RILEY LUMPKIN, Councilman, Place No. 3 ☐ STANLEY HUGH SMITH, Councilman, Place No. 4 ☐ JAMES L. BRASWELL, JR., Councilman, Pl. No. 4

(GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1964)

* 4.	2 In The Court House	☒ DETROIT LEE, Probate Judge, Macon County ☐ PRESTON HORNSBY, Probate Judge, Macon County
* 5.	Your Choice Vote For (ONE)	☐ HUNTER SLATON, Clerk of Circuit Court ☐ AMOS A. RODGERS, Clerk of Circuit Court
* 6.	Vote (One) Your Choice	☐ B. O. DUKE, Board of Education, Place N. 1 ☐ FANNYE J. HARRIS, Board of Education, Place No. 1
* 7.	Vote Your Choice	☐ CHARLES G. GOMILLION, Board of Education, Pl. No. 2 ☐ WILLIAM B. REA, SR., Board of Education, Pl. No. 2
* 8. * 9. * 10. * 11.	6 In The County and Districts	☐ V. A. EDWARDS, Board of Revenue, District No. 4 ☐ HERBERT F. RUFF, Board of Revenue, District No. 4 ☐ W. R. GODFREY, JR., Board of Revenue, District No. 2 ☐ D. BROWARD SEGREST, County Solicitor ☐ R. H. POWELL III, Inferior Court Judge
* 12 * 13.	2 For Justice Of The Peace	☐ WILLIAM C. ALLEN, Justice of Peace, Beat 1, Pl. 1 ☐ WILLIAM J. CHILDS, Justice of Peace, Beat 1, Pl. 2

YOUR VOTE IS IMPORTANT, PLEASE VOTE YOUR CHOICES

Pd. Pol. Adv. by the Friends of the Non-Partisan Voters League of Macon County.
P. O. Box 1243, Tuskegee, Alabama

P. O. Box 1243, Tuskegee, Alabama

Postage Will be Paid by Addressee

No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the United States

BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 20, TUSKEGEE INST., ALA.

DETROIT LEE, Candidate For Office Of

Probate Judge of Macon County

125 HAGGINS STREET

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

Johnson Names Negro Postmaster

Atlanta World

WASHINGTON—(UPI)—President Johnson nominated Leslie N. Shaw, a Negro, Wednesday to be postmaster of Los Angeles, Calif. He is the first of his race to be nominated for postmaster in a major U. S. city.

Shaw, who has been acting postmaster in Los Angeles, the nation's third largest post office, is a graduate of Ohio State University and a native of Columbus, Ohio. His appointment, subject to Senate confirmation, is to succeed O. K. Olesen, who is retiring.

* * * * * 9-10-64

Negro Elect + Appt

Rights Post For Woman Confirmed

9-16-64

Vir. Pilot

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Senate confirmed Tuesday nomination to the Civil Rights Commission of a Negro woman attorney, Mrs. Frankie Muse Freeman, who has picketed in the street for what she believes.

She will picket again "if the need is there," says the attractive 47-year-old associate counsel of the St. Louis Housing and Land Clearance Authority.

Mrs. Freeman is the first woman member of the commission. She was nominated by President Johnson last March to succeed Spottswood Robinson, III, also a Negro, who has been appointed a federal district judge here.

A native of Danville, Mrs. Freeman is on the executive board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's St. Louis chapter, and the board of the National Council of Negro Women.

Mrs. Freeman was graduated from Hampton Institute. She married Shelby T. Freeman Jr., a mathematician for the Defense Department. They have a married daughter.

Negro Educ

Afro-American 9/19/64

Grass-roots drive planned by Va. Freedom Democrats

NORFOLK — Moses A. Riddick Jr., member of the Nansemond County Board of Supervisors and the only elected colored official in Tidewater, Virginia, was elected to head a state-wide movement aimed at putting Virginia in the column for President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey in the general election in November.

Supervisor Riddick, who defeated N. T. Poarch, Byrd Organization chairman of the County Board of Supervisors in 1963, is noted for his grassroots activities in politics, principally in Southside, Virginia.

He was unanimously elected to head the Freedom Democrats For Johnson - Humphrey organization in a meeting of some 100 delegates representing eastern Virginia recently in the Hunton Branch YMCA in Norfolk.

* * *

OTHERS ELECTED were: Attorneys Victor J. Ashe of Norfolk, first vice chairman;

MOSES A. RIDDICK, JR.

W. Hale Thompson, Newport News, second vice-chairman; Mrs. Vivian V. Mason, Norfolk, recording secretary; Rev. R. E. Morris, Suffolk, assistant secretary, and J. D. Speller, Norfolk labor leader, treasurer.

Counties represented were Sussex, Surry, Southampton, Isle Of Wight, Nansemond and Gloucester. Cities represented were Franklin, Suffolk, Portsmouth, Chesapeake, Virginia Beach, Newport News, Norfolk and Hampton.

* * *

PRAISING PRESIDENT Johnson for his strong stand on civil rights laws, Mr. Riddick said, "We want to keep him in the White House." He added: [redacted]

"Virginians are just now entering the era of organized voting in order to utilize the gains made by the NAACP and other groups in the colored movement, and we need a grass-roots political action program to teach our people to use the ballot."

File: Negro Appointments and Elections

Afro-American 9/19/64

A. A. BIRCH JR.

Birch, Vincent get appointment

NASHVILLE, Tenn. —A. A. Birch Jr., graduate of the Howard University School of Law, has been named an assistant public defender in the Metropolitan Nashville government.

The appointment of Birch and another attorney. David Vincent, represents the first such recognition given colored lawyers here.

Birch, who completed his undergraduate work at Lincoln University, Oxford, Pa., has been a member of the local law firm, Lillard, Steele and Birch since 1958.

* * *

EXECUTIVE secretary of the Tennessee Federation of Democratic Leagues, he formerly was president of the J. C. Napier Bar Association.

Birch is a communicant of Holy Trinity Episcopal Church and president of the board of directors of Eighteenth Avenue Community Center.

File: Legal Appointments and Elections

Gov. Bryant Announces Board Appointments

TALLAHASSEE (AP) — Gov. Farris Bryant yesterday announced the following appointments to local boards:

Mrs. John Sosh, Mrs. O. L. Lowery, Charles L. Trinker, all of Pensacola; Morris C. Leach of Century and Mrs. Ruth T. Godwin of Northern Escambia County, all appointed to the Escambia County Library Board.

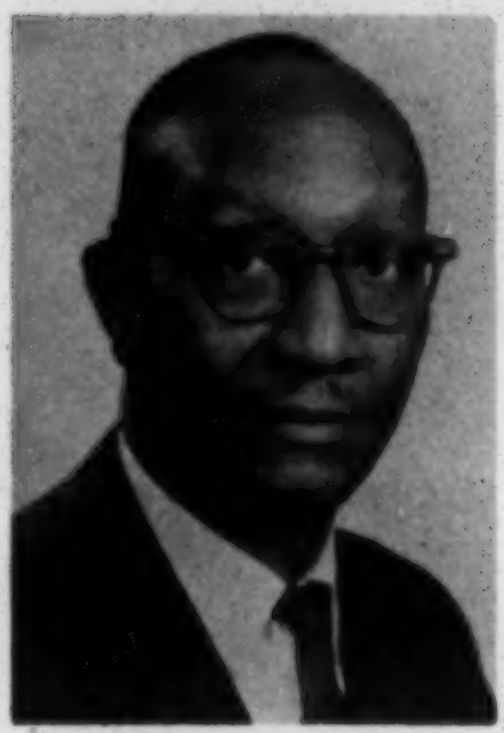
Troy S. Clark of Daytona Beach, reappointed to the Northeast Volusia County Development Authority.

Adm. John H. Cassady of Boca Raton, appointed to the Southeastern Palm Beach County Hospital District Board, succeeding Thomas E. Fleming Jr., who resigned.

Sam Register and J. P. Puckett, both of Petty, to new terms on the Taylor County Hospital

St. Petersburg Times
10-23-64

Elect - Capt.



(JUDGE LEE)

DETROIT LEE

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE FOR

PROBATE JUDGE

GOOD GOVERNMENT REQUIRES CHANGE

MAKE IT INDEPENDENT ON NOVEMBER 3RD

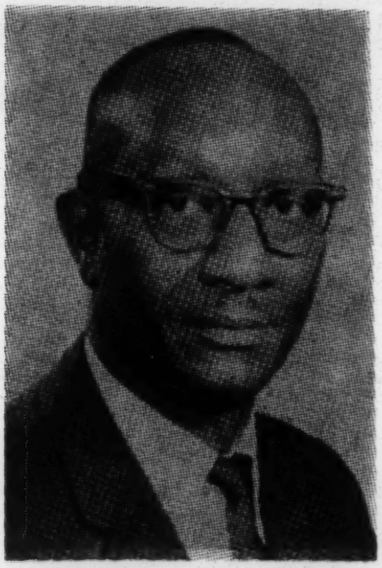
PD. POL. ADV. BY THE FRIENDS OF THE NON-PARTISAN VOTERS LEAGUE, TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA

DETROIT LEE is better qualified with 27 years of clerical and administrative experience in government employment. He is EFFICIENT, SINCERE, COURTEOUS, COURAGEOUS, HONEST AND UNDERSTANDING. You can HELP ELECT him and put these qualities in office. MEMBERSHIPS: TCA, AFGE (1st V. P.) American Legion, AVC (Nat'l. Bd. Mbr.), Board Member of YM&WCA. I will appreciate your VOTE and ACTIVE SUPPORT for PROBATE JUDGE NOVEMBER 3, 1964.

ELECT
DETROIT LEE
WELL QUALIFIED

By STATUTE

By EDUCATION



By EXPERIENCE

By Community Service

DETROIT LEE

Independent Candidate for Office of

PROBATE JUDGE

Of

MACON COUNTY

In

GENERAL ELECTION ON NOV. 3, 1964

Your VOTE and INFLUENCE Gratefully Solicited and Appreciated

Member of TCA, AFGE (1st Vice-President) American Legion, American Veterans Committee (AVC) National Board Member At-Large, Board Member of YM & WCA, Tuskegee Institute, Baptist Church (Deacon) and Member of Non-Partisan Voters League of Macon County, Tuskegee, Ala.

Married—Wife and Five Children.

Character and Reputation—Sincere, Efficient, Courteous, Honest, High Moral Integrity. Check my *entire* record.

You can HELP ELECT Detroit Lee—Probate Judge—and put these qualities in office.

Pd. Pol. Adv. by the Friends of the Non-Partisan Voters League of Macon County, P. O. Box 1243, Tuskegee, Alabama.

CANDIDACY OF

DETROIT LEE for the Office of PROBATE JUDGE

General Election -- November 3, 1964

1. Key Statements
2. Who Is **DETROIT LEE,** What Has He Done?
3. Qualifications of **DETROIT LEE.**
4. What About the **Office of Probate Judge** of Macon County?
5. My Creed (Excerpts).

KEY STATEMENTS

ELECT **DETROIT LEE** PROBATE JUDGE OF MACON COUNTY AND DO **THREE IMPORTANT THINGS!**

1. *Have the best man, DETROIT LEE, qualified to be PROBATE JUDGE of Macon County.*
2. *Keep the popular, best man, PRESTON HORNSBY, qualified in the SHERIFF'S office.*

and

3. *Keep the Honorable Governor George C. Wallce of Alabama from appointing a Sheriff who may not (and most likely will not) be in the best interest of our community.*

Ladies, gentlemen and fellow citizens, in my campaign literature and statements I am saying that I am better qualified for the Office of Probate Judge than my opponent.

I heard him talk or campaign before the May 5th primary. I did not hear him give any information or experience he has had that would qualify him for the Office of Probate Judge. He did not even list any of the duties of the Office of Probate Judge nor did he state where this information may be found.

May I ask each one of you this question. In this modern day when emphasis should be stressed for good background, honesty, efficiency, education, training, experience and qualifications, will we be satisfied to elect the Sheriff Probate Judge just because he is *white* and has been a popular Sheriff? I hope that you are aware of our school crisis in which our children in the near future may be riding integrated school busses over the country. Certainly the least we could do for them is to keep our present Sheriff in his present office to which we elected him some two years ago to look out for our *interest.*

It is my firm hope and desire to see you and discuss these issues with each and every one of you *personally,* and to ask for your vote and support in this most important election; however, should I not be able to see you individually I shall still be hoping for and appreciate *your vote* for me on General Election Day, Tuesday, November 3, 1964.

WHO IS DETROIT LEE?

(What Has He Done?)

"Detroit Lee was born in Texas and received his education in that state and Tuskegee Institute. He boast a total of twenty-seven years of clerical and administrative experience, first with the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Tuskegee Army Air Base and, for the last twenty years, with the Veterans Administration Hospital. He is currently first vice-president of the American Federation of Government Employees.

Mr. Lee has worked untiringly for the extension of equality and justice in the community. In 1944, he organized, and was the first president of the local chapter of the NAACP. During World War II, he aided in the initiation of an investigation by the F.E.P.C. to eliminate racial discrimination in employment at the Tuskegee Army Air Base. Under the auspices of the TCA, he was active in seeking legal redress for citizens illegally imprisoned. He was also one of the twelve plaintiffs in the successful Tuskegee Gerrymander Case.

More recently, Detroit Lee has been striving to make democracy a reality in employment and education. As early as 1956, he made a survey of downtown merchants relative to the employment of Negro youth in clerical and sales positions. He is currently the sponsor of the Tuskegee Youth Organization which continues efforts to increase employment opportunities for youth. Moreover, Mr. Lee initiated, organized, and promoted the desegration of the Macon County public schools and serves as the chairman of the parents group that filed the initial school suits in the federal courts.

Mr. Lee has played a substantial role in the business life of the communinty. In 1945, he revitalized the Tuskegee Commercial Association and motivated a group of business and professional men to organize the Pioneer Finance Company which did a profitable business for several years. He was co-organizer of Typewriter Sales and Service, a firm which has grown steadily under new management. He also organized and was first president of Tuskegee Enterprises, Inc."

"Mr. Lee's record demonstrates his interest in the community. He will render effective, efficient service as your next Judge of Probate." [1]

Mr. Lee helped to organize the Non-Partisan Voters League of Macon County. This is another organization for civic education, improving the quality of democracy, improving the quality of governmental administration, improving the quality of public services, promoting community growth, ministering to youth and the aged, and the improvement of the cultural tone of the community.

Last but not least, most recently, in fact on City Election day, August 11, 1964, Mr. Lee acted as *chief watcher* of an *integrated* group of *poll watchers who were instrumental in obtaining a fair counting of the votes.*

QUALIFICATIONS OF MR. LEE

May I submit to each one of you the following qualifications for your prayerful consideration in my candidacy for the Office of Probate Judge of Macon County: *(First, I want to make this point very clear, especially to our Negro citizens, it is not necessary to be a lawyer nor even to have studied law to be qualified for the Office of Probate Judge in Alabama and Macon County.)*

---

1 Meet The Candidates of The Non-Partisan Voters League of Macon County, 1964, Paul L. Puryear, Chairman.

A. EDUCATION AND EXAMINATIONS PASSED:

1. I am a high school graduate and an alumnus of Tuskegee Institute in the School of Agriculture.
2. I have had correspondence courses in law and bookkeeping.
3. Begining in 1941 I have passed the following Civil Service Examinations: (1) Assistant Clerk, (2) Clerk-Typist in 1943 and (3) Post Office Clerk, 1947.

B. TRAINING AND WORK EXPERIENCES: (I have had the following work experiences)

1. 1937—Clerk-Receptionist in the office of the School of Education, Tuskegee Institute.
2. 1938—Assistant Clerk with the Forestry and Soil Conservation Service.
3. 1939-41—Company Clerk and Senior Leader in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).
4. 1942—CAF-2 Clerk-Typist at the Tuskegee Army Air Field (TAAF).
5. I also held other clerical, administrative and supervisory positions in Sub-Depot Engineering at the Tuskegee Army Air Field (TAAF) from 1942 to 1944.
6. 1945—Clerk and personnel classification analysis in the Army of the United States, Fort Benning, Georgia.
7. 1945 to present time, I have held positions of Clerk-Typist, Admission Clerk, Clerk-Dictating Machine Transcriber (Registrar Division), Clerk-Receptionist (Laboratory Service) at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Tuskegee, Alabama.

C. RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNITY SERVICE:

1. In the Baptist Church for the past 20 years I have been a deacon. I have also served in the positions of church clerk and treasurer, administrative Sunday School Superintendent, Baptist Training Union (BTU) Leader, chairman of church building program, sponsor of Junior Church and principal of Vacation Bible School.

2. I have held responsible positions in the following community organizations: N.A.A.C.P. organizer and first president of the Tuskegee Institute chapter, Tuskegee Civic Association (TCA) vice-president, 1st vice-president of the A.F.G.E. Lodge No. 110, Tuskegee, Alabama; National Board Member of the American Veterans Committee (AVC) of Washington, D. C. which awarded me the 1964 Americanism Award, chairman of the Parents Organization whose children desegregated the public schools of Macon County and chairman of the Joint Advisory Board of the YMCA and YWCA of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

In all, I have a total of 27 years of clerical, administrative and supervisory experience in government services. During this time I have performed satisfactorily the following kinds of duties and assignments:

1. Operated an alphabetical and numerical file system.
2. Composed and answered correspondence of various kinds.
3. Compiled and prepared various kinds of periodic, financial and statistical reports with use of typewriter and adding machines.
4. Prepared and typed an assortment of payrolls.
5. Managed budgets and controlled the expenditure of funds.
6. Participated in various kinds of conferences.
7. Supervised men, women, young people and children.
8. Assisted with records of hearing and served on hearing panels for the United States Government for several years.
9. Performed other office routines which required reading and interpreting rules, regulations and procedures.
10. Ordering, checking, sorting and inventoring of supplies and equipment.

DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PROBATE JUDGE OF MACON COUNTY.

A. ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS—(75% of time spent)

1. Issuing and collecting fees for various kinds of licenses.
2. Making various reports relating to the sales of these licenses.
3. Accounting, reporting and being responsible for certain fiscal records and funds.
4. Being familiar with certain election rules and regulations.
5. Keeping current voting statistics and poll tax lists.
6. Collecting and reporting certain taxes.
7. Procurement of supplies.
8. Make various kinds of appointments.
9. Make certificate of purchase.
10. Certifies, records and files documents authorized by law to be recorded for record.
11. Maintain records and files required by law.
12. Keep minutes of the Court of Probate.
13. Keep indexes for instruments filed and recorded in his office.
14. Keep a registry of liens of judgements and decrees with indexes to them.
15. Keep large and well-bound books for recording, word for word, conveyances of property and all other instruments authorized to be recorded, together with acknowledgements, proofs, schedules, plats, surveys, as other necessary attachments. Some of the records are: Deeds, mortgages, deeds of trust, bills of sale, contracts and any other documents purporting to convey any right, title, easement, or in any real estate or personal property, etc., etc.

B. JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE PROBATE JUDGE—(25% of time)

1. He is responsible for certain officials to be bonded.
2. Maintains petitions for judicial proceedings.
3. Maintain Court Dockets of hearings.
4. Appoint and remove guardians, executors and administrators.
5. Probate wills and administrations of estates.
6. Require Surety Bonds.
7. Other judicial procedures in which the Probate Judge has authority: Allotment of dower, advancements, exemptions, property and conveyances, lunacy inquisitions, guardians, admission to mental institutions, adoption and legitimatization of children, change of name, correction of marriage licenses, facts of birth, paupers, eminent domain, drainage districts, burial places, sale of land for delinquent taxes, refund of taxes, municipalities, public improvement authorities, closing streets, mine surveys, compliance orders, interment of bodies, contested elections and rites of marriage.

C. SOURCE OF INFORMATION—(The sources of information for the explanation of these duties may be found in the following books):

1. A manual for Alabama Probate Judges.
2. Code of Alabama, its supplements and local acts.
3. Court decisions.

I wish to state that I am familiar with these references and their use.

Through several visits to the Court House and in the Office of the Probate Judge I have seen, examined and become familiar with samples and excerpts of all the duties performed by the Probate Judge. In reality, the clerical, administrative, supervisory and judicial duties of the Probate Judge are essentially the same as those in which I have had experience and training. Therefore, I conclude that I am *well qualified* or *better* qualified to perform the duties of the Probate Judge in a more efficient manner than my opponent. I do not hesitate in asking each of you for your *VOTE* and *ACTIVE SUPPORT* for me in my candidacy for the *Office of Probate Judge,* Macon County, Alabama.

If you want *efficiency, sincerity, courtesy, courage, honesty* and *sympathetic understanding, HELP ELECT DETROIT LEE* and put these qualities in office. The date is *TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1964.* Please *VOTE,* but *VOTE FOR DETROIT LEE* to be your next Probate Judge of Macon County, Alabama.

DON'T let *ME* down, *DON'T* let your *CITY* down, *DON'T* let your *COUNTY* down, and above all, *DON'T* let *YOURSELF* down for this NATION and the WORLD have their eyes on us and are rightfully expecting us to handle our *destiny* wisely and *POINT THE WAY!!*

MY CREED (Excerpts)

And finally and most importantly my brethren (men and women, black and white together) just because of necessity I have entered into politics *PRIMARILY* to give our school children and community at large a better chance at safety and *SECONDLY* to foster the ideals and principles of the most eminent Dr. Booker T. Washington who spent a lifetime of service for the upbuilding of this community, likewise I will let no man, black or white, drag me so low as to make me hate him. At the same time I must fight the good fight. Also I cherish the ideals and principles of the late Dr. W. E. B. DuBois who was one of the founders of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It is my belief that the aims of these two noble benefactors were the same, but were approached from different directions according to their location in life—one from the north and the other from the south. I further subscribe to the program principles as practiced by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Just because *of necessity* I have entered into politics *I will not forsake* the Christian principles that I was nurtured in and have successfully practiced all of my adult life. I purposely and am determined in my campaign to mix Christian ethics with politics. If *elected* I further plan to carry Christ into office with me. It is my firm belief that more Christianity in politics may be our paramount need in this modern age of crises.

At the risks of security, conveniences or my life I will not deviate myself nor be deviated by any powers that be from doing what I think will be in the best interest of my people and country. Win or lose in the election I shall press forward in words and deeds in the endeavors I think will help *ALL* people. In this election, I will gladly accept the will of the Lord. Yes, I believe in the first law of nature which is self preservation, but in addition, I also believe more so in a greater law which is to give myself as a ransom for many and thereby I will save myself, finally, and many others as well.

Your *VOTE* for *ME* under these circumstances will be appreciated for the common good of *ALL. I WILL NOT* let *YOU* down! Therefore, *DON'T YOU* let *ME* down!

Thanks,

DETROIT LEE

ELECT

DETROIT LEE

GOOD GOVERNMENT

REQUIRES CHANGES

DETROIT LEE

GOOD GOVERNMENT

REQUIRES CHANGES

Independent Candidate For

PROBATE JUDGE

OF

MACON COUNTY

November 3, 1964

YOUR VOTE & INFLUENCE APPRECIATED

Pd. Pol. Adv. by the Friends of the Non-Partisan Voters League of Macon County
P. O. Box 1243, Tuskegee, Alabama

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1964

Negroes Gain In Congress, Legislatures

By TED POSTON

The Negro representation in Congress increased its ranks to six Tuesday, with the election in Detroit of J. J. Conyers, a Democrat.

Conyers, who ran abreast with President Johnson in sweeping his Paradise Valley district, joins a follow Detroitor, Rep. Charles Diggs, and four other Negroes, all Democrats, in Congress.

The others are Reps. Powell, New York City; Dawson, Chicago; Nix, Philadelphia, and Hawkins of Los Angeles.

The election of Conyers highlighted the Negroes' biggest political advance since Reconstruction. In last Tuesday's election, Negroes won seats in four state legislatures for the first time, and gained at least 10 seats in other legislatures where Negoes had previously served.

Gain for Equal Rights

Citing those gains and others, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director, said that the landslide vote for Johnson expressed not noly aroused Negro opposition to Sen. Goldwater "but also an awareness of the impact upon the nation and upon their lives of such vital issues as peace, prosperity and the anti-poverty program."

Other Negro gains, scored in a national election in which more than 6,000,000 Negroes were registered to vote, in cluded:

The 2-1 re-election vote for Massachusetts Attorney General Edward W. Brooke, the highest ranking Republican elective office held by a Negro, despite Brooke's repeated and public rejection of the Goldwater candidacy.

The first Negro member of Tennessee's General Assembly and the first New Jersey Assemblyman outside Newark; also the first two members of the Iowa House of Representatives; three members of the Oklahoma House of Representatives, a State Senator in Delaware and another in Kansas.

Colorado elected its first Negro district judge and four Negroes were elected to county office for the first time in Macon County, Ala.

Negroes also picked up more seats in the Legislatures of Indiana, Oklahoma, Georgia, California, New York and Massachusetts. They also reelected incumbents in Washington, Ohio, Arizona and Nebraska.

Elect 2 Appt

Atlantan Wins Seat In Oklahoma Legislature

Atl Wrld 11-5-64

By GEORGE M. COLEMAN
(World City Editor)

A young Atlanta Negro, who was figured in virtually every civil rights movement in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma for the past four years, beat out a white political opponent in Tuesday election, and won a seat on the state legislature, it was learned yesterday.

Archibald Hill 29, a young Democrat, won over his white Republican rival in a predominately white district, despite last minute movements by pro-Goldwater forces, and his record as a civil rights fighter.

Attorney Hill, the son of Mrs. Juanita Hill, an employee of Citizens Trust Company, was elected to the Oklahoma House of Representatives by a wide margin of more than two to one.

The representative nominate, who lost a decision last May, had run a second time in September after a federal court order threw out the election, calling for reapportionment of districts.

Mr. Hill's district is comprised of 11 precincts, seven of which are all white. . . three predominately Negro, and one about half and half in population.

The young attorney had been a practicing attorney in Oklahoma City for the past four years.

During this period he has handled litigation for most of the civil rights cases brought by Negroes in a push for equality.

In addition to this he has led numerous demonstrations, and at present is the President of the Congress on Racial Equality

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 6)

Elect + appoint

Atlantan Wins

(Continued from Page One)

(CORE) in the area.

In the Democratic primary last September Mr. Hill won over four white Democrats and one Negro for the nomination. In the general election he polled 2,506 of the available 3,300 votes in the small district, winning in all eleven precincts, while Jack R. Brown, his rival polled only 450 votes.

He won despite a last minute effort of literature placed in white neighborhoods dealing with his record on civil rights.

Mr. Hill is a graduate of Morehouse College, the North Carolina University's Law School. He is married to Mrs. Lovie Hill, and is the father of three boys, Archie, Jr., Pal and Mickie.

Ark. First Negro School Official Outlines Views

Atl. Weekly 11-11-64

LITTLE ROCK — (NPI) — "I believe that the educational program provided should adequately care for the development of skills in the tools of learning and the arts of communication," said Mrs. Sylvia Tallier Caruth, an experienced authority in the field of education and the first Arkansas Negro to hold an administrative post in the public school system. Mrs. Caruth was recently appointed supervisor of elementary education by the Little Rock School Board to fill an administrative vacancy.

Having been in the Little Rock school system since 1939, Mrs. Caruth is a strong advocate of placing "special emphasis upon the application of purposeful approaches to the education of youth in the lower grade levels.

She contended statement recently that "an educational program should instill understanding of the world as it is, and of man's efforts to achieve mastery over his own destiny: the strengthening in each young person of his intellectual power to cope with his environment and serve with his fellows."

She further believes that the young person's skills and understanding should be developed to that point where they will contribute to successful home and community life.

Economic self-reliance, creative citizenship and controlled emotions and habits of dealing with other people to strengthen personality and character, are high points of Mrs. Caruth's advocacy in the field of education.

After a tenure in office of only a few months, Mrs. Caruth has gained credible respect from other members of her official family and special commendation from Little Rock Supt. Parsons.

After receiving her master's degree from Columbia University in 1948, Mrs. Caruth's activity and prestige in the field of education has steadily mounted. She is a member of both the National and American Educational Associations, and is presently secretary of the Educational Research Association of her district.

The wife of prominent Prince Hall Mason, M. J. Caruth, she is the mother of two daughters, Mrs. Carmelite Caruth Smith, a college senior and Phyllis, a ninth grader whose scholastic record is one of the highest in her school.

"In order for American education to be successful, it must be purposeful in every respect, and opportunities must be equally accessible to all Americans," she said adding, "Equality is achieved through effort and demonstration of ability, and not a gift or special consideration."

Elect Happ-

'VICTORY KISS' — Newly elected Congressman John Conyers, Jr. of Detroit's First District enjoys a "Victory Kiss" from his mother, Mrs. Lucille Conyers, while John Conyers ,Sr. look on. Scene took place at campaign headquarters when they learned they had won.

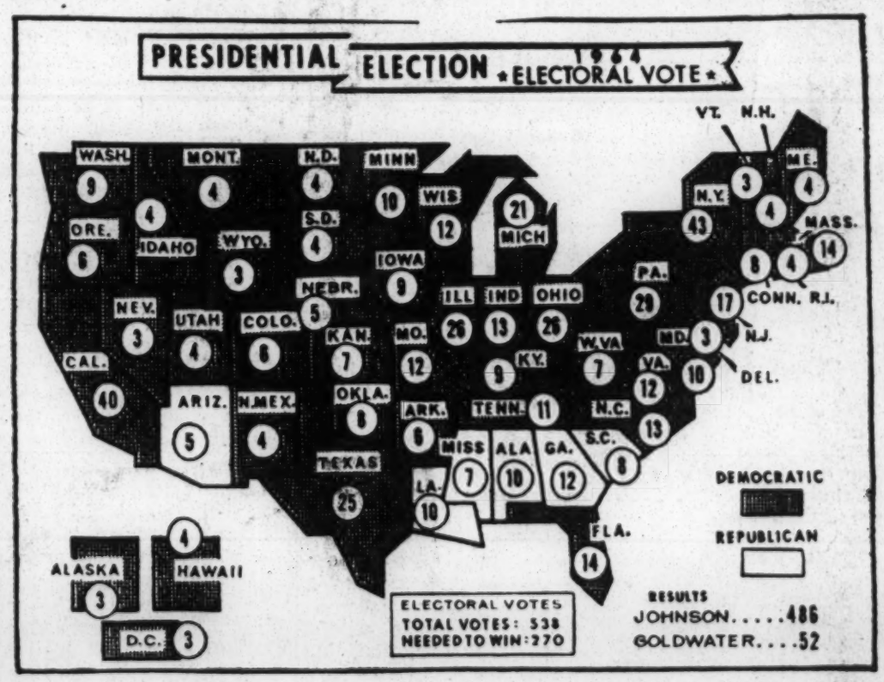
THANKS TO ALL — Smiling John Conyers Jr. thanks all those who worked for him during the campaign after results showed him the victor. Atty. Robert L. Millender served as campaign manager.

ALL CAMPAIGNED — All members of the family of Democrat Congressman-elect John Conyers, Jr., campaigned for him. Left to right are the Congressman, his mother, Mrs. Lucille Conyers; father John Conyers. Sr.; brother, Atty. Nathan Conyers. Another brother, William Henry, was not present when photo was taken.

'VICTORY KISS' FOR NEW CONGRESSMAN

JOHN H. CONYERS
Elected in Detroit
(Democrat)

WILLIAM L. DAWSON
Reelected in Chicago
(Democrat)

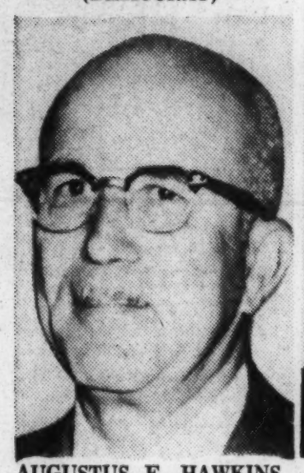


JOHN H. CONYERS
Elected in Detroit
(Democrat)

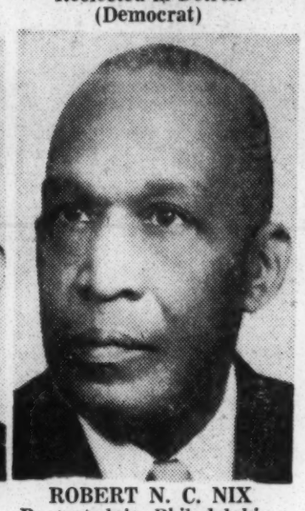
WILLIAM L. DAWSON
Reelected in Chicago
(Democrat)

ADAM C. POWELL
Reelected in NYC
(DEMOCRAT)

CHARLES H. DIGGS JR.
Reelected in Detroit
(Democrat)

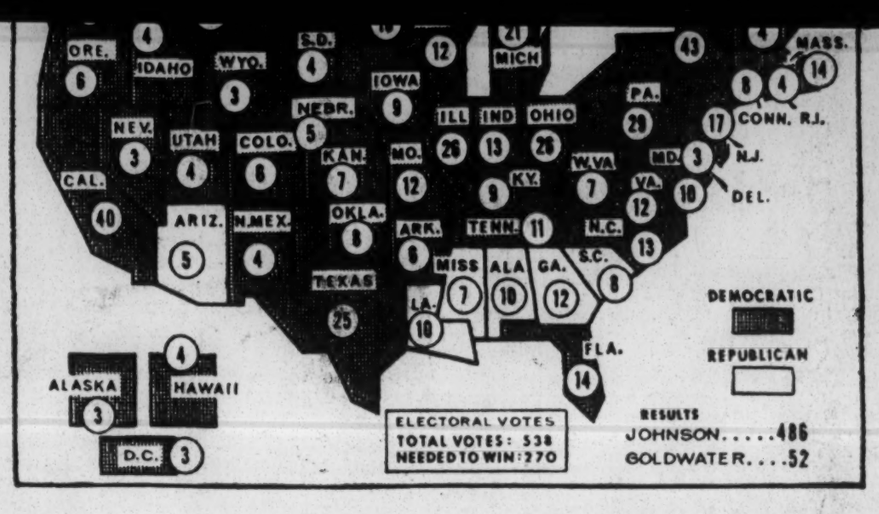


AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS
Reelected in Los Angeles
((Democrat)

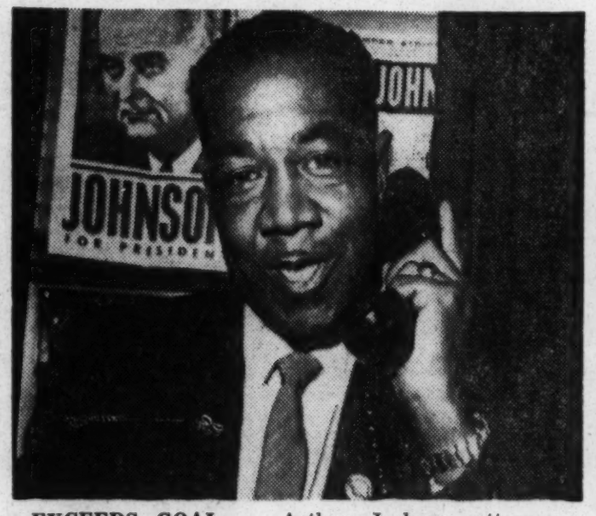


ROBERT N. C. NIX
Reelected in Philadelphia
(Democrat)

GOING TO VOTE—Dennis McIver, 72, having to climb steps to his Northside Richmond polling place in Richmond, Va., got an assist from Miss Priscilla Easter. Mr. McIver, recently released from the hospital declared "I am going to vote, even if they have to carry on a stretcher."



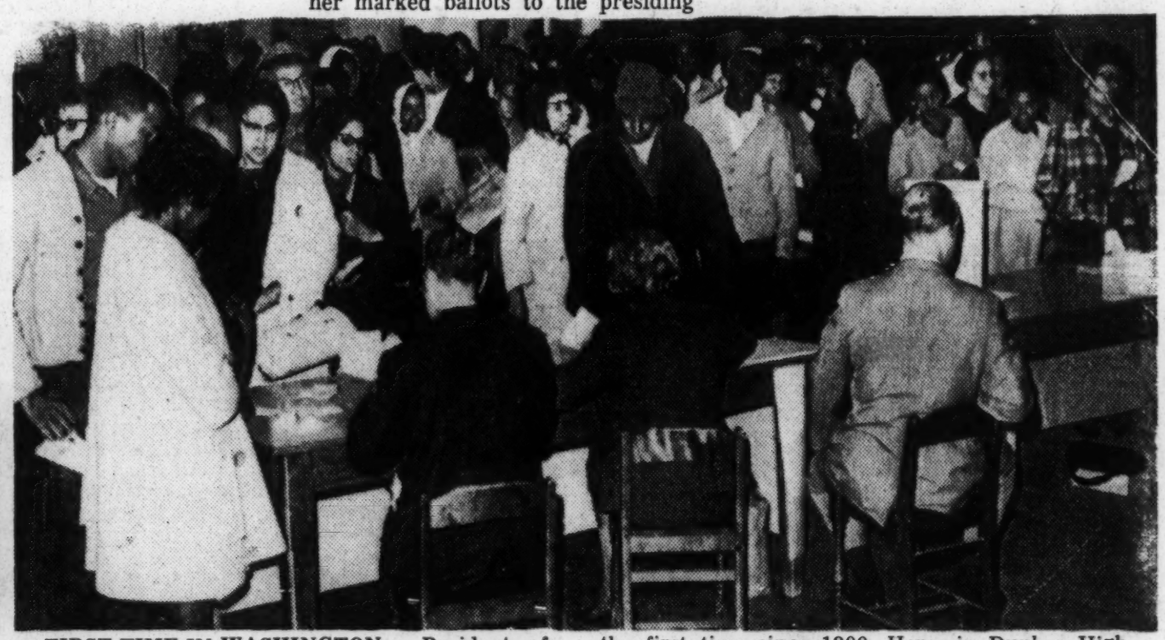
A GOP VOTE CHALLENGER scrutinized ballot handling in this voting booth in Cleveland, Ohio, last week. The Republican volunteer, Don Hellriegel, center, watches a voter hand her marked ballots to the presiding judge. In some areas of Cleveland, a flurry of challenges, harassing of voters and other incidents took place slowing the voting pace. (UPI Telephoto).



EXCEEDS GOAL — Arthur Jackson, attorney in Washington, D. C., kept busy on the phone in the pre-election drive in the hope of getting a 4-1 majority for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket in election precinct No. 55 where he is the Democratic captain.

JUSTICE
DARWIN TELESFORD
. . . to N. Y. Supreme Court

JUDGE PERRY JACKSON
Elected to Common Pleas
Court



FIRST TIME IN WASHINGTON — Residents of the District of Columbia went to the polls last week to vote for President and Vice President for the first time since 1800. Here, in Dunbar High School, voters line up for their ballots.

RICHMOND'S LARGEST voter turnout of over 63-000 in Tuesday's Presidential Election saw activity all over the city. At left at Northside Precinct 46, Norrell School, Mrs. Rosa B. Brown of 1801 Monterio Ave. and Mrs. Mildred Childs (seated) look over the registration books; next photo—in Jackson Ward, James P. Harris of 1124 St. Paul St. and Thomas Smith of 112 E. Jackson St. meet midcity poll workers, Mrs. Ophelia B. Shelton and Mrs. Leola Hucles; in photo No. 3, at South Richmond's Precinct 7, Mr. and Mrs. Junius Carter took along Junius Jr. when they cast their ballots; and in next photo, Church Hill voters line up at the ballot box presided over by Wilbert T. Foster.

ELECTION BOX SCORE

The final tabulation of colored candidates elected to office, nationally statewise and in counties throughout the United States last week in the Democraic sweep showed the following:

AFRO American 11-21-64

1 State attorney general
6 U.S. Congressmen
2 State Supreme Court justices
12 Civil court and other judicial officers
13 State Senators
49 State Legislators
6 School Board members
1 County coroner
2 County commissioners and 1 Presidential elector.

NATIONAL

EDWARD W. BROOKE, Attorney General of Massachusetts, (Repulican) reelected. Brooke (R) 1,464,868; James Henigan (D) 707,243. $25,000 per year.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ADAM C. POWELL (D), 18th District New York City, (93,681) defeated Joseph R. Baily (R), 11,656; Allan A. Lewis (L), 5,017; George C. Schuyler (C), 658.

CHARLES C. DIGGS JR. (D) reelected, 13th District, Detroit, Mich., 102,414 over Bruce Watson (R), 16,587, and Richard T. David (Socialist Worker), 345.

JOHN CONYERS JR. (D) elected first term, 1st District, Detroit, 138,489, over Robert B. Blackwell (R), 25,565, and Milton R. Henry (Freedom Now), 1,504.

WILLIAM L. DAWSON (D), 1st District, Chicago, reelected, 142,688, over Rev. Wilbur N. Daniel (R), 25,719.

AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS (D), Los Angeles, reelected 21st district, over Ray Lundy (R) 79,565 to 12, 225.

ROBERT N.C. NIX (D), 2nd district, Philadelphia, reelected, 120,113, over Melvin C. Howell (R), 29,881.

($30,000 a year as of Jan. 1, new salary scale)

Judicial

Darwin W. Telesford (D), 966,980, and Edward R. Dudley (D-L), 1,155.173, elected to the Manhattan-Bronx Supreme Court 1st district. ($34,500 per year, 14-year terms)

Jawn Sandier (D-L), 45,145, elected to Civil Court, 10th district, Manhattan.

Thomas R. Jones (D), 43,289, elected to Civil Court, 2nd district, Kings County.

State Senate

MRS. CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY (D-L), 21st district, Manhattan, reelected, 68,546, over Mrs. Cora T. Walker, 9,512, and Lester E. Waterbury (C), 705.

IVAN WARNER (D) reelected 27th district, Bronx, 56,713, over Justo J. Cecila (R), 7,018, and Reuben Samabria (D), 5,187.

WILLIAM C. THOMPSON (D), elected 11th district, 50,182, over Wilis Jordan (R), 7,083, and Clarence Norman (L), 2,760.

State Legislature

ARTHUR HARWICKIE Jr., Buffalo, 3rd district Erie County.

PERCY E. SUTTON (D), 11th district, Harlem, 20-658, over Moses J. Johnson (R), 1,087; C. Sheppard (L), 656, and W. Liggins Jr., (C), 45.

MARK T. SOUTHALL (D), 12th district, Harlem, 36,173, over Martin Richards (R), 2,963; Clifton Moore (L), 1,571, and Richard E. Sell (C), 203.

BERTRAM L. BAKER (D-L), 6th district, Brooklyn, 15,976, over Arthur Bramwell (R), 2,482.

SHIRLEY E. CHISHOLMA (D), 17th district, Brooklyn, 18,151, over C.E. Lewis (R), ~~1,803, and~~ Simon Golar (L), 922.

KENNETH N. BROWNE (D-L), 11th district, Queens, 39,299, over Alfred D. Lerner (R-C), 19,402.

($10,000 per year)

MICHIGAN

State Senate

Coleman A. Young (D), 50,778
Basil Brown (D), 64,420

State Legislators

James Bradley, 21,537
Mrs. Rosetta Ferguson, 16,152
David S. Holmes Jr., 16,750
George H. Edwards, 22,565
Mrs. Daisy Elliott, 20,981
Mrs. Maxine Young, 24,846
Daniel West, 14,914 (All Democrats)

($7,000 per year plus $1,200 expenses)

GEORGIA

State Senate

LEROY JOHNSON (D), 38th district, 21,035, reelected over Dr. Roy C. Bell (R), 3,135.

HORACE WARD (D), 39th district, elected, 10,289, over Robert Shaw (R), 5,423.

($10 per day plus $40 per day expenses during session)

TENNESSEE

State Legislature

A. W. Willis Jr.

(15 per day during session)

Judicial

H. T. Lockhart, Shelby County Court

OHIO

Judicial

Perry B. Jackson reelected to Common Pleas Court, 295,387 to 275,144 over William B. Mahone.

State Legislature

Carl B. Stokes (D) reelected, 30,802, Cleveland.

David Albritton (R) relected, 83,286, Dayton.

($5,000 a year plus travel allowance)

County Commissioner

James Ford (R) Xenia, 16,163, Xenia County.

MISSOURI

State Legislature

Harold Holliday (D)
Henry Ross (D)
Leon Jordan (Freedom, Inc.)

($4,800 per year plus expenses)

School Board

Dr. John E. Romas Jr. (Kansas), 48,252

OKLAHOMA

State Senate

E. Melvin Porter (D)

State Legislature

John B. White (D)
Archibald B. Hill Jr. (D)
Curtis L. Lawson (D)

($15 per day in session plus $100 per month when not in session)

IOWA

State Legislature

Mrs. Willie S. Glanton (D)
James Jackson (D)

30 per day for session)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mrs. Patricia Harris (D) elected Presidential elector over George E. C. Hayes (R).

ILLINOIS

Judges, Cook County

Mrs .Edith S. Sampson (D)
George N. Leighton (D)
Richard A. Harewood (D)
William S. White (D)

U. of Ill. Trustee

Theodore A. Jones (D)

Sanitary District Trustee

Earl E. Strayhorn

PENNSYLVANIA

State Legislature

Paul M. Lawson (D)
Freeman Hawkins (D)
Mrs. Sarah Anderson (D)
Mrs. Frances R. Jones (D)
Herbert Arlene (D)
Ulysses Shelton (D)
Mrs. Susie Monroe (D)
K. Leroy Irving (D)

($6,000 per year)

INDIANA

State Senate

Patrick E. Chavis (D)

State Legislature

Mrs. Daisy R. Lloyd (D)
Charles A. Walton (D)
Valjean L. Dickerson (D)
James Hunter (D)

($1,800 per year plus travel

State Legislature

Rev. Michael E. Haynes allowance)

County Coroner

Dr. Alexander W. Williams (D), Lake County

KANSAS

State Senate

George W. Haley (R)
Curtis McClinton (D)

($15 per day plus $15 a day expenses)

State Legislature

James P. Davis

ALABAMA

Rev. V. A. Edwards (D), Macon County Revenue Board

Dr .Charles Gomillion (D) Macon County school board

William Allen and W. A. Childs, both Democrats, Justices of Peace.

MASSACHUSETTS

(7,495), Royal Bolling (6,211) and Franklin Holgate (5,803), all Democrats elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Suffolk District 7. ($5,200 a year plus expenses)

NEW JERSEY

James E. Abrams elected Essex County Surrogate, $15,000 a year.

State Legislature

Rev. Howard Woodron, Trenton (D)

($5,000 annually)

ARKANSAS

Arthur H. Miller elected to Dollarway County school board.

CALIFORNIA

State Legislature

Willie L. Brown
W. Byron Rumford
Mervyn Dymally
Rev. Douglass Farrell

($6,000 annually plus expenses) 4

COLORADO

State Senate

George L. Brown

State Legislature

Daniel Grove

(3,600 annually plus $25 per session)

District Judge

James C. Flanigan

DELAWARE

State Senate

Herman N. Holloway

($3,000 per year)

NEBRASKA

State Legislautre

Edward R. Danner (D), Omaha

200 per month plus travel)

City School Board (Omaha)

Robert L. Myers

fP.. ..-Co. 0rOf

WISCONSIN

State Legislature

Lloyd A. Barbee, Milwaukee

(450 per month plus per diem in session)

TEXAS

Asberry B. Butler won post on school board in Houston.

3 104

Second tan member of Va. county group

Columbus News
11-21-64

McKENNEY, Va. — The McKenney town council has appointed Oscar W. Epps, 56, principal of Southside Elementary School, to the town planning commission.

The Dinwiddie County Board of supervisors earlier this year appointed Jonathan O. Lee, Sr., head of the science department at Southside High, to the county planning commission.

They are the first two colored persons to serve in appointive positions in the county.

Elred Epp-

The Greenville News 12/3/64

280 Negroes Hold Elective Offices In 33 States; New Voter Registration Drives Are Planned

Greenville News Bureau
132 Third St., S. E.

By LEE BANDY

WASHINGTON — The growth of Negro voters throughout the country is mushrooming into a political power which must be reckoned with in future state and national elections, a top Democratic party official says.

Louis E. Martin, deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said proof of that is the fact a number of Negroes were carried into national, state and local offices on the coattails of President Johnson.

A study just completed by the national committee revealed that there are 280 Negroes in elective positions in 33 states, including Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee. All are Democrats except 10.

The report shows the colored race gained 33 seats in state legislatures bringing the total to 90 — 88 are Democrats and two are Republicans.

The fact more than 90 per cent of the colored voters went for Johnson has given the Democrats "no illusion that Negroes are in the pocket of the Democratic party," Martin said.

"VERY MATURE"

The committee official, a Negro himself, contended the colored voter is a "very mature and sophisticated" person and "is going to vote for the candidates and party which, in his judgment, is sincerely trying to move all Americans forward."

The presidential campaign demonstrated the total involvement of the Negro leadership in political action, Martin said.

He attributed the colored voter response to a massive registration program which started in 1961.

"The work done over this three-year period by the national committee and such volunteer agencies as the voter education project of the Southern Regional Council, the National Urban League and the NAACP contributed to the greater political awareness of Negroes," Martin said.

Though the program was conducted on a non-partisan basis, he noted, "the actions of the Republicans leadership in literally kicking Negroes out of the party angered many Negroes who had been loyal over the years. This fact coupled with the strong civil rights position of President Johnson and the administration led to the record turnout and the election of Negro candidates to offices in all but 17 of the 50 states."

SWEEP DIXIE

NAACP, CORE and other similar Negro groups hope to have enough Negroes registered for the 1966 and 1968 elections to sweep Dixie segregationists out of office.

Unconfirmed reports here say the Negro organizations have already collaborated and are now working together to raise $10 million for the purpose of registering colored voters throughout the country, particularly the South.

Their aim is to have enough registered to have a more powerful voice in both the '66 and '68 elections.

There main targets two years from now are Sens. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Richard Russell of Georgia, leader of the Senate Dixie Bloc.

The South Carolina NAACP chapter has already met and started mapping plans to unseat Thurmond, Dixie's only Republican Senator.

The Negroes are bragging about their recent victories in the South and foresee more in the future.

In the last election, Negroes were elected to Congress from Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois and New York.

Two were elected justices of the peace in Macon County, Ala. In the same county, a colored man won a seat on the Board of Revenue and another was elected to the Board of Education.

In Georgia, one Negro won a seat in the state Senate and another was returned. Tennessee elected its first Negro to the state legislature since reconstruction days. In Houston, Tex., a colored man was elected a member of the school board to join an incumbent Negro member.

Elect. Negro
I. P. R.
South

Pol - negro THE NE

Democrats Report Record Total Of 280 Negroes in Elective Jobs

(WP)

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

Special to The New York Times 12-23-64

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22 — The number of Negroes in elective office increased between a quarter and a third as a result of last month's election, the Democratic National Committee reported today.

The committee attributed the gains by Negro candidates throughout the nation to President Johnson's landslide victory. Lending substance to the claim is the fact that all but 10 of the record total of 280 Negro officeholders are Democrats.

Acoording to figures compiled by the Democrats, the 1964 election produced these Negro gains.

¶John Conyers Jr. of Detroit became the sixth Negro member of the House of Representatives.

¶Negro candidates picked up 33 seats in State Legislatures, an increase of 58 per cent over the 57 they formerly held.

¶In state and local office, 27 more Negro nominees were elected, bringing the national total to 184.

All told, there will be Negroes holding elective office in 33 of the 50 states after Jan. 1.

The five present Negro representatives, who were all re-elected, are William L. Dawson of Chicago, Charles C. Diggs of Detroit, Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles, Robert N. C. Nix of Philadelphia and Adam Clayton Powell of New York City.

A number of the Negro gains were made in Southern states. According to the national committee's survey, two justices of the peace, a member of the County Board of Revenue and and a member of the County Board of Education were elected in Macon County, Alabama, the home of Tuskegee Institute.

In Georgia, a State Senator was elected and one re-elected. In Tennessee, the first Negro since Reconstruction was elected to the Legislature. In Texas, a second Negro joined the school board. In Oklahoma, four Negroes were chosen for the Legislature.

Of the 280 Negroes who will be serving as a result of the election, 28 are women. All of these, the national committee noted with satisfaction, are Democrats.

Elect. + appt

Local Realtor Named To City Commision Post

The City Council voted 5-4 to appoint Wilbur H. Hollins, insurance and real estate man to a city Commission member Tuesday, which will make the first Negro to be appointed to an agency in the city in the history of Birmingham.

Favoring the move to appoint Mr. Hollins were president E. M. Wiggins, Alan Drennen, George Seibels, Miss Miglionico and Dr. John E. Bryan.

Mr. Hollins is executive vice president of Acmar Realty Co. He is a former Fairfield and Jefferson County teacher and the BTW Business College. He is an officer and founder of the the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council, president of the Magic City Real Estate Board and was formerly a Housing Authority Manager. His vast experience will enable him to fill any possible position in the area which he is appointed.

He and Mrs. Hollins, a social worker reside in the North Smithfield section.

Birm. Mirror 1-2-65

THE ATLANTA DAILY WORLD 1/12/65

Senator Ward Says He'll "Play Role Of Freshman"

By NICHOLAS C. CHRISS
(United Press International)

State Sen. Horace T. Ward, the second Negro to sit in the Georgia legislature in more than 50 years, said Sunday he planned to play the role of a freshman lawmaker during his first term.

But Ward, who spent seven years attempting to enter the Unversity of Georgia, also said he would not hesitate to speak out in the General Assembly on issues he feels strongly about.

Ward, 37, represents Atlanta's 39th senatorial district. He defeated Republican Robert Shaw by more than 4,000 votes in a district that has 12,500 white and 9,000 Negro registered voters.

"I intend to sit back and watch and study the situation during my first term," Ward said.

Ward, an attorney, said he was pleased with his committee assignments in the Senate, given out by president of the senate, Lt. Gov. Peter Zack Geer. Ward said he was assigned to two of the four committees he requested.

ASSIGNMENTS

He will be on the committees of County and Municipal Government; Health and Welfare; Business, Trade and Commerce, and Penal and Correctonal. He said he had asked for the first two, and also for Judiciary and Labor and Industry Committees.

"The committees I got were not precisely what I had asked for but I think they are very good. There are so many senators, some with seniority, all asking for the same committees," he said.

Ward said he had no specific legislation he planned to introduce during the first session, although something may come up. He said it was more likely that he would have bills to offer during his second term.

"There will be plenty to do. There are so many problems facing the state," he said.

LIKE JOHNSON

Ward's initial period in the Senate may very well resemble that of Sen. Leroy Johnson who will occupy the seat next to Ward's in the upper chamber. Johnson was the first Negro elected to the Georgia legislature in half a century.

During his first term in 1962 Johnson was seldom heard from but did all his homework. Since then he has become one of the most respected lawmakers in the General Assembly, and progressvely has taken a move active and vocal role in legislative affairs.

It was in 1950 that Ward filed the granddaddy of all applications by Negroes to enter the University of Georgia. The legal tilt between Ward and the State of Georgia continued until 1957, after Ward had come out of the service and tried to resume his efforts to enter the school.

He lost when a federal court upheld a university requirements that said returned veterans must renew their application attempts if a certain amount of time had passed.

FINALLY WINS

That rule was eventually nullified in another legal battle undertaken by Donald J. Hollowell, Ward's present law partner, but Ward did not benefit by it. He graduated from Northwestern University School of Law in Chicago.

The attorney said he favors a reapportionment plan that would redce the present 250 members in the Georgia House.

"Anyway it's done, I feel there will be some Negro members in the House eventually," Ward said.

Ward is married and has one son.

THE ATLANTA DAILY WORLD 1/12/65

Ga. Lawmakers Open 1965 General Assembly With Budget, Reapportionment

SENATORS SWORN IN — Senator Horace Ward (c) who Monday became the second Negro member of the Georgia General Assembly, is seen being sworn in by Judge Robert Russell of the Georgia Court of Appeals. This group also includes Senator Leroy Johnson (second from right) who made history two years ago as the first Georgia Negro solon in 100 years. Others in the photo include Senators James Wesberry, Brooks Pennington, Dan McIntyre, Ben Johnson, and Frank Miller—(Perry's Photo)

Senator Ward Is Sworn In

By HARMON G. PERRY
(World News Staff)

A young Atlanta Negro lawyer, who only 10 years ago was termed by the board of regents unqualified to enter the University of Georgia was one of the 10 freshman solons sworn in Monday as members of the Georgia General Assembly.

For 34-year-old Senator Horace Ward his presence as a member of this 1965 lawmaking body was the crowning experience of a long struggle which dated back to those days when sought unsuccessfully to become the first Negro to enter the university system ... to study law.

OUTSTANDING STUDENT

Ward went on, after his bitter experience with the University of Georgia, to graduate as an outstanding law student from Northwestern University, came back home after working with the U.S. government and Alabama State College, and became part of the legal team which successfully desegregated the University of Georgia with Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter.

Senator Ward now looks forward to a promising career in politics and his own private law practices. He is one of two new members of the Fulton delegation, and eager to learn from his experienced colleagues.

The opening of the 1965 General Assembly was [illegible] for an[illegible] [illegible] the first [illegible] [illegible] serving in the Georgia upper body at the same time.

JOHNSON BY HIS SIDE

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The opening of the 1965 General Assembly was significant for Ward in marking the first time a Negro sat in the Georgia upper body at the same time.

JOHNSON BY HIS SIDE

As Ward took his seat in the senate chamber he was being reassured and encouraged from the next seat by Senator Leroy Johnson, who was going through the same jitters (even more so) two years ago as the first Negro state legislator in Georgia in over 100 years.

He was greeted and warmly welcomed along with the other new Senators. He felt ten feet tall as he took the oath of office from Judge Robert Russell along with such other members of the delegation which included Senators James Westberry, Dan MacIntyre, Johnson, Ben Johnson and Frank Miller.

He listened devoutly as Senator Leroy Johnson delivered the address seconding the nomination of Senator George P. Stewart as secretary of the body and forcsaw himself in a similar role someday.

When the session adjourned Ward remarked: "Its a privilege to be a member of this great body and be of service to the people of my district, city and county."

"I am going to enjoy my work because I'm impressed with the courtesy extended to be by other members of this Senate." "I plan to work diligently at my job here, and I feel I will be given the amount of respect that my achievements demand."

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

Ward has already been appointed to four committees within the Senate. They include the Penal and Corrections, Courts and Municipal Government, Business, Trade and Commerce, and the Health and Welfare Committee where he shares membership with Sen. Johnson.

Senator Johnson too, has been appointed to four key committees and is being considered for a possible fifth. He has been appointed to the Judiciary, Education, and Appropriations committees.

Johnson in his remarks seconding the nomination of Sen. Stewart as Senate Secretary said ... "It is my pleasure to second the nomination of a man who has so ably and honestly distinguished himself as a public servant."

He then quoted excerpts from John Dunn's poem "God Give Us Men," and then said it applied to Senator Stewart.

THE ATLANTA DAILY WORLD 1/10/65

EOA APPOINTEES SHOULD REPRESENT ALL RACES

When Gov. Carl Sanders appointed six men to the staff of the Georgia Office of Economic Opportunity, Thursday, we searched the list in vain to find the name of at least one Negro.

Duties of the appointees include planning and development programs for 16 areas in the state — and act as regional consultants to supply technical assistance to communities receiving benefits under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The six men have been appointed to the Coosa Valley, Mounfains and Northeast Georgia area, Central Savannah River, Oconee and South Central area; Macon and Chattahoochee area; Altamaha, Coastal, Slash Pine and Coastal Plains area; Lower Chattahoochee, West Georgi and Southwest Georgia area.

Georgia's woeful overlooking the tenor of the federal legislation encased in the Economic Opportunity Act must be called to the attention of Gov. Sanders as well as all other state officials.

Georgia has enjoyed a reputation of being progressive in the area of racial relations. We want to see Georgia live up to that reputation.

The EOA plainly explains that the program must include qualified representatives from all racial groups, on all levels, meaning from the planning level down.

We urge Gov. Sanders to take immediate steps to correct his oversight — that of not including a member of the Negro race among the appointees, to make it truly representative.

Senator Johnson 1/12/65

Atlanta Daily World

To Request EOA Appointment For Negroes

By Thaddeus T. Stokes
Associate City Editor

Senator Leroy Johnson told the Atlanta Daily World Monday that he is seeking an appointment with Gov. Carl Sanders to request that he appoint some Negroes to the staff of Georgia Office of Economic Opportunity immediately.

Gov. Carl Sanders, last week, appointed six white men to plan and development EOA programs for 16 areas in the state and become regional consultants to supply technical assistance to communities receiving benefits under the War On Poverty.

Sen[illegible] paper "I concur with an editorial (Jan. 10) appearing in your paper, urging [illegible] appoint some Negroes. The editorial is correct in substance and intent."

He went on to say "these jobs pay $10,000 a year. And 75 percent of the poverty in the State of Georgia, of necessity, has to do with Negroes. These programs are suppose to include all people of the community from top, down."

Senator Johnson continued;" It is inconcievable that Gov. Sanders failed to appoint some Negroes as regional administrator in the first place.

The EOA clearly explains that all such programs must include qualified representatives from all racial groups.

Negro appts. + Selections

Chi. World 1-27-65

D.C.'s First Negro Police Captain Given Charge Of Precinct

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Owen W. Davis, Washington's first colored police captain, will become the first of his race to command a precinct next Sunday when he takes charge of the Second Precinct.

His assignment to the precinct, where he has served for 22 of his 25 years on the force, was made last Saturday by the Metropolitan Police Department.

Negro Appts. + Ed.

YDC Names First Negro To Board

The Pulaski County Young Democrats Club elected Mrs. Vera Lewis of 1302 Roosevelt Road, a Negro, to the executive board last week.

Bill Screeton, the new president, said she was the first Negro to be named to the board. There are less than 10 Negores among the 150 members, he said.

He said that Mrs. Lewis had worked with other YDC members in last year's election campaign.

Screeton, an assistant traffic manager at Orbit Valve Company, succeeded Jerry Russell as president. Other officers include Dick Norton, and Carol Brunck, vice presidents; Pat Lentz, secretary; Ann Sniff, treasurer; and Mrs. Cal Ledbetter, publicity director.

—Staff Photo.

County Young Democrats Officers

New officers of the Pulaski County Young Democrats Club include (from left) Carol Brunck, vice president; Bill Screeton, president; Ann Sniff, treasurer, and Dick Norton, vice president.

Negro Appt. + Elect.

Ark-Gazette
8-5-65

Negro Is Appointed To Greenville Post

GREENVILLE, Miss., (AP)—A Negro, C. W. Watson, has been appointed to the Planning Commission for the Third Supervisor District, the City Council announced Wednesday.

Watson was recently named Greenville's Negro "Man of the Year" and has been active in various civic affairs.

Negro appts. + Elections

Wm. Demo Nomination Winston-Salem

REGISTER

NOW!

VOTE

FOR

May 30, 1964

negro & lib + appt. green

WILLIAM R. (BILL) CRAWFORD

STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1964 **MAY** 1964

SUN MON TUE WED THU FRI SAT

THIS IS THE DAY YOU

VOTE FOR

WILLIAM R. (BILL) CRAWFORD

					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24 31	25	26	27	28	29	30

OPA-LOCKA RUNOFF

Negro Sees Proof Of Brotherhood

The first winning Negro candidate in Opa-locka said today his victory in a City Commission primary is proof of the Miami suburb's "concern for brotherhood."

But Albert W. Tresvant, foreman in a dry cleaning plant, said if he wins one of the commission seats in the runoff April 21, he plans to "demonstrate at the commission table instead of in the streets."

His primary goal then, he added, will be an end to racial discrimination he said exists in Opa-locka restaurants and Protestant churches.

Tresvant, who has lived in Opa-locka 13 years, polled 470 votes in Tuesday's primary to run fourth. He said he had expected "maybe another 200 votes in white precincts" even though he did little campaigning there."

Incumbent Richard Bennis, owner of a printing firm, polled 200 more ballots than Tresvant to lead the 10-man field into the runoff for the three commission seats at stake. There are five members in all.

Grocer Frederick O. Bates was second and a contractor; Don Mongiello placed third.

Elections

Lester I. Bowman

Joseph H. Owens

Arlie Andrews

Negro Elected in Petersburg; First Since Reconstruction

Continued from First Page

pected, worked in favor of both Owens and Bowman. In two predominantly Negro wards of the city, the Third and the Sixth, Owens netted 790 votes. The leading white candidate in the same two wards received only 35. This was out of a total vote of 825.

Bowman's heaviest single-shot votes came in the three precincts of the Seventh ward and the Eighth ward.

The strategy behind the single-shot ballot is that by voting for only one candidate the chances of any other candidate on the ticket are considerably lessened.

Winners Give Thanks

Approximately 280 more voters cast ballots in the runoff. The estimated total vote was 4,569 compared with 4,289 in the initial election. Bowman had 187 additional votes, Andrews 301, and Owens 289.

Owens said in a post-election statement that he hoped his actions on the council would "not be viewed as a Negro councilman for Negro citizens but a councilman who happens to be a Negro with an interest for all citizens."

The three incumbents in a joint statement expressed their thanks to city voters and said they hoped "that voters in Petersburg will be happy and satisfied with the selections they have made."

Bowman said "naturally" I am quite flattered by the outcome. . . . When I was asked if I would serve if elected I responded in the affirmative but pointed out emphaticall ythat if success was ours I would belong to no man or any group of men." He added that he would "continue to stand on my convictions as I have in the past regardless of the consequences to myself

Charter Changed

The city's charter was changed in 1962 by an act of the General Assembly to eliminate the need for a primary election unless called for by the central Democratic committee. That same revision incorporated the majority vote provision for the first time.

After the initial election there was some question about Bowman's name being placed on the run-off ballot. But Attorney General Button said, in answer to a query from the local electoral board, that a write-in candidate has the same status as one who qualifies under regular election law procedure.

Bowman was drafted as a candidate only a week before the June 9 balloting by a citizen's committee. He was chosen because of his stand on racial issues. Eleven days after Negro civil rights groups began a boycott of the central business district the city's biracial committee adopted a resolution over Bowman's objection, urging an end to segregation in public accommodations. Ensorsements quickly followed from the city council and retail merchants association. These endorsements were branded as attempts to "intimidate and compel" businessmen to accede to the demands of "a certain group of dissidents." Bowman said council's endorsement was "ill - advised and of questionable propriety."

"Pressure" Charged

A major issue arose after Bowman's supporters distributed campaign literature alleging that outside pressure had been brought to bear on the biracial committee and the city council to adopt the resolutions.

The three incumbents issued an immediate denial of the charge as well as the chairman of the biracial committee. Bowman himself later said he had not approved the literature before its distribution.

The incumbents countered that Bowman's supporters were guilty of "baseless rumor-mongering" and of using tactics unheard of before in the community.

Less than a week before the run-off, two of the incumbents, Gill and Jacobs, told a reporter they were considering withdrawing from the race. Both later issued statements of their intentions to run.

The boycott, which started much of the campaign charges, was lifted last Sunday after six weeks.

Petersburg Vote

WARD	Andrews	Bowman	Gill	Jacobs	Owens
1	84	109	67	58	132
2 (Prec. 1)	167	200	132	110	242
2 (Prec. 2)	68	97	54	47	31
3	12	11	13	12	396
4	128	165	64	73	120
5	82	108	64	49	213
6	20	20	22	4	394
7 (Prec. 1)	378	450	330	291	51
7 (Prec. 2)	384	359	338	359	52
7 (Prec. 3)	349	375	278	290	60
8	228	318	173	139	27
TOTALS	1,900	2,212	1,535	1,432	1,718

Meet The Candidates Of The

Non-Partisan Voters League of Macon County

MEET THE CANDIDATES

of the

NON-PARTISAN VOTERS LEAGUE

OF MACON COUNTY

As a group of public spirited citizens we, the undersigned, are happy to endorse and present the candidates of the Non-Partisan Voters League of Macon County who solicit your support in the municipal elections of August 11, and the County elections of November 3, 1964. These candidates are well qualified for office by experience and education. They are prepared to give time, money, and energy to identify the needs of the total community, and to work toward realistic solutions based upon expert information and advice. They stand for the creation of an **interracially** administered governmental system working in the interest of **all** citizens. They believe in the innate equality of all persons and will seek the realization of this principle in administering the affairs of the city and county.

We believe that the next several months will be crucial in the life of our community. As you know, the struggle to secure the vote for Negroes has been very difficult. It is now possible to use this voting strength effectively to achieve worthwhile public goals. More than one hundred years has passed since Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was issued. With your active help and support, the upcoming elections can mark the beginning of a new emancipation which will free both Negroes and whites of the fetters of strife and inequality. To this end, we invite you to vote for the candidates of the Non-Partisan Voters League.

ELIZABETH KEEN
L. E. REID
REV. JAMES LEONARD
FLOSSIE P. HOLLOWAY
S. M. HOLLAND
MARY K. FRAZIER
MAYME SCOTT
MABLE WILLIAMS
GEORGE O. NICKERSON

Committee of Friends of the Non-Partisan Voters League.
P. O. Box 1243, Tuskegee, Ala.
LENA H. JOHNSON, Treasurer

THE CANDIDATES

B. B. BLAKEMON _____ **Alderman (City Council)**
Place No. 3

B. B. Blakemon is a native of Indiana. He received his elementary, secondary, and college education as well as his legal training in that state. He holds a B. S. in Commerce with advance training in accounting, economics, government and law. He has served in the public school system as an assistant principal and basketball coach. He has worked as an associate professor and as acting dean in a land grant college. He has served as and executive secretary, law clerk, investment counselor, and insurance executive. For over two years he worked on a General Education Board Project which studied techniques to facilitate learning processes in children, and fostered new philosophies of school administration. Immediately following his discharge from service, he served as managing editor for the **San Antonio Informer.** For 18 years he has been a citizen and resident of Macon County. Presently, he is employed by the Veterans Administration Hospital as an educational therapist. He also owns and directs a successful accounting and insurance agency in the City of Tuskegee. He served with the armed forces from December, 1942 through February, 1946. During this period, he supervised men and materials and was responsible for expending and accounting for substantial sums of money.

He pledges honesty, humility, and integrity, and the utmost of his skils and abilities if elected.

CELIA BRAXTON QUINN ____ **Alderman (City Council)**
Place No. 4

Mrs. Quinn is a native of Tuskegee and a life member of the Tuskegee Civic Association. She received her secondary education at Tuskegee Institute High School and graduated from Alabama State Teachers College with a major in Elementary Education. She did further study at the University of Cincinnati and graduated from the Salmon P. Chase College of Commerce and Law, Cincinnati, Ohio with an A. S. C. degree.

Mrs. Quinn has had wide experience in a variety of fields. She is a former school teacher and has served as a columnist for the Cincinnati edition of the Cleveland **Call** and **Post.** She also worked with the Cincinnati Police Department for several years and has served as a secretary in budgeting and housing. She is currently a retired civil service employee, but remains active as a church organist and pianist. Her community spirit, in large measure, is exemplified by her participation as a defendant in the Tuskegee Gerrymander Case.

Mrs. Quinn has been very influential in community affairs in Ohio. She is especially proud of the accomplishments of the East Fork Community Council in Cincinnati where, largely through her efforts, it was possible to secure the extension of utility service lines, the construction of additional briges, sidewalks, and necessary street improvements. As a result of Mrs. Quinn's leadership, the East Fork Community was able to establish a modern, efficient fire department to protect the property of that area.

If elected, Mrs. Quinn will bring to the Council a broad practical exeprience in the solution of community problems. She pledges her best efforts on behalf of all citizens.

PAUL L. PURYEAR ..... **Alderman (City Council) Place No. 1**

Paul L. Puryear is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Department of Social Science Research at Tuskegee Institute. A native of Newark, New Jersey, he has lived in the Tuskegee community for three years. He holds the B. A. degree from Talladega College and the M. A. and Ph.D degrees from the University of Chicago with specialties in urban government, and constitutional law. He also has done post-doctoral study at the University of Mysore in India under a Fullbright grant. Presently, he is a Teaching Fellow of the Danforth Foundation and the Society for Religion in Higher Education.

Paul Puryear has been active for several years in getting students and adult citizens interested in political activity. While a member of the faculty of Virginia State College in Norfolk, he sponsored the Civic Youth League and lectured regularly to church and community groups on problems of political organization and action. He currently serves as a faculty advisor to the Community Action Crop and a student political club at Tuskegee Institute. He has also been interested in problems of political corruption and, in 1956, worked with a research team to uncover voter registration fraud in Chicago, Illinois.

Dr. Puryear's research and writing has centered around the problems of the Negro in American life. In a recent article published in the **Harvard Educational Review**, he devoted special attention to the legal problems of public school desegregation. Among other things, he is now at work on studies of the implementation of federal voting rights laws and the political behavior of Negroes in several Southern states.

Paul Puryear believes that the academic "ivory tower" is a thing of the past. He pledges all his special knowledge of governmental administration in unselfish service for the common good.

WILLIE JOHNSON ..... **Alderman (City Council) Place No. 2**

Willie Johnson is a long-time resident of the State of Alabama. He was educated in the public schools of Elmore County and at Tuskegee Institute. He has lived in Tuskegee for twenty-two years. Currently, he is a certified Occupational Therapists Assistant at the Veterans Administration Hospital.

Willie Johnson has rendered yeoman service to the community as a counselor and builder of youth. He helped to organize the Little League in Tuskegee and has served as coach for that group for seven years without compensation. He has also been active with the Boy Scouts.

Mr. Johnson has devoted considerable time and energy in fostering community improvement projects. In recent years, he has served as chairman of a citizens committee to identify community problems and to seek redress through local government to secure more adequate

street paving, street lighting, and improved garbage disposal practices. Consequently, he is well acquainted with the crucial needs of the community.

Willie Johnson is a member of the Tuskegee Civic Association and Greenwood Baptist Church. He has dedicated himself to public service for the early amelioration of community problems.

MRS. FANNYE J. HARRIS ——— **School Board (Place No. 1)**

Fannye Harris was born in Greenwood, S. C. She was educated in the public schools of Columbia, S. C. and earned her B. S. and Masters degrees at Tuskegee Institute. Presently, Mrs. Harris is Head of the Circulation Division of Hollis Burke Frissell Library at the Institute.

Fannye Harris, the mother of three children, has lived in Tuskegee for 20 years and is known widely for her interests in the educational development of youth. Aside from the distinguished service she has rendered to college students, she is a popular figure in the Children's Room of the Tuskegee library. She is currently Director of "Ride the Winged Horse," a summer reading project sponsored by the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority for community children.

Mrs. Harris has participated very actively in a variety of community affairs. She has served as chairman of the Mother's March of Dimes, the Cancer Crusade in Macon County, and St. Anne's Guild of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church. She is a past president of the Chambliss Children's House PTA and currently serves as a member of the executive committee of United Church Women. Mrs. Harris is also President of the Tuskegee Alumnae Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, and chairman of the Faculty-Staff Committee for the National Fund for Tuskegee.

Mrs. Harris' long record of community service with youth and adults makes her an ideal choice for the School Board. She pledges herself to work diligently to keep the schools open and to improve the quality of education for all children.

DETROIT LEE ——— **Judge of Probate**

Detroit Lee was born in Texas and received his education in that state and at Tuskegee Institute. He boasts a total of twenty-seven years of clerical and administrative experience, first with the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Tuskegee Army Base and, for the last twenty years, with the Veterans Administration Hospital. He is currently first vice president of the American Federation of Government Employees.

Mr. Lee has worked untiringly for the extension of equality and justice in the community. In 1944, he organized, and was the first president of the local chapter of the NAACP. During World War II, he aided in the precipitation of an investigation by the F.E.P.C. to eliminate racial discrimination in employment at the Tuskegee Army Base. Under the auspices of the TCA, he was active in seeking legal redress for citizens illegally imprisoned. He was also one of the twelve plaintiffs in the successful Tuskegee Gerrymander Case.

More recently, Detroit Lee has been striving to make democracy a reality in employment and education. As early as 1956, he made a survey of downtown merchants relative to the employment of Negro youth in clerical and sales positions. He is currently the sponsor of the Tuskegee Youth Organization which continues efforts to increase employment opportunities for youth. Moreover, Mr. Lee initiated, organized, and promoted the desegregation of the Macon County public schools and serves as the chairman of the parents group that filed the initial school suits in the federal courts.

Mr. Lee has played a substantial role in the business life of the community. In 1945, he revitalized the Tuskegee Commercial Association and motivated a group of business and professional men to organize the Pioneer Finance Company which did a profitable business for several years. He was co-organizer of Typewriter Sales and Service, a firm which has grown steadily under new management. He also organized and was first president of Tuskegee Enterprises, Inc.

As a church worker, Mr. Lee has acquited himself well. He is an ordained Baptist deacon and organized and served as first principal of the city-wide Vacation Bible School. Additionally, he has served as Sunday School Superintendent, B. T. U. leader, church clerk and treasurer, and a prime mover in church building projects.

Mr. Lee has held a number of responsible posts with local and national organizations. He is a past vice-president of the TCA and currently serves the American Veterans Committee as national board member at large. Additionally, he serves as adult sponsor for the Tuskegee Institute Advancement League and is a member of the board of the Institute YM & YWCA.

Mr. Lee's record demonstrates his interest in the community. He will render effective, efficient service as your next Judge of Probate.

THE PLATFORM

If elected the candidates of the Non-Partisan Voters League promise to work together to implement a clear and reasonable precise set of goals for community development. Presented below are excerpts from the League's proposed platform.

To Improve the Quality of Democracy

In order to promote the dignity of all citizens, the League will endeavor to assure that there is no discriminatios against any race, white or Negro, in determining eligibility for public employment, in the provision and use of public facilities, and in contracting for goods and services required by local government. Moreover, the League's candidates on the Board of Alderman (City Council) will move for the immediate appointment of an official citizens committee representative of all races and groups in the community to help bring an end to racial misunderstanding and to promote the economic growth of the community. The League pledges further that it will promote free and open discussion of all issues by citizens of the community. Every effort will be made to assure that City

Council meetings, School Board proceedings, and administrative hearings are open to the public. Periodic printed reports will be circulated to keep citizens informed about what their governmental officials are doing.

To Improve the Quality of Governmental Administration

The League will work diligently to assure that all municipal positions and all appointments to official boards and committees are filled by persons well qualified by education and experience. Efforts will be made to have a full study made of current administrative practices to eliminate inefficiency and duplication. When necessary, the advice of outside experts will be sought.

To Improve the Quality of Public Services

The League supports the substantial improvement of public services and includes among its objectives the following:

1. The establishment of a salaried full-time fire department augmented by part-time emergency personnel to cope with all kinds of fires.
2. The improvement of police protection and police methods. Short courses and police institutes will be conducted regularly to train policemen in modern police methods, new legal developments, and the sociological aspects of crime.
3. The provision of paved streets and sidewalks, mercury lighting, and adequate sewerage and drainage facilities where these are not now available.
4. The construction of more low-cost housing for low-income groups.
5. The provision of better and less crowded school facilities.
6. The development of vocational education programs especially for unemployed youth.
7. The improvement of school libraries and special remedial services for school children.
8. The establishment of a central public library.

To Promote Community Growth

The League believes that the local economy must be diversified and the rate of economic growth accelerated to provide more employment opportunities especially for the large number of youth who come into the labor market each year from the high schools and colleges in the community. The candidates of the League endorse the following steps:

1. The full utilization of federal funds and technical assistance in promoting community growth.
2. The development of new techniques to encourage progressive industries with fair employment practices to locate in Tuskegee.
3. The creation of an industrial park to facilitate the location of new industry.
4. Encourage the establishment of new federal government installations in the city and county.
5. The acquisition of federal loans for the establishment and expansion of small businesses and for the inauguration of urban renewal projects.
6. The development of a municipal land-use plan for the long-range industrial, commercial, and residential development of the city.
7. The expansion of the present city limits to increase municipal revenues and to provide better public services to the wider community.
8. The study of municipal fiscal policies to assure that present tax assessment measures effectively utilize community financial resources.

To Minister to Youth and the Aged

The League believes that the welfare of our youth and our senior citizens is a matter of utmost urgency. If elected, the candidates of the League will seek the following objectives:

1. The expansion of public recreational facilities and the establishment of a city sponsored youth center.
2. The establishment of a juvenile rehabilitation center for juvenile delinquents.
3. The creation of vocational retraining programs in cooperation with local educational institutions.
4. The erection of a rest home for the aged, blind, chronically ill, and destitue.

To Improve the Cultural Tone of the Community

The League feels that the stimulation of the esthetic and intellectual character of life is a public as well as a private responsibility. Independently, and in cooperation with other institutions and organizations in the community the candidates of the League will sponsor concerts, lectures, art exhibits, and theatre productions. Special emphasis will be placed upon the promotion of outdoor concerts during the summer.

The Non-Partisan League Needs Your Help. Will You Help? . . .

The candidates of the Non-Partisan Voters League urgently solicit the **vote** of every registered voter. We likewise seek the support and goodwill of those who have not yet registered to vote but feel concerned about the future of our community. Your voice and influence on behalf of the Non-Partisan Candidates mentioned in this brochure will be invaluable. We all want clean streets, decent homes, mutual understanding among the races, and a good climate for growth and prosperity. To achieve these goals, progressive, honest, and imaginative government is necessary. The Non-Partisan League needs your help. Will you help? . . . . Will you persuade your friends to help? . . . . . Will you give your **vote** to the candidates of the Non-Partisan League?

Paid Political Advertisement by the Friends of the
Non-Partisan Voters League of Macon County.
P. O. BOX 1243, TUSKEGEE, ALA.

WITH THE PRESIDENT LEADING

ALL AMERICANS MOVE FORWARD

WITH THE PRESIDENT LEADING

MOVE FORWARD

PRESIDENT KENNEDY signs a bill making the home of Frederick Douglass, the abolitionist, a national monument. Looking on, from left to right, are: Sen. Philip A. Hart of Michigan; Speaker of the House John McCormack; Mrs. Rosa Gragg, president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs; Rep. Charles C. Diggs of Michigan; Mrs. Mary E. C. Gregory, chairman of the Douglass Trustee Board; and Joseph Douglass, great-grandson of the man honored.

PRESIDENT John F. Kennedy, in less than two years of his Administration, has accomplished more in the field of civil rights than any other President of this century.

For the first time in history:

- A Negro, Dr. Robert C. Weaver, heads an independent agency of the Federal Government, the Housing and Home Finance Agency.
- Two Negroes, Judge James B. Parsons of Chicago and Judge Wade McCree of Detroit, are Federal District Judges.
- Two Negroes, Cecil Poole of San Francisco and Merle M. McCurdy of Cleveland, are full U. S. Attorneys.
- A Negro, Andrew T. Hatcher, is an Associate Press Secretary to the President.
- A Negro, John B. Duncan, is a Commissioner of the District of Columbia.
- A Negro, Carl Rowan, is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.
- A Negro, Christopher C. Scott, is Deputy Postmaster General.

Discrimination in the federal service and in employment on Government contracts is being fought by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, which has more "teeth" than any predecessor agency.

Discrimination on all major means of transportation—bus, air and rail—is ending due to action by the Department of Justice.

Discrimination in schools is ending, as this Administration pursues a desegregation policy that, in many places, works with much less fanfare and much greater effectiveness.

If color discrimination were to disappear overnight, the Negro's low economic status would still handicap him.

Therefore, the Negro knows that politically he must seek out the party that does not make promises simply to obtain the support of every possible group.

But he must seek out the party that stands for both civil rights and the improvement of the economic and social well-being as part of its broad policy, not just an election year "gimmick."

That party is the Democratic Party.

VOTE DEMOCRATIC!

"... America stands for progress in human rights as well as economic affairs, and a strong America requires the assurance of full and equal rights to all its citizens, of any race or color. This Administration has shown as never before how much could be done through the full exercise of executive powers – through the enforcement of laws already passed by the Congress – through persuasion, negotiation and litigation, to secure the Constitutional rights of." —*PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY*

IN THE CAUSE OF JUSTICE

Judge Thurgood Marshall of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

IN THE CAUSE OF JUSTICE

Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy and U.S. Attorney Cecil Poole of San Francisco

Judge Thurgood Marshall of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Judge James B. Parsons of the U.S. District Court.

Judge Marjorie McKenzie Lawson of the District of Columbia Juvenile Court.

U.S. Attorney Merle M. McCurdy of Cleveland

Judge Wade McCree of the U.S. District Court

"There was a general upgrading of Negro appointments throughout the Federal establishment and an open effort to recruit Negroes for good positions. Also there was stepped-up executive action to protect the right to vote, to curb Jim Crow in Government agencies, to secure better housing opportunities for African diplomats and to avert discrimination in public accommodations." —THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

WEAVER HEADS NATIONAL HOUSING EFFORT FOR JFK

PRESIDENT KENNEDY presents a citation to Dr. Robert C. Weaver during swearing-in ceremonies for the latter. Weaver, head of the Housing and

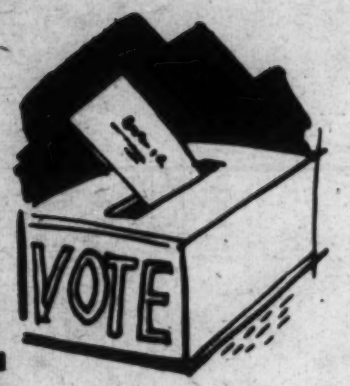
WEAVER HEADS NATIONAL HOUSING EFFORT FOR JFK

PRESIDENT KENNEDY presents a citation to Dr. Robert C. Weaver during swearing-in ceremonies for the latter. Weaver, head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, is the first Negro to head a government agency. Mrs. Weaver looks on.

NEGRO PUBLISHERS IN THE WHITE HOUSE

ASSOCIATE PRESS SECRETARY Andrew W. Hatcher receives a citation from Negro publishers in the White House as President Kennedy looks on. From left to right: Thomas W. Young of the Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide; John Kirkpatrick of the East St. Louis Crusader; the President; Hatcher; John Sengstacke of the Chicago Defender; E. Washington Rhodes of the Philadelphia Tribune; John Murphy III of the Afro-American Newspapers; and N. A. Sweets of the St. Louis American.

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD: ACTION



The Right to Vote

The Department of Justice has moved swiftly and vigorously to bring legal action when citizens have been denied the right to register and vote because of race.

A total of 30 court actions—20 in the past 15 months—have been brought to uphold this right.

This is more than twice the number brought in the previous eight years.

Of the new court actions, eight have been in Mississippi—the first suits ever brought by the Federal Government in that state.

A striking example of voting rights action is Macon County, Alabama, a rural county that is the home of Tuskegee Institute.

At the beginning of 1961, only a handful of Negroes were being allowed to register in Macon County.

In March of that year, the Department of Justice obtained a voting rights injunction. Today, more than 2,800 Negroes are registered to vote in the county.

The Department also won relief from the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals to protect Negroes who were registering to vote in Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tennessee. These Negroes faced economic reprisals through evictions and other means.

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This year in Congress, both the Senate and House, acting on the leadership of President Kennedy, passed bills that outlawed the poll tax.

When ratified by three-fourths of the State Legislatures, this bill will become the 24th Amendment to the Constitution.

The Administration is pledged, too, to eliminating the so-called "literacy" tests as a prerequisite to voting in some states.

Transportation

The Administration has made substantial progress in eliminating discrimination in all three major means of public transportation—bus, air, and rail.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has issued regulations that desegregate more than 100 bus terminals used in interstate travel.

When some Southern communities gave precedence to local laws, the Department of Justice filed eight suits seeking compliance with the regulations.

Five of these resulted in travel segregation laws in Mississippi and Louisiana being declared unconstitutional.

The rail transportation, 18 railroads have agreed to desegregate all their terminals in Southern cities. Several hundred terminals have taken this action.

Similar action has resulted in the elimination of racial distinctions in all but four of the airports of the nation. Suits have been filed against these four.

Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson chats with Dr. Mabel Murphy Smythe, member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Education Exchange.

In the spring of 1961, the Administration sent 600 Federal marshals to Montgomery, Alabama, to protect the lives of the Freedom Riders and to restore order.

School Desegregation

The fall of 1962 marked the second consecutive year in which every public school being integrated for the first time made the transition without any public disorder.

In implementing the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, the Kennedy Administration has worked to preserve court orders and prevent violence.

It has taken significant new legal steps as well as providing positive moral and political leadership.

Local officials and community leaders have been encouraged to desegregate their schools and have been given federal assistance.

In Atlanta, New Orleans, Little Rock, Memphis and Dallas, schools were integrated without violence in the fall of 1961, as Federal officials worked quietly and informally with officials in these cities.

In New Rochelle, New York, the Department of Justice advised, upon court request, the proper way of eliminating racial discrimination.

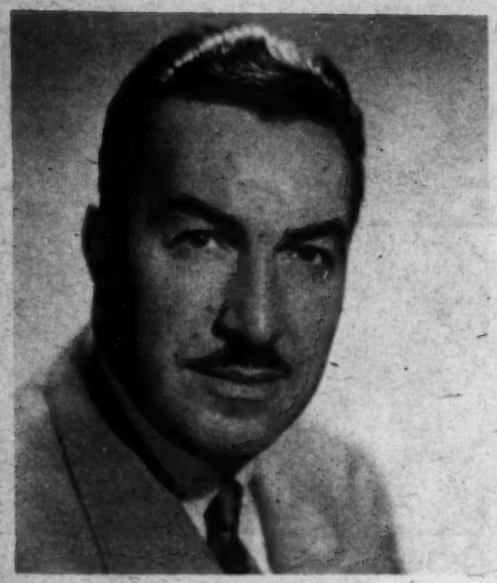
In New Orleans, the Department took all possible steps, including court action, to see that teachers in desegregated schools received their salaries when they were withheld.

The Department is also seeking to intervene as a plaintiff for the

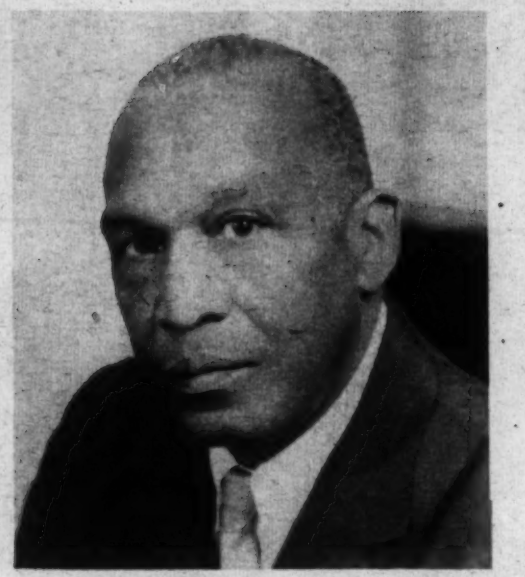
". . . Every major step forward in the cause of human rights in this century has been the product of the leadership of the Democratic Party—and every expectation of future progress today rests with the Democratic Party."

—PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

EVERYWHERE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS



Rep. Adam Clayton Powell
New York



Rep. Robert N. C. Nix
Pennsylvania

Rep. William L. Dawson
Illinois

Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr.
Michigan

reopening of schools of Prince Edward County, Virginia, the only county in the nation without public schools.

employment.

They have also increased by extraordinary dimensions the number of professional, managerial and supervisory jobs now held by qualified Negro employees.

In July, for example, an agreement was concluded in Birmingham, Alabama with Tennessee Coal and Iron—the largest industrial unit in that city.

Under this agreement a dual system of seniority is going to be eliminated, and Negro employees will be on the same footing in layoffs and promotions as their white fellow employees.

What is true of Federal contractors is even more true of the Federal Government itself.

Under a new executive policy on employee unions, only those unions that do not discriminate will be recognized.

Negro students no longer are ignored by the Civil Service Commission, but are sought out and recruited.

And most important, the Negro you meet in Washington today is no longer certain to be a messenger, chauffeur or janitor.

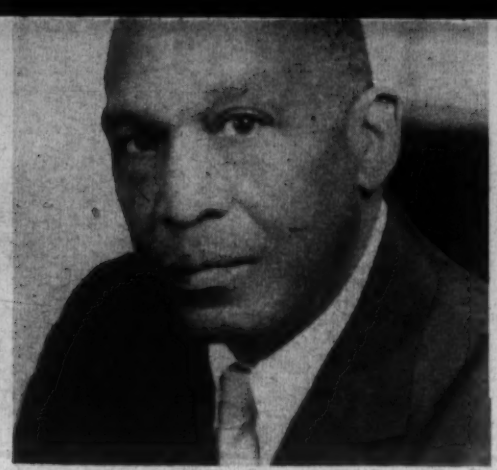
He could be a Federal judge, a U. S. attorney, an Assistant Secretary of State or the head of a federal agency.

Legislation

Legislation cannot change a person's prejudices.

But it can work to eliminate conditions that handicap the Negro.

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell
New York



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Pennsylvania

Rep. William L. Dawson
Illinois

Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr.
Michigan

reopening of schools of Prince Edward County, Virginia, the only county in the nation without public schools.

Other examples of Administration policy in this area:

- By September of 1963, no children on military installations—either Negro or white—will be forced to attend segregated schools.
- For the first time in 86 years, the Coast Guard Academy will have a Negro student.
- The National Science Foundation will not hold its summer institutes in colleges with discriminatory admissions procedures.
- Desegregation was initiated in the impacted area schools surrounding the Key West naval base when Federal authorities negotiated with school officials.

Jobs-Equal Opportunity

President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 on March 6, 1961, establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

This committee has more "teeth" for enforcement than any predecessor agency.

A by-product of this order has been the Voluntary Plans for Progress, covering 85 major companies who do business with the Federal Government.

These programs have not only widened the opportunities for Negro of professional, managerial and supervisory jobs now held by qualified Negro employees.

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Legislation

Legislation cannot change a person's prejudices.

But it can work to eliminate conditions that handicap the Negro.

Toward this end, all the significant legislation of the Kennedy Administration has benefited many segments of the Negro community.

There have been these bills:

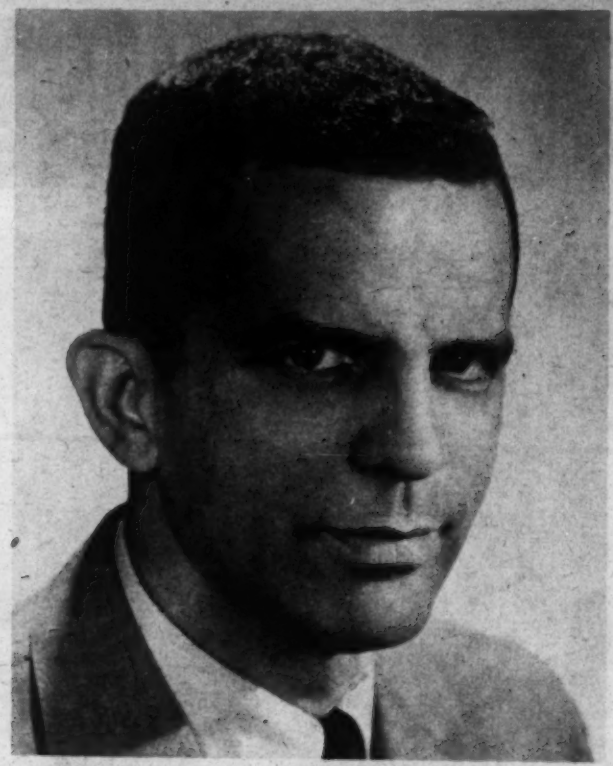
- Anti-Poll Tax—a bill that outlawed the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting and that, when approved by three-fourths of the State Legislatures, will become the 24th Amendment to the Constitution.
- Area Redevelopment Act—a bill to rehabilitate the pockets of depression that dotted 900 urban and rural counties which have a total population of 28.6 million persons.
- Housing Act—a bill that provided the most comprehensive housing and slum clearance program ever proposed, including public housing for 100,000 low-income families.
- Manpower Development and Training Act — a bill for a three-year program to train unemployed workers who need new skills to meet the threat of automation.
- Minimum Wage Improvement—a bill that increased wages for 23.9 million workers, including 3.6 million workers never before covered. This was the first expansion of coverage since the original Act in 1938.
- Extension of Unemployment Compensation—a bill that extended up to 13 weeks longer the compensation paid for 2,350,000 workers who had exhausted their benefits.
- Aid to Dependent Children of the Unemployed—a bill that provided over $200 million in aid over a 14-month period to help over 750,000 needy children whose parents had exhausted their unemployment benefits.

In addition, Congress passed a bill proclaiming the Washington home of Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist, a national monument.

"President Kennedy has done more in a few months to increase the respect and give prestige to Negroes than any President in my lifetime."—DR. JAMES M. NABRIT, JR., PRESIDENT OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY

PEACE CORPS

Dr. Samuel Proctor, Peace Corps Nigeria Director, and R. Sargent Shriver, Peace Corps Director.



Franklin Williams, Special Assistant to Mr. Shriver.

George Carter, Deputy Director of the Office of African Programs

Dr. Samuel Proctor, Peace Corps Nigeria Director, and R. Sargent Shriver, Peace Corps Director.

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HOUSING

Kermit Bailer
Special Programs Counsel

Oliver W. Hill
Asst. to FHA Commissioner

HEW DEPARTMENT

Dr. Grace L. Hewell
Program Co-ordination

Lisle C. Carter
Deputy Assistant Secretary

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Clarence Ferguson
Legal Division Chief

Spottswood Robinson
Commission Member

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

Leon Wallace
Assistant to the Administrator

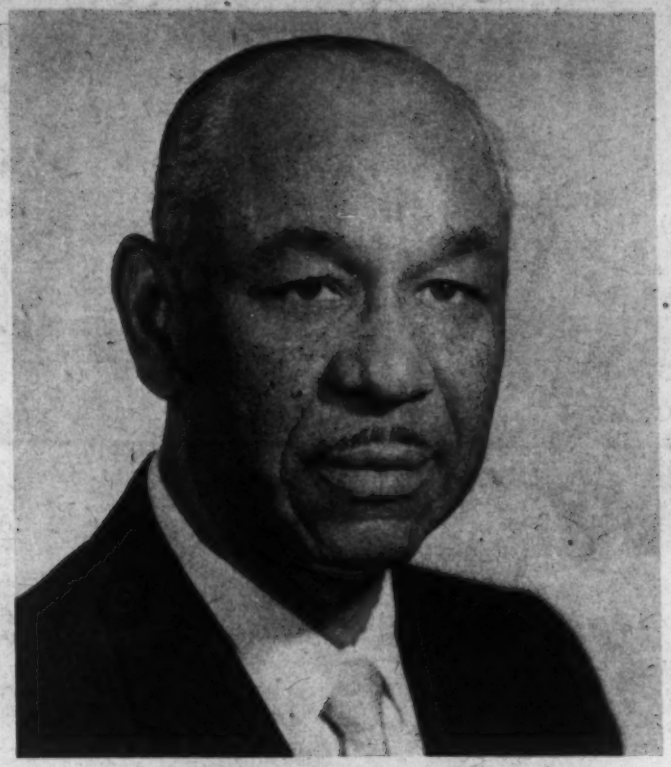
George Holland
Manager, D.C. Benefits Office

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Dr. Samuel Z. Westerfield
Senior Advisor

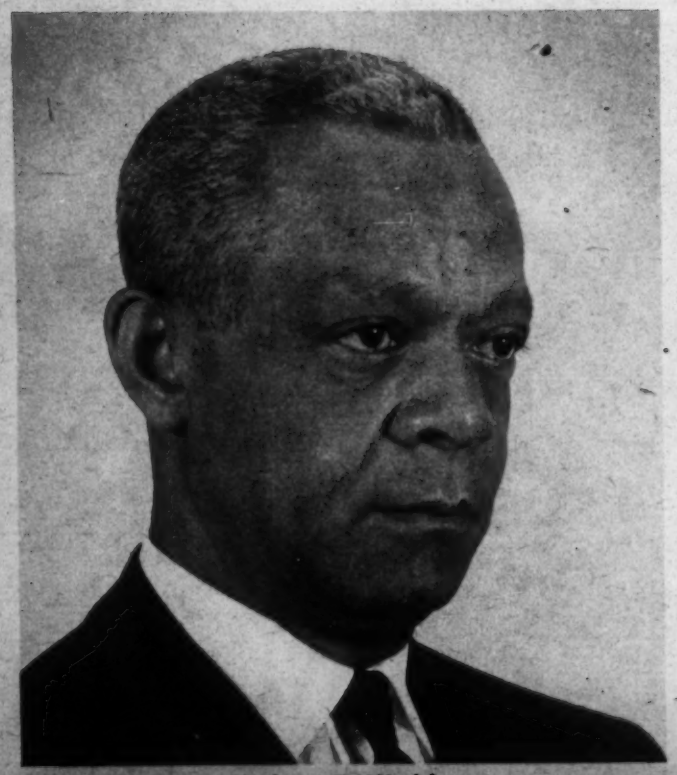
Mrs. Ruth Jones
Collector of Customs,
Virgin Islands

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT



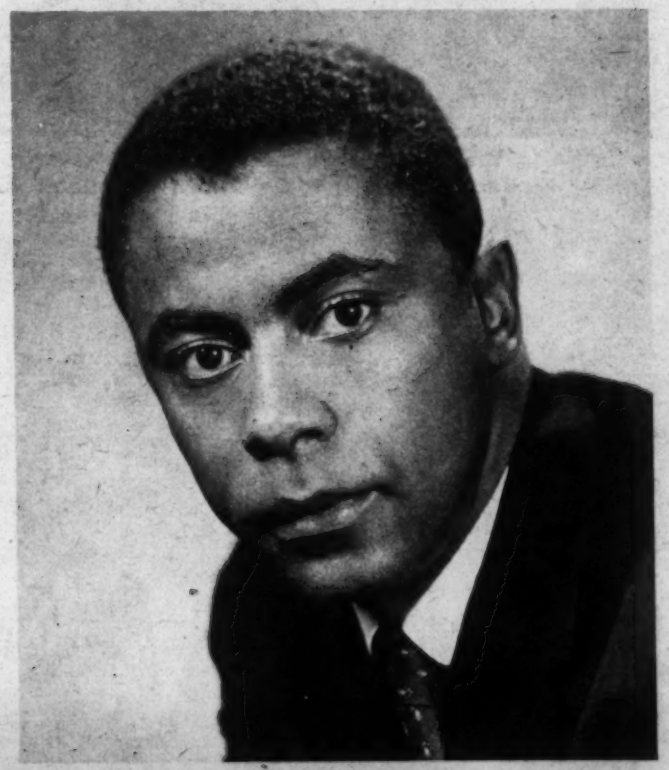
Christopher C. Scott
Deputy Assistant Postmaster General

Henry McGee, Regional Personnel Director
(Indiana, Michigan, Illinois)



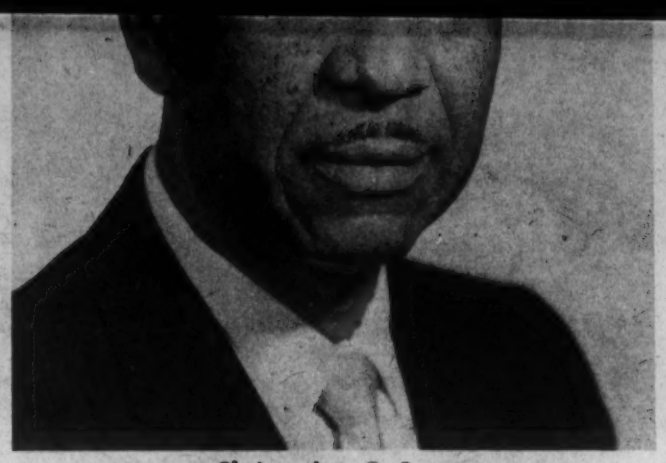
Herbert E. Waddy

Henry Dixon
Personnel Bureau Assistant



Samuel Simmons
Board of Appeals

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT



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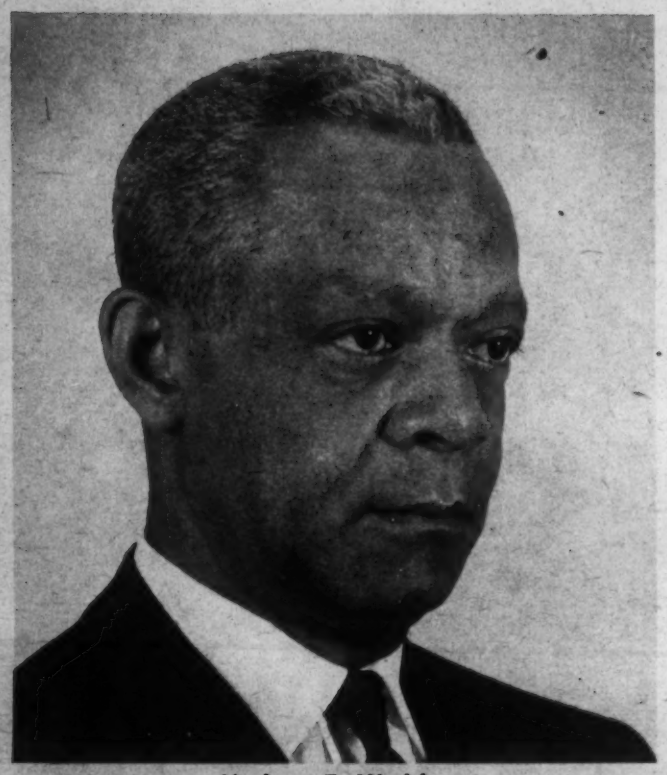
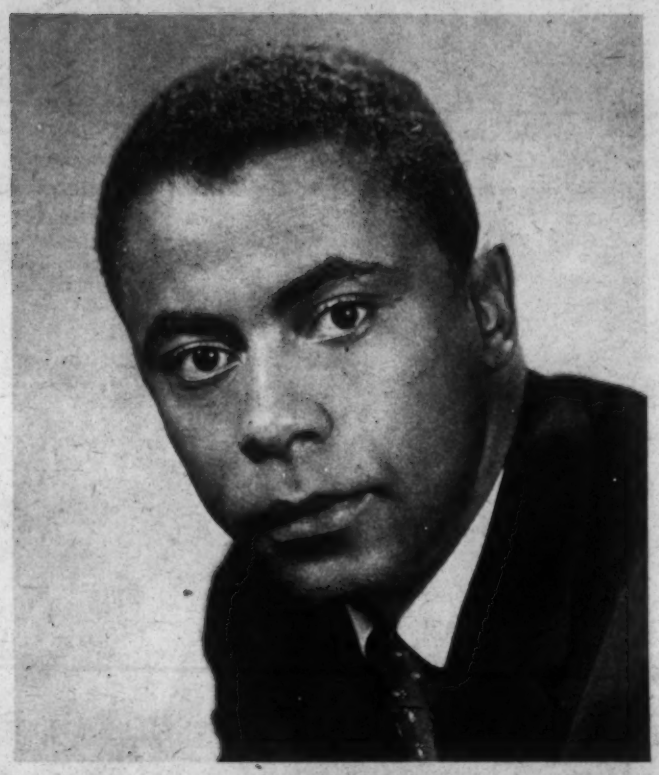


Herbert E. Waddy
Assistant Postmaster of D.C.

Henry Dixon
Personnel Bureau Assistant



Samuel Simmons
Board of Appeals

THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

A DISCUSSION OF Labor Department problems includes from left to right: Arthur Chapin, special assistant for minority affairs; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director; Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg; and George L-P Weaver, assistant secretary for international affairs.

A DISCUSSION at the State Department between Ambassador Roger Tubby, head of the United States mission to the United Nations European office, and Carl Rowan, deputy assistant secretary of state for public affairs.

Lt. Comm. Samuel L. Gravely, USN
Captain, U.S.S. Falgout

A DISCUSSION at the State Department between Ambassador Roger Tubby, head of the United States mission to the United Nations European office, and Carl Rowan, deputy assistant secretary of state for public affairs.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY named A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., 34 (center) to the Federal Trade Commission, a $20,000-a-year job. Higginbotham is the first Negro appointed to a Federal regulatory commission. The President is shown greeting Higginbotham and Andrew Bradley (right) in Harrisburg, Pa. Bradley, treasurer of the Pennsylvania Democratic Party, is also a member of Gov. David L. Lawrence's cabinet.

Hobart Taylor, Jr.
Executive Vice Chairman of the President's
Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

Mrs. Alice Dunnigan
Educational Consultant
President's Committee on Equal Employment

Lt. Comm. Samuel L. Gravely, USN
Captain, U.S.S. Falgout

Mrs. Dolly L. Robinson
Labor Department
Women's Bureau Assistant

John B. Duncan
District of Columbia
Commissioner

Published by the Democratic National Committee, 1730 K Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

File: Negro Federal Appointments

NOV 30 1962

Cook County Bar Association News

CCBA Organized 1914

Published Quarterly | Spring 1962 | Volume 2, Number 1

Editor: EDWARD B. TOLES, President, 100 North LaSalle - 715, Chicago 2, ANdover 3-2530

MERIT AWARDS TO NEGRO FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT JUDGES and UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS FOR DISTINGUISHED ACHIEVEMENT

Since 1914 when the late Edward H. Wright (Cook County Board Commissioner 1896) founded the Cook County Bar Association, Awards of Merit have been presented at Annual Installation banquets honoring our Judges - our first elected Judge was Judge Albert B. George in 1924 - and distinguished members.

The year 1961 has been eventful, and particularly significant for it historically records the first appointments of Negro Federal District Court Judges - Judges James B. Parsons and Wade H. McCree Jr. by President John F. Kennedy. Equally epoch-making, this good year marked the first Presidential appointment of Negro United States Attorneys by President Kennedy - United States Attorney Cecil F. Poole for the Northern District of California and United States Attorney Merle M. McCurdy for the Northern District of Ohio.

An additional Federal Court appointment by President Kennedy gave us our second Negro United States Court of Appeals Judge — Judge Thurgood Marshall now awaiting confirmation by the Senate.

These distinguished lawyers we honor with our Awards of Merit for their outstanding achievement.

JUDGE JAMES B. PARSONS

JUDGE JAMES BENTON PARSONS - the first United States District Court Judge in the Continental United States was nominated by President Kennedy on August 8th at the opening of the 36th Annual Convention of the National Bar Association in Los Angeles, California. This organization and our Association labored successfully for this appointment. Some Comments to our association concerning our esteemed member's interesting career will render unnecessary further description:

THE WHITE HOUSE — WASHINGTON
September 18, 1961

Dear Mr. Toles:

Your letter thanking the President for the appointment of Honorable James B. Parsons has been received and is greatly appreciated. The President asked that I send his best wishes.

Sincerely,

Lawrence F. O'Brien,
Special Assistant to the President

From Senator Paul H. Douglas:
United States Senate — September 6, 1961

Dear Mr. Toles: I deeply appreciate your letter and I am very happy that you approve of the nomination of Judge Parsons. I feel confident that the Judge will make a splendid record on the bench and that he will be fair, scholarly, just and merciful. I am proud to have suggested him and worked for his appointment. My very best wishes to you, Faithfully yours, Paul H. Douglas.

From Senator Everett M. Dirksen: Sept. 19, 1961

Dear Mr. Toles: In case you missed it I thought you might want to take note of the observations I made on the Senate floor with respect to Judge Parsons. His appointment has met with universal favor. I am indeed grateful for your good letter. Sincerely, Everett M. Dirksen.

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 30, 1961, page 16336, the following appears:

U.S. DISTRICT JUDGES

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of U.S. district judges.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these nominations be considered en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are confirmed.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, Judge Parsons adds to not a long line but, at least, an illustrious line of Negro judges which began with the appointment of William H. Hastie by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to be judge of the U.S. District Court for the Virgin Islands in 1937. Judge Hastie served in that post until 1939, when he resigned to become dean of the Howard University Law School. Subsequently he became Governor of the Virgin Islands and then was appointed to the Third Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, where he is at present serving.

Judge Hastie was succeeded on the bench in the Virgin Islands by Herman E. Moore, of Chicago. Judge Moore resigned in 1957. It was my pleasure to know Judge Hastie and Judge Moore quite well.

In 1958, President Eisenhower appointed Walter A. Gordon as Judge Moore's successor on the bench in the Virgin Islands, and Judge Gordon occupies that judicial position at present.

Also serving at present on Federal courts are Judge Ervin C. Mollison and Judge Scovel Richardson, both of whom were appointed to the U. S. Customs Court in New York.

When James Benton Parsons takes the oath of office, he will be the first Negro to have become a U.S. district judge within the continental limits of the United States. His appointment differs a little from some of the other appointments, in that it is for a life term.

Judge Parsons has had a distinguished career. He became a doctor of jurisprudence as a result of his work in the study of law at the University of Chicago. Singularly, he was the head of the Music Department of Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo., and then became supervisor of music in the city schools of Greensboro, N.C. He was also a bandmaster in the Navy for 3 years. Judge Parsons has been in the private practice of law. I am glad to say that when I nominated Robert Tieken to be U.S. district attorney in Chicago, he placed on his staff James Benton Parsons, who served there in a distinguished way for a period of several years, and then was elevated to the superior bench in Chicago.

I have talked with the judges in Chicago who know Judge Parsons quite well. Every one of them holds him in the highest regard. They think he is one of the ablest judges who ever sat on any of the State courts of Illinois and believe that he will fully carry on that great tradition when he serves as a U.S. district judge.

I wish Judge Parsons well. I know he will succeed in a great way which will reflect credit on the appointing power and upon all those who had anything to do with the advancement of his career and his ultimate assignment to the Federal bench.

JUDGE WADE HAMPTON MC CREE, JR. was born in Des Moines, Iowa, and lived in Hilo, Hawaii, Chicago, Illinois and Boston, Massachusetts prior to establishing residence in Detroit, Michigan. Following graduation from the Boston Latin School, he attended Fisk University where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree, summa cum laude. His professional training was at Harvard Law School, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

Following four years of military service, including two years of overseas combat infantry duty, he was discharged as captain and commenced the general practice of law in Detroit.

In 1952, he was appointed to the Workmen's Compensation Commission where he served until October, 1954, when Governor Williams appointed him to fill a vacancy on the Wayne County Circuit Court. He was elected to complete this term in April, 1955, and was subsequently re-elected to a full six year term in April, 1959. In September, 1961, he was appointed United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Michigan, by President Kennedy, and confirmed without objection by the Senate. He was inducted in office in October, 1961, and presently serves in that capacity.

Judge McCree is a member of the American Bar Association, the Michigan State Bar Association, the Detroit Bar Association, the Wolverine Bar Association, the American Judicature Society and other professional organizations. He is active in many community endeavors, including serving as Vice-President and member of the board of United Community Services; board member, Michigan Welfare League, Franklin Settlement, Community Health Association, Metropolitan Hospital, TB & Health Society. He is a trustee of Fisk University and a member of the Steering Committee of the United Negro College Fund. He is a member of the First Unitarian-Universalist Church and currently serves as trustee and as a member of the church school faculty. He is married and has two daughters and a son.

JUDGE THURGOOD MARSHALL (The following comments are reprinted through the courtesy of THE NEW YORK TIMES September 24th and 25th, 1961)

Sept. 23 — President Kennedy nominated eight new Federal judges today including Thurgood Marshall to the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

Mr. Marshall is chief counsel to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He has participated in the legal conduct of court cases involving that organization and the rights of Negroes since 1938.

His nomination, which was sent to the Senate today, is for a life term at a salary of 25,500 a year.

Pierre Salinger, the White House press secretary, said it was doubtful that the Senate would have time to firm Mr. Marshall at the session, since Congress was rushing toward adjournment.

In that case, he said, Mr. Marshall, a Negro, would receive an interim appointment enabling him to serve on the Second Circuit bench. His nomination still would be pending before the Senate when the Congress reconvenes in January. The Second Circuit covers Vermont, Connecticut and New York.

All the judicial nominations were to judgeships created this year by Congress.

Mr. Marshall's nomination was the tenth the President has made to a circuit judgeship, and it completed filling the circuit positions open to him. With the district judgeships announced today the President has filled 40 of the 63 places available under the new legislation.

Senate Fight Expected

The naming of Mr. Marshall, a New Yorker, was expected to be highly controversial. He is likely to be opposed by a number of Southern Senators. The opposition may be particularly heavy in the Judiciary Committee, which must recommend his confirmation to the Senate.

Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, is chairman of the committee and its deliberations often are dominated by Southerners.

Thurgood Marshall

Great-grandchild of Negro slaves . . . outstanding civil rights lawyer for nearly two decades . . . chief counsel to National Association for Advancement of Colored People . . . director counsel for its Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., since 1940 . . . has won twenty-five cases before Supreme Court covering broad areas of civil rights . . . during the last two years has worked with Southern lawyers on arrests of Freedom riders, sit-ins and pickets . . . turned down all earlier approaches on bench appointments . . . at 53, apparently ready to retire from strenuous career as lawyer . . . first ambition to be a dentist . . . received Bachelor's Degree from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania . . . decided on law after experience at segregated theatre . . . took law degree at Howard University . . . Has two small sons by second wife the former Cecelia Suyat of Hawaii . . . is a Protestant Episcopal Vestryman, a Thirty-third degree Mason and a sought-after speaker.

The NEW YORK TIMES editorialized the following on September 25th:

THREE GOOD NOMINATIONS

The President has shown good judgment in nominating Thurgood Marshall to the Court of Appeals for the Second District, and two other well-known citizens, Dudley B. Bonsal and Irving Ben Cooper, for the Southern District of New York.

Mr. Marshall, a third-generation descendant of Negro slaves, has been chief counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and has won twenty-five civil rights cases before the Supreme Court. For this reason he will be opposed by some Southern Senators. Because of his high intelligence, his scrupulous respect for the law and the judicial qualities evident even in his briefs and pleadings he ought to be confirmed.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY CECIL F. POOLE — first Negro United States Attorney in the Continental United States was appointed by President Kennedy on April 15th, 1961 on the recommendation of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. At the time of his appointment to the Northern District of California at San Francisco, he was a member of California's Governor Edmund G. Brown's Cabinet serving as Executive Clemency Secretary. In this position Mr. Poole had three commissions under his jurisdiction in addition to his duties as extradition and clemency secretary—the Commission on Problems of Insanity in Criminal Cases (he prepared plans for the organization of this agency) Criminal Commission on Narcotics and the Commission on Juvenile Justice. A graduate of the University of Michigan Law School, he holds a Master of Law degree from Harvard Law School. He is a former Assistant District Attorney and the first Negro chief prosecutor in San Francisco, California. He has also served with the Federal Housing Authority, National Labor Relations Board and Selective Service Board. He is 48, married and has two daughters.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY MERLE M. McCURDY — Was the second Negro United States Attorney appointed by President Kennedy. He was

sworn in on October 6, 1961 to the Northern District of Ohio at Cleveland. He is a graduate of Western Reserve University and Western Reserve University Law School in 1947. Engaged in private practice for five years, he served as Assistant County Prosecutor for eight years. A record of 44 consecutive Jury convictions has been unequaled. In March, 1960 he became the first Public Defender in the newly created position in Cuyhoga County. He is 49, married and the father of two daughters.

NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION 37th ANNUAL CONVENTION MEETS IN INDIANAPOLIS AUGUST 29 – SEPTEMBER 1, 1962.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE – Assistant Deputy Attorney General Joseph F. Dolan addressed the 36th Annual NBA Convention at Los Angeles on the subject "Survival in the Sixties" August, 1961. Excerpts from his excellent address in connection with additional Judicial positions and placement of lawyers in the department are as follows:

The role of the American Negro lawyer is a key one.

As a lawyer he has been trained to live, and to counsel others to live, by rule of law. As a Negro, he has witnessed injustices and denials of legal rights that cry out for immediate and violent retribution. Yet, he must know when to counsel moderation, when to counsel two steps forward, and when to counsel one step back. He must be willing to wage a relentless, untiring and patient struggle for progress. A part of that role can be played by carrying out the objectives of your association.

When you strive "to improve the administration of justice and to preserve the independence of the judiciary," you strengthen America; when you "work for a more equitable representation of all racial groups in the judiciary" or "promote legislation that will improve the economic condition of all Citizens of the United States," you are an active soldier in the fight for freedom.

Fight for these objectives, and an era of accelerated progress for the Negro in America is inevitable.

Your national government stands ready to be a partner in this era of progress. The Kennedy Administration has plans for action, plans for deeds. The President, the Attorney General, and all of us who play any role in the administration will surely be judged by our deeds, not by our words. We are willing so to be judged. This week, on the recommendation of Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the President nominated the first Negro District Judge in the Continental United States. Judge Parsons is first, he is not the last. From among his colleagues of the Negro bar of this country will come other qualified federal judges. There must be, and there will be, more Cecil Poole's in our United States Attorneys offices. Employment opportunities for Negro attorneys in the Department of Justice and in other agencies of government should be, and are being, significantly enlarged. By these steps we shall make progress.

Another way to progress is for you to assist others to come along the successful road which you have traveled. You have achieved the enviable professional status so sought by others in your community. By reason of that status, you can foster the general advancement of the American Negro more efficaciously than can your less privileged fellows. Progress for the American Negro lies not alone in your self-advancement. To a great degree, it lies in the broadening of the base on which you stand by having other new Negro lawyers join you. To swell your professional ranks, it will be necessary for you to reach down to help to lift others up to the plateau which you have reached. At times, this aid must be given at the sacrifice of self-advancement. But the cause is just, and the need is great. You cannot fail. Too much depends on your success.

THE NUMBER OF NEGRO JUDGES – has increased from 58 to 69 since our last publication. Four Judges have been removed through death, resignation and election as follows: United States Customs Court Judge Irvin C. Mollison, Chicago, Illinois and Judge John E. Prim, Seattle, Washington by death; Judge Boce E. Barlow, Hartford, Connecticut by election and Judge Lawson E. Thomas, Miami, Florida by resignation.

Fifteen additional Judges include the following:

1. Judge Thurgood Marshall, U.S. Court of Appeals
2. Judge Otis M. Smith, Supreme Court of Michigan
3. Judge Charles Farmer, Detroit, Michigan
4. Judge Richard A. Harewood, Chicago, Illinois
5. Judge Vaino Spencer, Los Angeles, California
6. Judge Arthur O. Fisher, Dayton, Ohio
7. Judge Clay E. Hunter, Canton, Ohio
8. Judge G. Bruce Robinson, Boston, Massachussets
9. Judge James Flanigan, Denver, Colorado
10. Judge John R. Hargrove, Baltimore, Maryland
11. Judge Moxie A. Rigby, Nassau County, New York
12. Judge William S. Diguid, St. Louis, Missouri
13. Judge John W. Harvey, St. Louis, Missouri
14. Judge Harry Hazlewood, Newark, New Jersey
15. Judge Joseph Waddy, District of Columbia Municipal Court

VICE PRESIDENT RUSSELL R. DE BOW has been appointed Deputy Commissioner of Investigation by Mayor Daley. A graduate of Illinois State Normal University in 1935, De Bow attended law school at Georgetown and DePaul universities. He was an administrative assistant to Gov. Michael V. DiSalle of Ohio when DiSalle was director of the Office of Price Administration 1951-1953. For the past seven years he has served as assistant to Rep. Barratt O'Hara (Dem. Ill.) while O'Hara was Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa. He has made three trips to Africa during 1960-1961 the last tour with the International Cooperation Administration. He is a member of the Panel of American Arbitrators mediating labor disputes. A native of Lovejoy, Illinois he is married and has one daughter.

JUDGE RICHARD A. HAREWOOD was elected to the Superior Court of Cook County on April 10, 1962 to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Judge James B. Parsons. He was a member of the University of Illinois board of Trustees and he has served two terms as a state representative—1937-1938 and 1957-1958. He was a former assistant corporation counsel and an assistant states attorney. At the time of his election he was a Commissioner of the Municipal Court hearing small claims and rent cases. He is a graduate of the University of Illinois and the University of Chicago Law School.

Four members of the Cook County Bar Association have received their respective party nominations in the primary on April 10th for the November 6th election this fall.

JAMES D. CROSSON an assistant to Municipal Court Chief Justice Augustine Bowe has been nominated on the Democratic slate for Municipal Court Judge. For several years Crosson, a John Marshall graduate and vice president of the Cook County Bar, has served as referee of the Traffic Court.

JAMES T. HORTON — a past president of the Cook County Bar Association and a former assistant state's attorney—has been nominated on the Republican ticket for the Municipal Court; PHILANDER S. NEVILLE, a former attorney for the Registrar of Titles, is also a candidate on the Republican ticket for the Municipal Court this fall.

ROBERT H. HOLLOWAY has been nominated on the Republican ticket for Clerk of the Appellate Court. A former assistant States attorney, he has previously run for election to the Municipal Court.

ARCHIBALD JAMES CAREY, former third ward Alderman, Delegate to the United Nations, and member of former President Eisenhower's Federal employment committee, for the first time in the history of Cook County has been nominated for Judge of the Probate Court of Cook County on the Republican Ticket for election November 6.

LEAH BROCK McCARTNEY, former Illinois assistant to Congressman William L. Dawson, has joined the Florida A. and M. University college of Law as Assistant Professor. She is a graduate of Lincoln University (Mo.) and George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

RADCLIFFE O. WOOLFORD, a graduate of Lincoln University (Pa.) and John Marshall Law School, has been appointed an Attorney with the Veteran's Administration.

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY appointed the second Negro in history to serve as a United States marshal within the continental area of the country. He is Luke Charles Moore, an assistant United States Attorney in the District of Columbia, and will become Marshal for the District of Columbia. Frederick Douglas was the first Marshal for the District from 1877 to 1881.

MICHIGAN STATE SUPREME COURT JUSTICE Otis M. Smith, a Flint, Michigan attorney who became the first Negro chairman of the Michigan Public Service Commission and the State's first Negro Auditor General was appointed to the Michigan Supreme Court by Governor Swainson. The first Negro State Supreme Court Justice was Judge Jonathan Jasper Wright who was elected in 1870 to a full six year term as Associate Justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court.

ARCHIBALD LeCESNE was appointed as an Assistant United States attorney by United States Attorney James P. O'Brien of the Northern District at Chicago, Illinois. The former Assistant States Attorney's addition to the staff brings the number to two Negro assistants. Frederick McLendon was the first appointment.

OWEN RALL, PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS STATE BAR ASSOCIATION, spoke at the March 23rd meeting of the CCBA on the proposed Judicial Article which is to be submitted to the voters at the November 6th election. The association adopted a resolution approving the Article and the active support of each member to work for passage. George N. Leighton was appointed Chairman of the Committee to work for passage of the Article which provides for consolidating all courts at the trial level, reapportioning the Supreme Court, establishing an independent Appellate Court, providing for centralized administrative control of the court system and introducing a system of judicial tenure under which judges would stand for retention in office against their records.

GOVERNOR AND MRS. OTTO KERNER formally opened the campaign for passage of the Judicial Article with a Buffet Luncheon at the Executive Mansion at Springfield on March 19th. President Toles attended with other bar leaders.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE to create 18 additional Superior Court and 18 Municipal Court Judges was given by President Toles in Springfield last October with the largest group of Bar Associations from Chicago. Seventeen Superior Court Judges were created by legislation and will be slated by the two Party conventions in August. The Cook County Bar Association will request each Party to slate at least four Negro candidates to augment the inadequate Negro representation on the Cook County Judiciary. There are only 4 Negro Judges of the present 95 Judges; and on November 6 there will be 112 Judges.

NEGRO STATE APPELLATE COURT JUDGES are Associate Justice Harold A. Stevens, Supreme Court Appellate Division, New York, and Justice Edward L. Jefferson, District Court of Appeals, California.

PRESIDING JUDGE of the 57 Judge Los Angeles, California Municipal Court Judiciary is Municipal Court Judge Thomas L. Griffith. The Executive Judge of the ten Judge Recorders Court in Detroit, Michigan is Judge Elvin G. Davenport and the presiding Judge of the Municipal Court in San Francisco, California is John D. Bussey.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST Editorial is reprinted by courtesy of the Publishers of the Saturday Evening Post. It also gives a record of the Kennedy Administration and the Negro.

MR. KENNEDY'S DELIBERATE SPEED

No other internal problem has caused this nation so much anguish as the racial question. On this rock the republic nearly foundered. Now, 100 years later, it is still our most volatile domestic issue.

We will not be satisfied until every form of public discrimination has been eliminated. Private attitudes and arrangements are a matter of individual conscience, but no citizen of this country should be deprived of full enjoyment of public facilities because of his race. Nor should public funds be used to support institutions that practice discrimination. Until the goals of nondiscrimination have been achieved, this nation will have fallen short of its promise.

So we say the question is not, "Should we work toward these goals?" but, "How best to achieve them?" We believe the answer is: in as orderly a manner as is consistent with good sense. (It is also just about 100 years since Bismarck wrote that "politics is the doctrine of the possible".)

Not long ago President Kennedy invited White House reporters into his living room at Palm Beach and gave them a briefing on the achievements and objectives of his Administration. The President made it clear that he did not intend to press Congress for civil-rights legislation this year. He also indicated that he had no immediate intention of signing an executive order that would bar discrimination in Federally assisted housing, although he had promised to sign it during the campaign, saying that all it would take was "the stroke of a pen."

The President was sharply criticized for these civil-rights pronouncements. *The New York Times* said he "has not waited for Congress to convene before beginning a retreat from the more challenging elements of his domestic program." The A.D.A. (Americans for Democratic Action) urged the President to reverse himself and undertake an "all-out assault on racial segregation and discrimination in the coming session of Congress." Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., called the President's announced policy "a basic error."

At the outset of his Administration the President decided to concentrate first on executive rather than legislative action on civil rights. He simply felt that "if we could enforce the laws we already have, we'd have a much better situation."

We believe that the Kennedy Administration has made a good record on civil rights, and even Roy Wilkins admits as much. The President has brought qualified Negro leaders into the Government, including Robert Weaver, administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency; Clifton Wharton, ambassador to Norway, and Thurgood Marshall, judge of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals. The President has moved to create a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, and even though it was bound to stir opposition among Republican leaders and Southern Congressmen, he announced his intention to appoint Mr. Weaver to head that department—and incidentally put the opposing Republican Congressmen on the spot with their Northern Negro voters.

The principal agency of executive action, the Department of Justice, has concentrated its main effort in attempting to secure voting rights for Negroes in the Deep South. "Public officials respond to their constituents," an Administration official explains. "If we give a Congressman some Negro constituents, he will be responsive to them."

The pressures, intimidations and fraudulent practices employed in some parts of the Deep South to prevent Negroes from registering are a national disgrace. When the Kennedy Administration came to power, only a dozen of these situations were under

investigation or in the courts. Today the Department of Justice is investigating or litigating more than eighty such cases.

Under the Kennedy Administration the Department of Justice petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission for regulations that required more than 100 interstate bus terminals to desegregate. Justice Department officials worked out the desegregation of hundreds of rail terminals and stepped into school cases as a "friend of the court." It encouraged and helped local authorities at the McComb, Mississippi, and other explosive Freedom Rider situations. By ordering some 600 deputy U.S. marshals into Montgomery, Alabama, Robert Kennedy's department prevented an ugly situation from developing into a disaster.

An executive agency, the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under Vice President Lyndon Johnson, met with twenty-one of the largest government contractors and worked out an agreement with them to eliminate discrimination in hiring, training and promoting Negroes.

In his State of the Union message the President asked Congress to abolish two age-old barriers to Negro enfranchisements: the poll tax and the literacy test. The President set no timetable for these requests, but Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield later introduced a bill to make a sixth-grade education the only literacy requirement for Federal elections. The Administration's hand was forced on this measure by Sen. Jacob Javits, the New York Republican, who was about to introduce a bill that would apply to not only Federal but also state and local elections. Mr. Kennedy had to support the Mansfield bill.

We believe that the accent on executive action makes for sound policy. While the elimination of literacy test is highly desirable, we think that the timing of the bill is unfortunate. A protracted debate is likely, and that is something that we can ill afford at a time when Congress's agenda includes such critical items as authority for the President to negotiate tariff reductions with the Common Market countries, the projected purchase of half the $200,000,000 U.N. bond issue, medical care for the aged and tax reform.

We think that the President has acted wisely in not stirring up a bigger hornets' nest by issuing the executive order barring discrimination in Federal housing at this time. The President, unlike his critics, must concern himself with all of the nation's problems. By signing the order now, he would weaken his bargaining power with Congress by depriving himself of a potent weapon: the threat to sign the order if Southern Congressmen give him a hard time, say, on the tariff matter.

The President is bound by his campaign promises to sign the housing order. He is fully aware of that commitment. We believe that his critics would do well to show some patience and leave the timing of the order to the President. In the field of racial relations Mr. Kennedy has shown himself a good leader, but in the inexact science of politics—to use another Bismarck term—the leader cannot run too far ahead of the congressional pack. He has a risky lead already.

The Negro Jurist -- A Quest for Equality

By Anthony G. Ward

Loyola Law School graduate, Edward B. Toles is the President of the Cook County Bar Association, a trustee of his church, member of various civic bodies in his neighborhood, a lifetime member of the NAACP and a Negro who in his own words is "realistic" about the future of the Negro lawyer in Chicago and in the Nation.

On October 26, 1961 we met in his office and discussed many topics ranging from "man's inhumanity to man" to the way his 8-year-old son reacted to last year's homecoming at the University of Illinois. However, our conversation seemed to focus on the work that Mr. Toles, the Cook County Bar Association, and the National Bar Association have done in seeking Judicial appointments for Negro attorneys, on the Municipal, State and National level. Relatively speaking, it seems that they have accomplished a great deal.

On June 29, 1959 the Cook County Bar Association Judiciary Committee received permission from the Association to publish a complaint against the Major Political Parties of Cook County seeking more nominations of Negro attorneys for election to Judicial Office in Cook County. The Committee was headed by Mr. Toles. In the elections of that year Mr. Fred Slater was elected the first Negro Superior Court Judge of Cook County. Mr. Toles sees that election as a milestone in the fight of the Negro and the Negro attorney to achieve equal opportunity before the Law in Cook County.

Subsequently, the Midwestern Regional Conference of the National Bar Association met in Chicago on April 30, 1960 and accepted a report from the Committee on Judiciary Report, headed by Mr. Toles. The report dealt with Negro Federal Judges between the years 1868 and 1960 and in short asked for better representation of the Negro attorney on the Federal Bench.

The report pointed out that prior to 1960 only three life-term Negro judges had been appointed to the Federal Bench. The first was Judge Irwin C. Mollison who was appointed to the United States Customs Court by Harry S. Truman in 1945. He was followed by Judge William H. Hastie in 1949, who was appointed by Truman to the United States Court of Appeals and Judge Scovil Richardson, who was appointed to the United States Custom Court by Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1957.

During this period there were only three term appointments for Negroes outside of the Bench of the Municipal Court for the District of Columbia, these being appointments to District Court Judgeships in the Virgin Islands.

The report, written by Mr. Toles, stated that although the number of Negro lawyers in the United States exceeded 4,000, a Negro had never been appointed a Federal District Court Judge although there were more than 235 District Court Judges in 86 District Courts in the 50 states. The members of the National Bar Association, through the able pen of Mr. Toles urged that this situation be remedied.

The National Bar Association didn't discontinue their efforts upon the publishing of the aforementioned committee report but made efforts to take their plea to both men who were in the process of campaigning for the presidency of the United States. They succeeded in being received by both candidates, by Senator Kennedy in August and by Vice President Nixon in October. Representatives of the Association were received by the then Senator Kennedy in Washington on August 31, 1960 who issued a statement to the delegation in which he stated, "I assure you that in a new Democratic Administration there will be far better representation, on the basis of merit, of persons of all our

Shown in the above picture from left to right are Elmer C. Jackson, President of the National Bar Association, John F. Kennedy, President of the United States, and Edward B. Toles, President of the Cook County Bar Association. The picture was taken when the then Senator Kennedy received a delegation of the National Bar Association in Washington, D.C., on Aug. 31, 1960.

racial groups, including particularly those who in the past have been excluded on the basis of prejudice."

Mr. Toles was happy to point out to this reporter that this campaign promise of the President was one that he (the President) has taken seriously, the results being, among others, the first appointment of a Negro (Judge James B. Parsons) as a United States District Court Judge in the history of the United States. Subsequent to that appointment on August 9, 1961 two other Negroes have received appointments to the Federal Bench. Wade McCree, who was a Circuit Court Judge in Detroit, Mich., received the second United States District Court Judgeship granted to a Negro and Thurgood Marshall, former legal counsel of the NAACP, received an interim appointment as a United States Court of Appeals Judge. Since his election, the President has also appointed two Negroes to the position of United States District Attorney, one to the Northern District of California and one in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Toles agreed that these were signs of improvement in the status of the Negro lawyer but added that these appointments constituted a mere percentage of what the National Bar Association and the Cook County Bar Association considered a rightful share of seats on the bench and other legal and semi-legal appointments for the Negro lawyer. Mr. Toles and his associates want more and it doesn't look like they will give up until they get more.

This spokesman for the Negro members of the legal profession in Cook County explained the rationale behind this campaign on the part of the Negro lawyer in this way. He pointed out that in most cases the door to the big corporation and well-known legal firm is closed to the Negro and will be closed to him for some time. He pointed out that most Negro attorneys have few wealthy clients. Their practice is made up mostly of little cases involving the "Little Man" — the Negro, and since the Negro belongs to the "lower-lower-middle class, the laboring class," he needs the advice of counsel only in small cases, i.e. divorce suits, trouble with the law (police) etc. So, in the words of Mr. Toles, the Negro attorney must turn to the public domain for recognition in his chosen profession. It is his view that if the outstanding Negro attorney is going to be recognized for his abilities it will have to be in the form of a seat on the Bench or some government appointment to a position demanding legal background and training.

This reporter asked Mr. Toles what other judicial appointments he and his associates would like to see in the near future. He said that they would like to see a Negro on the Illinois Supreme Court and pointed out that such an appointment would not be without precedent. The first Negro State Supreme Court Justice took a seat on the bench of South Carolina in 1870 and the second was recently appointed in the state of Michigan by Governor Swenson. He noted that there are fewer Negroes in the state of Michigan than there are in Illinois. He also pointed out that there are 40 unfilled appointments to United States District Court Judgeships with vacancies in New York, California, Ohio and Pennsylvania, all states in which the Negro population would warrant a Negro sitting on the District Court. Toles would like to see at least one of these remaining 40 appointments given to a Negro, and maintains that four appointments, one to each of the aforementioned states, would not be asking too much when the Negro population of those states is taken into consideration.

Edward B. Toles is an impressive man, not so much in physical appearance as in quiet courage. Mr. Toles and his associates are courageous in their refusal to be intimidated, to be segregated, in their refusal to accept the status quo of the American Negro. For that they are to be congratulated. For that they ought to be emulated.

In closing the interview, Mr. Toles made this statement, "I believe that this represents the beginning of a new era in the progress of the Negro and the Negro lawyer. The liberal decisions in favor of the Negro by the Supreme Court and the recent appointment of Negroes to the Federal Courts and as U.S. Attorneys by the President of the United States, gives new significance and meaning to our Constitution and, in the language of President Kennedy, 'For no American should be disqualified for any office because of his race, color, religion or family origin. It is time for us to practice what our Constitution preaches. The Federal service should be a model of Americanism, in which there are no traces of any form of arbitrary discrimination.' "

The above article was reprinted in the February 19, 1962 issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Page A1205, by United States Representative Barratt O'Hara, Second Illinois Congressional District, with the following remarks:

The Negro Jurist—A Quest for Equality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 19, 1962

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Anthony G. Ward of the Loyola Law Times, a Loyola Law School publication, recently interviewed my constituent, Mr. Edward B. Toles, president of the Cook County Bar Association, concerning judicial appointments for Negro attorneys. Doubtless my colleagues will find the result most interesting and worth considering.

VOTE X YES

BLUE BALLOT JUDICIAL AMENDMENT

Cook County Bar Association News

CCBA Organized 1914

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Editor: EDWARD B. TOLES, President, 100 North LaSalle - 715, Chicago 2, ANdover 3-2530

The Bar Association at its 48th annual Merit Awards banquet in the Pick-Congress hotel, presented awards to (from left) Judge Wade H. McCree, Jr., Federal District Court, Northern Michigan; Judge Hubert Will holds the award for Judge Thurgood Marshall, U. S. Court of Appeals, second circuit, New York City; Merle McCurdy, federal attorney of northern Ohio; Russell R. DeBow, presenting the Wright award to Attorney Toles, president of the Cook County Bar Association; Judge James B. Parsons, Federal District Court; James P. O'Brien, federal attorney of northern Illinois, who accepted award for Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and Charles F. Lane, banquet chairman, holds the award for Cecil F. Poole, federal attorney for northern California.

COOK COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION PRESENTS ITS AWARD OF MERIT TO ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY, FIRST NEGRO FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT JUDGES, AND FIRST NEGRO UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS AT 48TH ANNUAL BANQUET

On Saturday evening May 19, 1962 at the Pick-Congress Hotel CCBA held its 48th Annual Banquet attended by the largest number of lawyers in its history and presented its highest awards to the Attorney General, the Honorable Robert F. Kennedy, and first Negro U.S. Judges and first Negro U.S. Attorneys. With television coverage by WGN-TV, the CHICAGO SUNDAY TRIBUNE, May 20, 1962 printed the following account. Congressman Barrett O'Hara (2D, Illinois) extended his remarks in the House of Representatives on May 21 to include the news report in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 21, 1962

pp A 3736, 3737:

NEGRO BAR HONORS ATTORNEY GENERAL AND KENNEDY APPOINTEES

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
of
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
of Illinois in the House of Representatives

Monday, May 21, 1962

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the following news article from the Chicago Sunday Tribune of May 20, 1962:

COUNTY BAR PAYS TRIBUTE TO SEVEN LAWYERS

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and six lawyers and judges were honored by the Cook County Bar Association last night at its 48th annual merit awards banquet in the Pic-Congress Hotel.

Edward B. Toles presented the award of merit to Kennedy, brother of the President, and to James I. O'Brien, U.S. Attorney in Chicago, before a crowd of 500 attorneys and their wives.

Other merit award recipients were Judge Thurgood Marshall, whose appointment as judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, New York City, is pending confirmation by the Senate; James B. Parsons, judge of the Federal district court in Chicago; Judge Wade H. McCree, Jr., of the Federal district court in northern Michigan; Cecil F. Poole, Federal attorney for northern California, and Merle M. McCurdy, Federal attorney for northern Ohio.

Toles, president of the bar group, received the Edward H. Wright Award as lawyer of the year from the association he heads. The award is named after the late Edward H. Wright, a prominent Negro attorney who was elected to the county board in 1896. Toles was presented the award by Russell R. De Bow, vice president of the bar association and deputy commissioner of investigations for Chicago.

Toles told the group that the five Federal judges and attorneys who received the award, all of whom were given their appointments by President Kennedy, "marks a milestone in a national campaign for more adequate representation of Negro attorneys in county, State, and Federal posts."

He said that although there were more than 4,000 Negro attorneys in the country, none ever had been appointed to a Federal district court judgeship before Kennedy's election. He discussed Negro representation in the Federal courts with both Vice President Nixon and Mr. Kennedy before the 1960 presidential election. Toles said, "and I secured written assurances from Senator Kennedy that, if elected, there would be far better representation on basis of merit of persons of all racial groups, including particularly those who in the past have been excluded on the basis of prejudice."

Attorney Charles F. Lane, chairman of the banquet committee and former president of the association, founded in 1914 by Wright, said, "the association will press forward until no American is disqualified for any office because of his race, color, religion, or family origin."

DEMOCRATIC and REPUBLICAN PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEES SUBMIT CCBA MEMBERS FOR JUDGESHIP SCREENING. OF THE 177 NAMES INCLUDING 27 MUNICIPAL COURT JUDGES, TWELVE NEGRO LAWYERS—ALL ACTIVE CCBA MEMBERS —WERE SUBMITTED TO THE CHICAGO BAR ASSOCIATION TO PROVIDE EVALUATIONS OF POSSIBLE CANDIDATES FOR THE 17 NEW SUPERIOR COURT JUDGESHIPS IN THE NOVEMBER 6TH ELECTION.

Questionnaires were sent to possible candidates but recommendations of the Bar Association to party leaders are not binding it was learned. CCBA members listed are:

1. Hon. Lycurgus J. Conner — Assistant to the Probate Court Judge and Representative General Assembly, 22nd District.

2. Hon. James D. Crosson — Assistant to the Chief Justice, Municipal Court of Chicago, Former Referee, Municipal Court Traffic Division. Democratic Nominee for election Nov. 6 for Judge Municipal Court of Chicago.

3. Hon. Claude W. B. Holman — Master in Chancery Superior Court, Elected Democratic Committeeman, 4th Ward and Alderman 4th Ward.

4. Hon. Sidney A. Jones, Jr. — Judge of the Municipal Court of Chicago. Former Alderman 6th Ward.

5. Hon. Jewel Rogers LaFontant — Member Board of Managers, Chicago Bar Association, Former Assistant U.S. Attorney Northern District, Illinois; Seconded Nomination for President, former vice-president Richard M. Nixon at 1960 Republican National Convention.

6. Hon. George N. Leighton — Former member Board of Managers and Librarian, Chicago Bar Association; former Assistant Illinois Attorney General.

7. Hon. William R. Ming — Former Law School Professor University of Chicago and Howard University Law Schools; former Illinois Attorney General (Illinois Commerce Commission), Associate Counsel NAACP.

8. Hon. James D. Montgomery — Former Assistant U.S. District Attorney, Northern District Illinois.

9. Hon. Edith S. Sampson — Assistant Corporation Counsel; Former Delegate United Nations; Member U.S. Citizens Committee North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

10. Hon. Earl E. Strayhorn — Member Civil Service Commission; Former Assistant States Attorney.

11. Hon. Euclid L. Taylor — Master in Chancery, Superior Court; Former Illinois Assistant States Attorney; Past President National Bar Association.

12. Hon. Edward B. Toles — Former Assistant Attorney, U.S. Housing Authority; War Correspondent Chicago Defender; President Cook County Bar Association; Editor CCBA News; Chairman Judiciary Committee, National Bar Association; Member Judiciary Committee Chicago Bar Association.

CCBA had asked that of the 17 Judges to be elected in November that at least four Negro Candidates be slated by each Major Party to augment the inadequate representation of the Chicago Negro Lawyer. At present there are only four Judges elected - Judge Fred W. Slater elected in 1959 to a six year term on the Superior Bench; Judge Richard A. Harewood elected in 1962 to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Federal Judge James B. Parsons whose term expires in 1963; Municipal Court Judges Sidney A. Jones, Jr. and Henry C. Ferguson. There are at present 95 Judicial positions (112 after Nov. 6, 1962), 20 Circuit Court Judges (all of whom are up for election in 1963), 36 Superior Court Judges (17 additional Judges are up for election on November 6), One county and one Probate Court Judge (both up for election on November 6), One Chief Justice and 36 Associate Municipal Court Judges. 12 Municipal Court Judges will be elected in November; three CCBA members are candidates: Vice-president James D. Crosson on the Democratic slate and Past President James Horton and Philander Neville on the Republican ticket. Former 3rd Ward Alderman and former UN Delegate Archibald Carey is a candidate on the Republican ticket for Probate Court Judge.

CHICAGO BAR ASSOCIATION RATING OF JUDICIAL CANDIDATES under new rules will evaluate each candidate on the basis of a "qualified", "not qualified" or "no recommendation" finding. The entire membership—about 7,600—will vote after an initial screening by a committee on candidates and the board of managers on whether a candidate is qualified or not qualified. The former classification of "well qualified" and "exceptionally well qualified" will no longer be used and the number of votes received by each candidate will not be revealed. The new method recently adopted makes possible that all 34 candidates slated by both major parties could be rated "qualified" and thus leave the final decision to voters.

COOK COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION RATING OF JUDICIAL CANDIDATES, however, has not been changed. CCBA retains its method of endorsement of candidates after they have been selected by the major parties. The system of advising the electorate of CCBA choices has been used since 1914 and was reaffirmed by CCBA board of Directors last July 16, 1962 (CCBA News, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1961, pp. 3,4).

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY APPOINTS TWO WASHINGTON, D.C. NEGRO JUDGES. Judge Joseph C. Waddy was appointed and confirmed by the Senate to the District of Columbia Municipal Court for a term of ten years at an annual salary of $17,000. This brings the number of Negro Municipal Court D.C. Judges to three. The population of the District is over 54 per cent Negro. A Negro Federal District Court Judgeship with lifetime tenure has long been advocated by the NBA Judiciary Committee (Negro Federal Judges, 1960).

PRESIDENT KENNEDY announced the nomination of the first Negro woman Judge in history on Sunday, August 5th from Hyannisport, Mass. She is Mrs. Marjorie McKenzie Lawson, one of the President's earliest Negro supporters (see **Book Shelf**). Mrs. Lawson, born in 1912 in Pittsburgh, Pa. was graduated from the University of Michigan (Social Work) in 1933; Robert H. Terrell Law School, Washington, D.C. and Columbia University Law School and has practiced in Washington since 1939. From 1943-46 she was assistant Director, Review and Analysis division, FEPC; General Counsel for the 800,000 National Association of Colored Women; Appointed by President Kennedy Director Civil Rights Commission; Division, Presidents Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity and she has been a **Pittsburgh Courier** columnist for 14 years. She is married to Belford Lawson, former president of Alpha Phi Alpha and attorney in many Supreme Court Cases (Washington Chain Grocery store picketing and Alpha Phi Alpha Amicus Curiae, Henderson v U.S. Abolishing segregation in Dining Cars. The Lawsons have one son —Belford III, 18. The **Washington Post** editorialized on August 8: "Mrs. Lawson is an experienced lawyer and social worker and a valued member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Her nomination is also important from another view point. Since many of the children coming before the court are Negroes the presence of a well qualified Negro on its bench should notably enhance its capacity for community service. .....The only remaining hurdle is confirmation ... by the Senate. This should be promptly attended to as it entails no complicated search for talent."

SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE RICHARD A. HAREWOOD has resigned his elected position as Trustee of the University of Illinois and also the University Civil Service Board. In his letter to Governor Kerner he said "that his Judicial work would make it diffi-

cult to discharge adequately his responsibilities to the University." He was elected in 1958 to a 6 year term as University Trustee. Gov. Kerner said: "His years of service to the University have been noteworthy. I accepted his resignation from this important post with great reluctance."

CHICAGO MUNICIPAL COURT REFEREE ERNEST A. GREENE has been appointed to the Traffic Court by Chief Justice Augustine Bowe. He is a former member of the Legislature and a former assistant Corporation Counsel.

STATE SUPREME COURT POST SOUGHT BY NEGRO LAWYERS. Michigan Supreme Court Justice Otis M. Smith is seeking election this fall after having been appointed by Governor Swainson to Michigan's highest Court. He was the first Negro State Supreme Court Justice since South Carolina Supreme Court Justice Johnothan Jasper Wright was elected to a full six year term in 1870.

Z. ALEXANDER LOOBY, Veteran Nasvhille City Councilman is in the midst of a campaign to become the first Negro member of the Tennessee State Supreme Court as an independent candidate against two Democratic incumbents. NBA member Looby's home was blasted and destroyed by a dynamite bomb in Nashville, Tenn. on April 19, 1960 after he had defended lunch counter sitdown students. Eleven days later on April 30th he appeared as one of the speakers on Cook County Bar Law Day Program at the Sherman Hotel, Chicago, which was the kickoff campaign for Negro Federal Court Judges.

NEW YORK APPELLATE COURT ASSOCIATE JUSTICE HAROLD A. STEVENS is reportedly being considered as the candidate for the highest New York Court, The Court of Appeals.

FORMER PRESIDING JUDGE JOHN W. BUSSEY of San Francisco's Municipal Court has been appointed by Governor Brown to the Superior Court, San Francisco, California.

CCBA MEMBER EUGENE W. WOOD was installed as President of the Chicago Association of Defense Lawyers at a dinner in the Glendale Country Club on May 29th. He is the first Negro to be elected to the post and succeeds Michael H. Brodkin. President Wood, a native of Nashville, Tenn., was the first Negro vice president of the National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s.

THE DEATH OF CCBA MEMBER PHILANDER NEVILLE, a Republican Candidate for Municipal Court caused a replacement on the Republican ticket with the naming of CCBA members George S. Barnes and Robert C. Power. The Democratic Candidate for Municipal Court Judge, James D. Crosson, was elevated to the Superior Court nomination and Hon. Edith S. Sampson was nominated as Democratic Candidate for Municipal Court Judge. She is the first Negro woman ever nominated for Judge in Illinois and if elected will be only the fourth woman judge elected in Illinois. Four other Negro women judges sit in New York, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia and Los Angeles.

CCBA members on the Republican ticket are: Archibald Carey, Jr. for Probate Court Judge: Robert H. Holloway for Appellate Court Clerk; Jewel Rogers LaFontant for Superior Court Judge. George S. Barnes, James T. Horton and Robert C. Power for Municipal Court Judges.

Congressman Sidney Yates and President Toles at Awards Banquet. President Kennedy said, on Fri., Oct. 19, "I come here to ask you to send Sid Yates to the U.S. Senate, a man to stand with Senator Paul H. Douglas and move this country forward."

FOR JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF COOK COUNTY

SPECIMEN BALLOT

JUDICIAL ELECTION TUESDAY NOVEMBER 6, 1962

DEMOCRATIC	REPUBLICAN
Joseph J. Butler	Charles R. Barrett
Benjamin Wham	Emil M. Caliendo
Irwin Cohen	Francis X Connell
Nathan Cohen	William A. Cunnea
James D. Crosson	Eugene V. Devitt
Walter P. Dahl	Theodore P. Fields
George Fielder	Ambrose Finn
Thomas H. Fitzgerald	Joseph P. Immel
Herbert R. Friedlund	William Jacobs
Albert E. Hallett	Jewel Rogers Lafontant
Robert L. Hunter	Lawrence Lawless
Joseph J. Lelivelt	James C. Leaton
Daniel J. McNamara	John A. Nordberg
Emmett Morrissey	Edward P. Saltiel
Edward E. Plusdrak	Harry S. Stark
George L. Quilici	Walter E. Wiles
Alphonse F. Wells	Sydney Wolfe

FOR JUDGE OF THE COUNTY COURT

Thaddeus V. Adesko	Elroy C. Sandquist, Jr.

FOR JUDGE OF THE PROBATE COURT

Robert Jerome Dunne	Archibald J. Carey, Jr.

FOR JUDGE OF MUNICIPAL COURT

William M. Barth	Catherine Cook Anagnost
Saul A. Epton	Milton Applebaum
Joseph F. Geary	George S. Barnes
Charles P. Horan	Frederick J. Bertram
Harry A. Iseberg	Sol A. Frankel
Walter J. Kowalski	James T. Horton
David Lefkovits	Marshall E. Lobin
Nicholas J. Matkovic	Arthur A. Maina, Jr.
Joseph H. McGarry	Maurice L. McDermott
Helen F. McGillicuddy	William D. O'Malley
Francis T. Moran	Robert C. Power
Joseph A. Power	John T. Reutcke
Edith S. Sampson	James F. Slager
Cecil Corbett Smith	James J. Thomas
Kenneth R. Wendt	Andrew Vrtjak
Joseph M. Wosik	Howard R. Weiss

CHICAGO DAILY NEWSPAPER COMMENT ON THE JUDICIAL SLATES

The *Chicago Daily Tribune's* George Tagge in the September 28th edition wrote: "Mayor Daley presided over slatemakers who met for three days in the Morrison hotel to interview more than 40 aspirants for the Municipal court positions.

Epton is slated for a full six year term. He takes the place on the Democratic ticket of James D. Crosson, who was promoted to the Superior court ticket.

Horan succeeds Municipal Judge Daniel J. McNamara, Jr. on the city court ticket for another six year term. McNamara also was advanced to the Superior court group of nominees last month.

Matkovic will get two years remaining of the Municipal court term of George B. Weiss, who was promoted to Superior court in the April 10 special election.

Mrs. Sampson, a widow, will also get two years of an unexpired term. This remained when Municipal Judge Irving Landesman was transferred to Superior court by the April 10 election results.

Mayor Daley said racial and nationality factors were brushed aside by the Democrats. His latest group of candidates is composed of a Negro, a Jew, an Irish-American, and a Slavic-American."

And on October 6th the following article by the same author appeared in the *Tribune:*

"The main chance for Democrats to pull their chestnuts out of the fire lies with the growing Negro vote. In various special elections around the country this year Democrats showed losses in every group except the Negroes. There they showed gains.

A study of *Congressional Quarterly,* a non-partisan reporting agency, showed five congressional districts here in 1960 with Negro population ranging from 29.9 per cent to 92.1 per cent. All went overwhelmingly Democratic, from 59.1 per cent to 80.5 per cent. And these districts now have large Negro populations.

Governor Kerner reportedly called off his proposed 10 per cent cut in relief after Mayor Daley told him: 'There are six wards we've got to carry big.' These are the 2d, 3d, 4th, 6th, 20th, and 24th, all now with Negro ward committeemen.

Efforts by some Democratic leaders to woo the Negro voters are continuous, even in areas with fewer of them. For example, the Evanston Regular Democratic organization in its current publications lists two meetings to plug for "open occupancy" or "freedom of residence." The Rev. Martin Luther King will address one of these November 13 at Evanston Township High school auditorium.

The Democratic state representative from Evanston, Robert Marks, a candidate for re-election, sponsored and voted for the "open occupancy" bill in the 1961 legislature. This measure requires private property owners to sell or rent without regard to race."

Chicago's American's Charles Finston on August 29th columned the following: "Many qualified Democrats are reported disgruntled because they were sidetracked by party leaders to make way for six Republican defectors on the ticket.

Mayor Daley tried to placate almost 100 disappointed aspirants by emphasizing that more judgeships will be available in the future.

Daley's placating message was delivered after the judicial ticket was selected for the November 6 election at a meeting of the 80-man county committee in the Morrison hotel yesterday.

Today, Daley indicated he referred to 18 Circuit and Superior court vacancies which are expected in the next three years because of the anticipated retirement of over-age sitting veteran judges.

Eight of the Circuit court vacancies may develop in the June, 1963 judicial election.

Also, it was pointed out, there will be available 12 new Appellate court posts and two state Supreme court judgeships in Cook county later if voters approve the judicial reform proposal in the fall election.

Several ward and township committee men angrily left the meeting hall prior to confirmation of the ticket. The usual roll call was not taken by Matt Bieszczat, secretary of the committee."

The *Chicago Daily News* wrote on October 6th:

"Five Republican candidates for Municipal Court Judge in the Nov. 6 election were listed as "not qualified" Saturday by Chicago Bar Assn. screening officials.

Four others were given a "no finding" rating.

On the Democratic side, three of 17 candidates for Superior Court judgeships were given "no finding" labels.

"No Finding," according to bar officials, means the candidate falls short of being qualified but is not so lacking as to be considered "not qualified." The ratings were made known when the association sent ballots to lawyers asking them to rate the candidates and providing the screening report as a guide.

All other judge candidates were rated as "qualified" in the screening report."

The *Chicago Daily Defender* editorialized in its October 8th edition:

"THE JUDICIAL TICKET - In a remarkably well-documented article, the Cook County Bar Association pointed out to Democratic and Republican leaders alike, the scandalous disparity in the apportionment of judgeships where Negroes are concerned.

The inequitable representation of Negroes on the various courts of Chicago and Cook County has taken on the aspect of a permanent feature of our local judiciary. Every time a sitting judge retires or dies, his nationality group wastes no time to claim the

position. The perpetuation of so indefensible a practice makes it virtually impossible for Negroes to get on the bench.

Seventeen new Superior judgeships were created by last session of the General Assembly and these judges are to be elected in November. Here was an opportunity for Negro lawyers to get equitable recognition. Certainly since the Negro represents 25% of the Chicago population, he should have that percentage of the judgeships.

This consideration is the more compelling since this racial minority is depressingly under-represented on the local bench. At least five Negro lawyers should have been slated. The Democratic Party chieftains should not have to be reminded of their debts to the Negro constituency.

It was the Negro vote that put Mayor Richard Daley in office. And again it was the Negro vote that carried Illinois for Kennedy and thus kept the Presidency from going to Richard Nixon. Perhaps the party's memory is inordinately short.

So worried were the Democratic bosses about under-representation of certain ethnic groups that they placed six Republicans on the Democratic ticket. They are men who had tried in every way to defeat Daley and his party. And we say without fear of honest contradiction that every Republican placed on the Democratic ticket, a qualified, competent Negro lawyer could have been chosen.

After much wrangling and hair-splitting, two Negro lawyers are now on the Democratic judicial ticket. There is considerable doubt on the chances of both of them being elected come November. One is a replacement for a retiring judge, meaning no increase in our judicial representation.

Our political leaders lack courage and independence. They are all vying with one another to prove to Mayor Daley that they are loyal, dependable, trustworthy, and will not rock the boat. "Anything the mayor wants is all right with me," they have been heard to say.

It is a pathetic situation, and that explains convincingly why our political rewards have been so scanty and so few."

New York City with over a million Negro population and with 15 Negro Judges, one Federal Court of Appeals Judge and one Federal Customs Court Judge failed to obtain a Negro Supreme Court Judge according to the following *New York Amsterdam* account in its September 29th edition entitled, "Who's to Blame in Judgeship Loss?"

"In the political backrooms J. Raymond Jones was blaming Rep. Adam Powell and Powell was blaming Jones and both were blaming Mayor Robert Wagner and Democratic County leader Ed Costikyan for the failure of any Negro lawyer to be included among the five selected for the Supreme Court vacancies at the Manhattan-Bronx Democratic judicial convention last week.

Heaviest blame for the failure to include any Negro lawyer, after one had reportedly been promised to Negro leaders, can be laid at the doorstep of Mayor Wagner, who has yet to appoint or recommend a prominent Negro lawyer for a bench post since his re-election last November. He has had some 18 opportunities to do so, an *Amsterdam News* study shows.

'This action is a direct slap at the uptown community which is the heart of the voting bloc of the Democratic party in the county. The only way the Mayor can be partially excused would be the immediate appointment of qualified candidates recommended by the uptown leaders to the Mayor,' Powell said. Powell, whose candidate for one of the Supreme Court vacancies was Attorney Jawn Sandifer, said the Mayor had personally promised him earlier this year to appoint a Negro to one of the Special Sessions Court vacancies."

Ebony magazine offers a solution in an editorial, "The Important Black Vote":

"Some 19 million Negroes form better than ten per cent of the population of the United States. The possibility of any one of them being elected president or vice president is laughable. There are no Negro senators. Only four of 437 seats in the House of Representatives are occupied by Negroes. There are no Negro governors, no Negro mayors (except in all-Negro towns) and it is only in the past year that Washington, D.C. (53 per cent Negro in population) got its first Negro commissioner.

A smattering of aldermen and councilmen hold down posts in major cities (Chicago with a 23 per cent Negro population has only six Negro aldermen on its 50 member city council).

There are no Negro sheriffs, only a few Negro police chiefs (none in major cities), no elected district attorneys, secretaries of state, state treasurers, lieutenant governors, etc. There may be a few Negro dog catchers but even this is doubtful.

The Negro, on the whole, must depend upon liberal whites for the initiation and passage of any state or federal legislation to better his cause. These liberal whites are often so busy representing the "liberal whites" that they find themselves "horsetrading" with not-so-liberal whites. The Negro ends up many times being short changed by his friends. It becomes an "I won't vote for Urban Affairs if you promise to vote for lessening of tariffs" kind of thing and the Negro loses out.

The only solution to this dilemma lies in a judicious use of the Negro vote. Every Negro qualified to vote should go to the polls both in the primaries and the

general elections. Every Negro not given the right to vote should fight to attain this right supposedly guaranteed to all citizens under the Constitution.

North, South, East and West — the Negro should make a concentrated effort to register all eligible voters and should follow it up with an effective push to actually get them to the polls. It is time for the important black vote to really assert itself.

Getting the Negro vote to the polls is only the first half of the solution. The dilemma will be solved only if these Negro votes are cast for the man, whether he be white or Negro, who will represent the Negro."

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35	6,500	20.00	13,500	55.00
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55	1,000	20.00	5,000	100.00

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MEMORIAL PROCEEDINGS IN MEMORY OF THE LATE JUDGE IRVIN C. MOLLISON were held in the First Division, United States Customs Court at New York City June 4, 1962. Chief Judge Webster J. Oliver wrote the following letter to President Toles:

United States Customs Court
201 Varick Street
New York 14

June 11, 1962

Edward B. Toles, Esq.
President, The Cook County
Bar Association
100 North LaSalle Street
Suite 715
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mr. Toles:

You will find enclosed a copy of the resolutions relating to the late Judge Irvin C. Mollison, adopted by the Judges of this Court at the Regular Court Meeting of May 28, 1962.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Webster J. Oliver
Chief Judge

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE UNITED STATES CUSTOMS COURT UPON THE DEATH OF IRVIN CHARLES MOLLISON, JUDGE, UNITED STATES CUSTOMS COURT

WHEREAS, On May 5, 1962, the members of the United States Customs Court learned, with profound sorrow, of the sudden passing of their associate, Judge Irvin Charles Mollison, and

WHEREAS, The life and works of Judge Mollison were notable products of the democratic ideals of our country which he so constantly and successfully strove not only to maintain but also to advance, and

WHEREAS, Irvin Charles Mollison was born in Vicksburg, Mississippi, on December 24, 1898, the son of Willie Elbert Mollison and Ida Welbourne Mollison, was educated locally and at Tougaloo Academy, at Oberlin College, and at the University of Chicago, whence he was graduated, with honors, in 1920 with the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy, and in 1923 with the degree of Juris Doctor, and

WHEREAS, From the time of his admission to the Illinois Bar in 1923 until 1945 he practiced law in the City of Chicago, including in a vigorous and fruitful career advocacy in numerous cases involving civil rights and liberties, and

WHEREAS, At the same time he devoted himself unselfishly to public service, as a member of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Public Library, the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, and the Board of Trustees of Provident Hospital and Training School, Chicago, and

WHEREAS, Our late Associate was honored by election to learned societies, including Phi Beta Kappa, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and was admitted to membership in many scholarly and professional societies, including the American Political Science Association, the American Society of International Law, and the American Judicature Society, as well as local, state, and national bar associations, and

WHEREAS, He was especially honored by many civic and professional groups, including the New York Public Library, the National Bar Association, and the Cook County Bar Association, for his work in humanitarian and legal fields, and

WHEREAS, From the time he was appointed a Judge of the United States Customs Court on November 3, 1945, by President Harry S. Truman, until his untimely death, his associates came to respect him for his strong, keenly analytical mind, his clarity of expression, and his legal knowledge, as well as his integrity, dignity, and friendly attributes, and

WHEREAS, During his service as a member of the Court he unstintingly devoted himself to the administrative, as well as the judicial, work of the Court, notable examples of his industry in this regard being improvement of the Court Library, the revision of the Rules of the Court, and the successful compilation and publication of the Customs Law Digest,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the Chief Judge and the Associate Judges of the United States Customs Court do hereby record their high appreciation of the life and character of Irvin Charles Mollison, of the respect and esteem in which he was held, and of the loss which the Court, the Bar, and customs jurisprudence have suffered by his death, and they do hereby express their deep sympathy to his devoted and loyal wife and family upon his passing.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That these resolutions be placed in the minutes of the meeting of the Judges of the United States Customs Court, and that the same be published, and copies sent to the members of his family.

/s/ Webster J. Oliver, Chief Judge
/s/ Charles D. Lawrence, Judge
/s/ Jed Johnson, Judge
/s/ Paul P. Rao, Judge
/s/ Morgan Ford, Judge
/s/ David J. Wilson, Judge
/s/ Mary H. Donlon, Judge
/s/ Scovel Richardson, Judge

UNITED STATES CUSTOM COURT

Present at the memorial ceremonies and expressing short eulogies were Chief Judge Webster J. Oliver and Customs Court Judges David J Wilson, Jed Johnson, Mary H. Donlon, and Scovel Richardson; Department of Justice Attorney William H. Orrick, Jr. and the President of the Harlem Lawyers Association, Andrew H. Tyler. U.S. Customs Court Clerk Elmer Carey mailed the bound printed copy of the Memorial Ceremonies to CCBA President Toles.

NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION CONVENTION held its 37th annual meeting in Indianapolis, Indiana at the Claypool Hotel, August 29th through September 1st. All officers were reelected including the following new officers: Attorneys Leona Pouncy Thurmon, General Secretary, Kansas City, Mo.; Claudia Shropshire, Assistant Secretary, Detroit, Mich.; Billy Jones, East St. Louis, Ill.; and Edward B. Toles, Chicago, Ill., as members of the Executive Board. Founder C. Francis Stradford was elected President Emeritus. Over 400 lawyers heard Federal District Court Judge James B. Parsons speak at the Judges luncheon; he was introduced by President Toles. Past President of the American Bar Association Charles S. Rhyne addressed the Annual Banquet and was presented along with Vice President Theodore F. Crawley, the C. Francis Stradford Awards by Past President Elmer Jackson for Meritorious Services.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy sent the following telegram to President Toles which was received with tremendous ovation at the banquet: "I am happy to send greetings to the thirty-seventh annual meeting of the National Bar Association. The members of your organization have been a credit to the private practice of Law. They have benefited all our citizens by their advocacy in the cause of social justice, and are now serving the Nation well in many important posts in Government. My best wishes for a productive and pleasant meeting."

J. M. Udochi, Ambassador from Nigeria, United Nations Counsel Mrs. Carmel Carrington Marr, Dean Spottswood Robinson and W. Robert Ming were prominent speakers.

Judges Juanita Kidd Stout, Philadelphia; Roger Yancey, Newark, N.J.; U. S. Judge Wade McCree, Detroit; Thomas Dickens, New York; Mercer Mance, Indianapolis; Robert V. Franklin, Toledo; and Elving Davenport, Detroit attended.

The 38th Annual meeting will convene in Chicago, Illinois August 7th through August 10th at the Sherman House. The American Bar Association meets in Chicago the following week, August 12th through August 17th, and the American Negro Emancipation Centennial Exposition will open at McCormick Place August 16th through September 2nd.

On September 10, DeLong Harris, Washington, D.C., Chairman of the Resolutions Committee of NBA read an association resolution drafted by President Toles to Attorney General Kennedy in his Washington Department of Justice Office citing NBA gratitude for the Administration appointments of various highly qualified individuals to the Judiciary and in the Justice Department based on merit and without regard to creed or color.

The Attorney General was named on October 13 winner of the American Jewish Congress 1962 Stephen S. Wise Award "for advancing human freedom" and will receive the award at a dinner in New York on October 28.

In reply to Cook County Bar Association's letter of appreciation for five judicial appointments to Negro Judges and one re-appointment to the District of Columbia Municipal Court; and for his determined and unprecedented action in the University of Mississippi case, the Attorney General wrote the following on October 4th: "Dear Mr. Toles, Many thanks for your letter of the twenty-ninth. It was nice of you to write and I greatly appreciate your kind remarks about the appointment of Federal Judges and the action taken at the University of Mississippi." Sincerely, Robert F. Kennedy.

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY APPOINTED FIRST NEGRO LAWYER MEMBER OF FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION. He is A. Leon Higginbotham, a Philadelphia lawyer, member of the Pennsylvania Fair Employment Commission and President of the Philadelphia branch NAACP since 1959. The first Negro to serve on a federal regulatory agency is 34 and succeeds William C. Kern, a Democrat, for a term of seven years to the $20,000 a year job. He was admitted to the Pennsylvania Bar in 1953 and was formerly an assistant district attorney for Philadelphia County. The NBA adopted resolutions at an Indianapolis Regional Meeting and at Los Angeles' 36th Annual meeting drafted by NBA members George Crockett, Edward B. Toles and Myles C. Stevens asking the President to appoint qualified Negro lawyers to each of the Federal Regulatory agencies.

APPOINTMENT OF A NEGRO LAWYER TO THE U. S. INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION was urged by the NBA Chairman of the Judiciary Committee and the President of CCBA in a three page memorandum on November 18th, 1961 to President Kennedy and Attorney General Kennedy. The memorandum noted the NBA resolution and the comprehensive regulations adopted by the Interstate Commission at the request of Attorney General Kennedy on September 22, 1961 which barred segregation in waiting rooms, rest rooms and other terminal facilities as well as on buses and trains. The memorandum citing cases pointed out that "recent incidents and arrests in Southern States from Negro Interstate pass-

engers attempts to use previously white terminal facilities offer compelling reasons why Negro lawyer members of the Interstate Commerce Commission should be appointed."

The following acknowledgements were received: November 27, 1961. Dear Mr. Toles: Thank you for your letter and the attached memorandum regarding the naming of a Negro lawyer to the Interstate Commerce Commission. I appreciate this and also your thoughtful comments regarding my remarks at the Chicago White House Regional Conference. It was good to hear from you, Sincerely, Robert F. Kennedy.

November 28th, 1961. Dear Mr. Toles: Thank you for your letter of November 18, 1961, with enclosures on behalf of the Cook County Bar Association, Inc., urging the appointment of a Negro lawyer to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Since this is a Presidential appointment, we have forwarded your memorandum to the White House. I greatly appreciate your calling this matter to my attention. Sincerely, Byron R. White, Deputy Attorney General

November 24, 1961. Dear Mr. Toles: Thank you very much for your letter of November eighteenth and the enclosed material relative to the appointment of a Negro lawyer to the Interstate Commerce Commission. This information has been made available to the proper persons in the Administration. Sincerely, John Seigenthaler, Administrative Assistant to the Attorney General.

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES on Monday October 8, 1962 took the following actions:

Summarily affirmed lower court decisions upholding the validity of a 1961 Interstate Commerce Commission order prohibiting segregation on interstate buses and in all terminals used by them. *Georgia v U. S.* and *Lassiter v U. S.*

Agreed to review a Colorado Supreme Court decision that a State fair employment practice law could not be applied to make Continental Air Lines hire a Negro pilot because such application would conflict with the commerce clause of the Constitution. *Colorado Antidis crimination Commission v Continental; Green v Continental.*

Agreed to pass on the constitutionality of a provision in the Knoxville (Tenn.) desegregation plan allowing any child placed in a school predominately of the other race to transfer out. *Goss v Knoxville School Board.*

Refused to review a Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals decision validating a county school bond issue despite Negro complaints that building a school addition in a Negro residential area would perpetuate segregation. *Alexander v Arlington County Board.*

Refused to review the Fifth Circuit decision ordering admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi. *Fair v Meredith.*

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND needs contributions to prosecute discrimination. It has had more cases in the Supreme Court in the 1961-1962 term than any other institution except the Federal Government. The Fund, unlike the NAACP, was established in 1940, does no lobbying for or against legislation and can therefore be tax exempt. Of the 29 cases last term, 13 arose from the student sit-in campaigns challenging lunch counter segregation. It has some 102 cases pending around the country including sit-in and Freedom Rider cases with more than 3,000 defendants. Just six lawyers make up the fund's legal staff and eighty lawyers throughout the country do part-time work. With only a few Negro lawyers in the Deep South accepting cases of Negroes and whites who challenge segregation laws and white lawyers refusing to risk their social and economic positions locally by accepting these cases, this situation is going to make civil rights progress slower unless the Department of Justice elects to handle these cases itself. The Department has done a wonderful job intervening in cases like *Fair v Meredith* and initiating voter actions in Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama.

FEDERAL REFEREE IN BANKRUPTCY ELMER P. SCHAEFER, brother of Illinois Supreme Court Justice Walter V. Schaefer, was sworn in July 2. He is the former chief counsel for the Federal National Mortgage Association. CCBA hopes for the appointment of the next Referee in bankruptcy from Negro lawyers. There are two Negro referees in bankruptcy in the entire U.S.; one in Detroit and one in New York City.

COOK COUNTY BAR ENDORSES THE JUDICIAL ARTICLE. At its October 12th meeting, the Association reaffirmed its action taken initially on March 23rd when Hon. Owen Rall (Past President, Illinois Bar Association) addressed a full membership meeting. Literature, buttons and streamers were supplied to members and volunteers for speaking engagements at churches and forums are asked to contact Chairman George Leighton, 123 West Madison, FR 2-1106 for engagements. Chairman James Rutherford, former Vice President of Prudential Life Insurance Co. and Past President of Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, supplied all of the Blue Ballot advertisements and more can be had for the asking. This amendment must pass on November 6. Our resolution follows:

WHEREAS, the proposed Judicial Article would modernize our court system and its operation by simplifying and unifying its structure, by providing for business-like administration of all courts, by assuring reductions in costs and delays of litigation, and by guaranteeing greater independence of the Judiciary;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Cook County Bar Association that it endorses the Judicial Article and undertakes to promote its adoption by the voters of Illinois on November 6, 1962; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that each member of this Association is urged actively to support the adoption of the Amendment; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that in implementation of the purpose of these resolutions the President appoint a special committee to cooperate with the Joint Committee on the Judicial Article and with citizens' groups seeking the adoption of the Amendment.

Cook County Bar members George Leighton, Chairman and Edward B. Toles, Cook County Physicians Association President Dr. J. Williams, NAACP Secretary Carl Fuqua, Committee of One Hundred Chairman Ernest Rather and representatives of the Chicago Urban League met at a luncheon in the Chicago Bar Association with President Walter Moses, Past President E. Douglas Schwantes, and Chairman James Rutherford. All organizations went on record as endorsing the Amendment and pledging to work for its passage. CCBA welcomes the prospect of securing one of the three Supreme Court Judges and Judges on the 12 Judge Appellate court provided by the Amendment. THIS AMENDMENT MUST PASS AND LET'S SEE THAT IT DOES. VOTE X FOR PASSAGE!

CHICAGO BAR ASSOCIATION PRESIDENT WALTER MOSES APPOINTS TO COMMITTEE ON CANDIDATES George Leighton and Edward B. Toles. Leighton is a former member of the Chicago Bar Association of Managers, Commissioner of the Supreme Court and former Librarian. Toles is at present also on the Judiciary Committee. Jewel Rogers LaFontant was elected to the Board of Managers. Archibald Carey is on the Committee on Inquiry and William Peterson is on the Committee on Domestic Relations. Other CCBA members serve on other committees.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY SIGNED THE SMATHERS-KEOGH BILL which permits income tax deductions by Lawyers and self-employed persons who establish private retirement funds. But CCBA lawyers whose funds may not afford this plan may find considerable interest and value in the announcement of the AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION ENDOWMENT INSURANCE PROGRAM available to member lawyers throughout the nation. Because of its reasonable cost and opportunity for members who will be joining in order to participate in the ABA convention next August here in Chicago, here is an opportunity and CCBA NEWS publishes elsewhere in this issue the two plans for Lawyers. It is important that CCBA members who are interested in the continued advance of the Negro lawyer for Judgeships and administrative positions to join not only CCBA and NBA but the Chicago Bar Association, American Bar Association and the American Judicature Society (all of whom incidentally have some form of group life and disability plans).

CCBA PLANS AN ANNUAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND BALL. In order to provide a scholarship program for deserving high school and college students in the Chicago area or in Mississippi; a joint venture is being undertaken with the CCBA Women's Auxiliary to begin plans. Mrs. Brunetta Peterson, President of the Auxiliary will appoint a committee to work with CCBA.

THE BEVERLY HILLS (CALIF.) BAR ASSOCIATION with 893 members recently welcomed the first student to be sponsored under its African Scholarship Program. He is Mosurudeen Adebayo Kuku of Nigeria. Kuku, 29, who earned his LL.B. at University College of London, is an advocate and solicitor of the Supreme Court of Nigeria and a member of the International Commission of Jurists. He will attend the University of California at Los Angeles under a one-year program leading to a degree of Master of Comparative Law. *Read the excellent article in the October issue of ABA Journal by U. S. Supreme Court Judge William O. Douglas on lawyers needed in Africa.*

CCBA SUGGESTS NAMING OF SCHOOLS HONORING DISTINGUISHED NEGRO JUDGES AND LAWYERS. In reply to CCBA letters, General Superintendent of Schools Benjamin C. Willis wrote on July 30, 1962: Dear Mr. Toles: Thank you for your letter of July 27 and the clipping regarding the naming of Chicago public schools in the Sixth Ward in honor of distinguished deceased Negro judges and lawyers. I have noted the names suggested—Judge Wendell E. Green and Judge Irvin C. Mollison. These suggestions have been transmitted to the staff committee working on the selection of school names. We are most appreciative of your interest in our schools. Sincerely, Benjamin Willis.

(Editor's Note: There are only 10 schools named after Negroes out of 500 Chicago schools and none after a Negro lawyer.)

VOTE X YES

BLUE BALLOT

JUDICIAL AMENDMENT

"A lawyer without history or literature is a mechanic, a mere working mason; if he possesses some knowledge of these he may venture to call himself an architect." *Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832)*

DISTINGUISHED NEGRO GEORGIANS by Cornelius V. Troup, Royal Publishing Co., Dallas, Texas 203 pp – 1962 – 3.50

A collection of short biographical sketches of more than one hundred living outstanding Negro Georgians who have achieved an unusual degree of success in some field of endeavor. The author, a native of Brunswick, Georgia, earned his Doctorate at Ohio State and is president of Fort Valley State College (Ga.). Among many accomplished persons listed are Dr. Martin Luther King, Opera Singers Roland Hayes and Mattiwilda Dobbs, Insurance Executives T. K. Gibson, Sr., George A. Beavers, Jr., Dr. Haley Bell, and Norris Herndon; Publisher John H. Sengstacke, College Presidents James Nabrit, Samuel Nabrit, and Benner C. Turner; Business and Civic Executives, Ralph Metcalfe, Jackie Robinson and Booker T. McGraw. Cook County Bar Lawyers included are Congressman William L. Dawson, Sanitary District Trustee C. C. Wimbish, Judge Sidney A. Jones, Jr., William Henry Huff, Harry H. C. Gibson, James G. Lemon, Jr., and Edward B. Toles.

A CENTURY OF CIVIL RIGHTS by Milton R. Konvitz, New York; Columbia Univ. Press, 293 pp – 1961 – 6.00

A thorough and analytical research of the judicial and legislative foundations of the law of civil rights including recent national legislation and the legal aspects of segregation in schools and public conveyances and other public facilities. The author, an authority and writer on civil rights, professor of law at Cornell, examines the nature of slavery in the South and compares it with slavery in other parts of the world. He states on page 8: "As a result of war or as a consequence of extreme poverty anyone might become a slave. The Israelites in the Promised land did not consider it a badge of shame that their forefathers had been slaves unto Pharoah in Egypt..... The experience of slavery in the ancient world was so common that Plato ventured to suggest that every man has many slaves among his ancestors. The poet Terence and the father of Horace was a slave. It has been pointed out that the very word "slave" is but Slav....." On page 42 appears an historical error when the author states: "Northern Democrats having voted against Lincoln for the Presidency were not ready to accept the idea that the war was being fought to free the slaves. Thus, seven days after the issuance of the proclamation, the legislature of Lincoln's own loyal free state of Illinois adopted a resolution (Ill. State Leg. Jan. 7, 1863) condemning Lincoln's act "as unwarrantable in military as in civil law" as a "gigantic usurpation at once converting the war, professedly commenced by the administration for the authority of the constitution into the crusade for the sudden unconditional and violent liberation of Negro Slaves." The resolution stated that the freeing of the Negro slaves in the Confederate States, was "a result which would not only be a total subversion of the Federal Union but a revolution in the social organization of the Southern states, the immediate and the remote, the present and far reaching consequences of which cannot be contemplated without the most dismal foreboding of horror and dismay." Alderman Leon DePres of Chicago's fifth ward was amazed and doubted the authenticity of this quotation when we discussed this passage. His research proved that the Illinois legislature voted to table a resolution approving the Emancipation Proclamation and then sent a series of resolutions and amendments to committee including the one above quoted and all resolutions and amendments were not passed but died in Committee according to Ill. House Journal January 8, 1863. DePres received a note of regret from the Author and a letter of thanks from the Chicago Historical Society.

Harry Golden writing in the *Saturday Evening Post* -August 11-18, 1962 edition on "Let's end the Civil War; Refighting yesterday's battles will never solve today's problems" wrote: "Yet the Civil War Centennial is hardly a promotion dreamed up by flag manufacturers. Nor is the centennial merely a project of the enthusiastic city booster to lure the tourist dollar. No city booster anywhere in the South or in the North has any intention of proposing a celebration

of World War I or World War II or the Korean War. We celebrate no other war because essentially we believe those wars are over, their outcomes final, the course of history decided. But there are centennial committees throughout the South which would have us think the Civil War is not done with, that it ought to be refought..... The North "knew in 1862 that it was fighting to preserve the Union and free the slaves. Historians may say that the Confederate States did not war against those objectives, but rather were trying to preserve a way of life. Nevertheless, those were the objectives accomplished by the Emancipation Proclamation and the surrender at Appomattox .....The time has come to end the Civil War because we are one country with one economy. We cannot take time out from industrial and urban problems of unemployment, housing, schooling, and civil rights to indulge ourselves in silly excess, celebrating a time that no longer is—and never was. The truth is that, at best the rather expensive centennial provides but a minor amusement for the people who are paying off mortgages and putting by the money to send a son to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill or a daughter to the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor."

GOMILLION v LIGHTFOOT by Bernard Taper, McGraw Hill, 118 pp — 1962 — 3.75

Here is a volume that all CCBA lawyers should read and own for it is a very factual account unfolded

1961–1962 - at Banquet

Newly installed officers of CCBA:, Seated left to right – Edwin C. Hatfield, second Vice President; William E. Peterson, Director; Edward B. Toles, President; James D. Crosson, First Vice President (Democratic Candidate for Judge Superior Court of Cook County); James G. Lemon, Treasurer; Ernestine B. Washington and Theodore F. Crawley, Directors.

Standing (l.-r.) – Charles F. Lane, Past President and Director; Russell R. DeBow, Third Vice President; Charles Durham, Glenn T. Johnson, Directors; James A. Mclendon, Past President; Levi H. Morris, Financial Secretary; and Theries C. Lindsey, General Secretary.

step by step of the oral argument before the U. S. Supreme Court attacking the denial of Negro voting rights by the gerrymandering of Tuskegee, Alabama boundaries. The Negro Attorneys were NAACP general counsel Robert Carter and Fred D. Gray of Montgomery, Alabama (the latter Alabama Negro lawyer in his first appearance before the Supreme Court). With rare talent and insight the author explores the character of the Justices—especially Justice Felix Frankfurter. Particularly interesting was how Robert Carter explained to the Court the Illinois decision of *Colegrove v Green* where the Supreme Court flatly declined to consider inequities of Illinois Congressional boundaries. The Court's ruling that an inquiry would place the court into a "political thicket" had to be distinguished to gain the court's ultimate decision that Professor Gomillion was entitled to a hearing in the federal district court on his claim of disenfranchisement. Later the federal district court in Alabama voided the city's boundaries. The argument of these Negro attorneys seemed insignificant on the afternoon of October 8, 1960 but it was the forerunner of one of the most famous decisions of the court—*Baker v Carr*, the Tennessee apportionment case. In this ruling the court on March 26, 1962 for the second time opened to the scrutiny of Judges the decisive issues of fairness in legislative districts. And at this writing the effects are sounding a telling blow to vote discrimination in the South, for on October 16, 1962, LeRoy Johnson, a Negro attorney in Atlanta, Georgia led a four man race for a seat in the Georgia Senate. Because of the recent reapportionment of the state legislature on the population basis Johnson polled 14,306 votes to 8,657 for his white opponent and two other badly beaten white candidates. He faces a runoff or a court hearing, and if he wins he will face another Negro opponent, T.M. Alexander, a Republican on November 6. When the *New Yorker* magazine published a two part account of this book in its June 10 and June 17, 1961 issues, it was my first time to read a major publication's account about Negro lawyers except for Katherine T. Kinkead's article, "It doesn't seem quick to me," which appeared in the April 15, 1961 *New Yorker*. This was a revealing account of a Negro attorney, Floyd B. McKissack, in Greensboro, North Carolina and the sit-in crusade. To be sure there are other articles on the Negro but not Negro lawyers and I remember well my former war correspondent associate's stories like Rebecca West's "Opera in Greenville" about a Negro lynching trial (June 14, 1947) of thirteen white taxi drivers in Greenville, South Carolina or Janet Flanner (Genet) in her "Letter from Paris" on the election of the Negro President of the French Senate (Gaston Monnerville of French Guiana, now in his 17th two-year term) or Joe Liebling's accounts of Negro sports champions and pugilists. *Gomillion v Lightfoot* must be read to be appreciated.

THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT, 1960, by Theodore H. White - Atheneum Publishers, New York — 400 pp — 6.95

If you haven't read this excellent story of a Presidential campaign, you'd better catch it now running serially in *Chicago's American* at this writing (October 15) or pick up a paperback for there are some illuminating pages on the rise of the Negro from Southern submergence to a pivotal role in Northern cities. The initial meeting of 16 key persons planning the nomination of President Kennedy on Wednesday, October 29, 1959 had a Negro representative. On page 49 the author states: "The others in the room that Wednesday morning were all of them in one degree or another helpers and useful.....Mrs. Marjorie Lawson, an attractive Negro attorney from the District of Columbia." Most important, however, is the author's treatment of the power of the Negro Vote. On pages 229 through 237 these excerpts appear: "Negroes vote in the North. And they vote predominately in the big-city states which carry the largest blocs of electoral votes in the nation. Among them Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, and Michigan measure out to 132 electoral votes—or almost exactly half the number needed to elect the President. In these states the queen city of each state harbors a Negro vote that may mean the difference between success or failure in a close election...But when in 1948 Harry Truman squeezed ahead of Thomas E. Dewey by 33,-612 votes in Illinois, by 17,865 votes in California, by 7,107 in Ohio, no practicing politician could remain ignorant of how critical was the Negro vote in the Northern big city in a close election." (The *Chicago Tribune* wrote on October 21, 1962 that when Mr. Kennedy stepped next door in McCormick Place on October 19, 1962 and gazed fondly on 5,000 Democratic precinct captains. He said, "I just wanted to see who did it in 1960." (The state was counted for him by 8,858 votes out of 4,845,319.)

(Editor's note: More than 400,000 registered Chicago Negro voters overwhelmingly voted in 10 Negro wards to account for the narrow margin of the President's victory.)

BLUE PAPER BALLOT

Make a cross in the box in front of "YES" on the Blue Ballot.

| X | YES |

For the proposed amendment to Article VI of the Constitution (Judicial Article Amendment).

ONE MAN'S FREEDOM by Edward Bennett Williams — Atheneum — 344 pp — 1962 — 5.95

When celebrated defense attorney Edward Bennett Williams gave the principal address at our National Bar Association's 33rd annual convention banquet at Chicago's Sherman House in August, 1958, some 800 lawyers hung on his every word. For he is a master orator and his civil rights speech was clearly good as is this very informative volume. His spectacular career of defending some of the most violently unpopular public figures has been controversial but he has written an interesting and eloquent account of never ceasing perpetual struggle through law and deals with some of the leading problems of civil rights, censorship, the scope and conduct of congressional committees and equality preserved by the 14th Amendment. But his account of the bribery trial of James Hoffa has to be compared with other versions and a tongue-in-cheek appraisal given when he relates on pages 220—221: "One afternoon as I returned to court after lunch I was introduced to a woman lawyer from the west coast. She was a Negro. As I stood chatting with her for a moment, a photographer called to us to look his way and snapped our picture. The incident meant absolutely nothing to me at the time. A few days later I was horrified to see the picture in a full-page advertisement in the *Afro-American*, a paper having large circulation among the Negroes of Washington. The advertisement recounted in detail Hoffa's long record of friendship for the Negro people and their causes. The jury trying Hoffa was predominately Negro. Obviously, the advertisement had been placed in an effort to influence the jury in Hoffa's favor.

"This was the darkest day of my professional life .....I can honestly say that I satisfied myself that no one directly or indirectly connected with the defense staff knew anything about the appearance of the ad." And about the appearance of Joe Louis at the trial, he states: "This one I knew about...I met with Joe Louis, who had come all the way from Detroit, and explained to him that we were not going to use him and that he was free to go back to Detroit. This took place at a luncheon recess. That afternoon I was genuinely surprised to see him sitting in the back of the courtroom. He had come to court wholly on his own, insofar as I knew then or have ever found out since. I very much doubt whether any juror ever saw him in that packed courtroom..."

"...and when the ballots were tallied by the foreman, the vote was 12 to 0 for acquittal. Negro and white voted alike." The other versions are in the reviews which immediately follow.

THE ENEMY WITHIN by Robert F. Kennedy — Harper & Brothers — 320 pp — 1960 — 3.95

This best-seller written prior to appointment as the Attorney General of the United States by Mr. Kennedy is a report on the work of the Select Committee on Improper activities in the Labor or Management Field, highlighting some of the typical problems and abuses that were discovered. It is based on the record of the investigations conducted by the committee's professional staff of which Mr. Kennedy was Counsel, the sworn testimony taken before the committee and the official reports of the committee to the United States Senate. The book is to be made into a forthcoming movie. The following account appears about the Hoffa trial on pages 62—63: "Under our system of laws, if a jury of twelve good men and true finds a defendant not guilty, he is cleared of the alleged crime against him. He cannot be tried for it again. As a citizen or a lawyer, I accept this, even when I have a personal knowledge of the case and feel strongly about the outcome. That's our system and I wouldn't change it.

"So much has been written and said about this case that most people are aware that the jury consisted of eight Negroes and four whites, that the Teamsters paid the expenses of Joe Louis to come from Detroit to Washington and appear in the courtroom for two days, and that he publicly embraced Mr. Hoffa. It has been overlooked, however, that the judge, in a conference at the bench, took judicial notice of the make-up of the jury, pointing out that while the Government attorneys had selected jurors without discrimination as to race, Mr. Williams, Hoffa's attorney, had used his challenges against white jurors only. This circumstance, taken with the presence of Joe Louis and other events that transpired during the trial, shows a definite effort to influence the judge and jury in other ways than through accepted legal channels. Martha Jefferson, a Negro woman attorney, was brought from California to be at the trial and another reputable Negro lawyer was employed for the same purpose. The law partner of the judge's brother was brought from Arkansas. Ed Williams, one of the nation's top criminal attorneys, hardly needed this legal assistance. And in the midst of the trial Williams posed with Mrs. Jefferson for a picture that appeared in a full-page ad in the *Afro-American*, a Negro newspaper. The ad praised Jimmy Hoffa as a friend of the Negro race. (Later our Committee heard testimony clearly indicating that Hoffa and his own Local 299 in Detroit discriminated against Negroes.) When it was reported in the press that the ad had been delivered to the doorstep of every juror, that was enough for Judge Burnita Matthews. She locked up the jury to prevent further improper influences. Then, while cross-examining Cheasty, Williams tried to establish that he had once investigated the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. By the time the Government attorneys objected, the jury had heard

Williams and it was too late. Cheasty testified that it was completely untrue."

ROBERT F. KENNEDY: THE BROTHER WITHIN
by Robert E. Thompson and Hortense Myers —
The Macmillan Company - 224 pp — 1962 — 4.95

This is the biography of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (with an introduction by U. S. Supreme Court Judge William O. Douglas), an intimate close-up of the man who is "second only to the President as the most powerful figure in the U.S. Government, the President's closest counselor" and above all, one of the greatest friends of the Negro lawyer and twenty million Negro Americans in history. The authors, Robert Thompson (formerly White House correspondent of the *New York Daily News*) and Hortense Myers (a correspondent for United Press International), trace the life of the President's brother from his childhood to his present position. His early spiritual training left an especial imprint and he believes his opposition toward religious and racial discrimination has its roots in "my upbringing in religion." "The elder Kennedys never attempted to segregate their children from other youngsters for reasons of racial, religious or financial background. In fact, among the eight or ten regular playmates Bobby had at Hyannisport when he was small were two Negro boys, sons of a laundress who lived about three blocks from the Kennedy house." Of the Hoffa trial the authors said at page 42: "Eight of the twelve jurors were Negroes and Williams attempted in every conceivable manner to influence them from a racial as well as a legal point of view. He brought two Negro attorneys in to aid him, ran former Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis into the courtroom to embrace Hoffa..." Of his first acts in the Department of Justice is this passage on page 54: "Kennedy also despises hypocrisy. Shortly after he became Attorney General, he discovered there were only ten Negroes among the 950 lawyers employed by the Department of Justice. He immediately summoned Charles Smith, a Negro lawyer from Seattle, to work in the Department and began adding other Negroes to the staff. To his assistant, John Seigenthaler, he explained: 'How can we go into the field and tell people to put Negroes in school and let Negroes ride buses if we don't have Negroes in here?' Likewise, in September 1961, the President's brother resigned his membership in Washington's Metropolitan Club because that exclusive organization refused to have Negroes as members or guests. Many other vignettes of the Attorney General's interesting and intensely competitive life are revealed but prominently displayed are his strong stands for civil rights. From his great Law Day speech at the University of Georgia, May 6, 1961, his decisive action in defense of Freedom Riders and the dispatch of Federal Marshals to Montgomery, Alabama including the Deputy Attorney General Byron R. White (now Justice White) and his administrative assistant, John Seigenthaler (who was felled unconscious by the mob), protection of bus riders and Martin Luther King to the intervention in the Prince Edward County, Va. school discrimination closing, his role in history has been made. The Attorney General's action in the University of Mississippi case with James Meredith at Oxford, Mississippi and the dispatch of 23,500 U.S. troops to maintain order in compliance with orders of Federal courts in September, 1962, occurred after publication of this book but no one will forget those memorable prophetic words delivered in Georgia on Law Day, 1961: "And we know that if one man's rights are denied, the rights of all are endangered. In our country the courts have a most important role in safeguarding these rights. The decisions, however much we may disagree with them, in the final analysis must be followed and respected. If we disagree with a court decision and, thereafter, irresponsibly assail the court and defy its rulings, we challenge the foundations of our society."

NEGRO LAWYERS IN ELECTION RACES ELSEWHERE IN U. S. will present the Nation with the first Negro State Senator since Reconstruction and the first Negro Congressman from California's new 21st in central Los Angeles with 80 per cent in both Negro population and Democratic registration (and both Candidates are Negroes). Augustus Hawkins, veteran 28 year State Assemblyman, and Herman Smith, Republican lawyer, are opponents. In New York, former Judge Edward R. Dudley (now President of Manhattan Bourough) became the first Negro chosen for an important state office by a major political party. He is running for the office of State Attorney General on the ticket with famed lawyer James B. Donovan for U. S. Senate who was honored by the Decalogue Society on Law Day here in Chicago and the plaque tendered him bears, with other participating bar associations, the inscribed names of CCBA. In Massachusetts, lawyer Edward R. Brooke is running for the Office of Secretary of State.

AFRICAN ART EXHIBIT IN CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM is being shown through December 9. Seven years before Columbus found America in 1492, Portugese explorers on the west coast of Africa discovered the Kingdom of Benin in what is now western Nigeria. The people of this powerful kingdom were already producing what is now recognized as the most highly developed and sophisticated art of Negro Africa and they continued to do so for another 400 years.

EBONY MAGAZINE AND THE *CHICAGO DEFENDER* are congratulated on their excellent articles on Negro Judges. *Ebony*, in its July issue, displayed the pictures of 69 Negro Judges along with an excellent article while the *Chicago Defender* for almost a half century has championed the campaign for more Negro Judges with editorials and news articles. Last October 17th in an editorial, it said: "Our representation on the bench has been too skimpy. We need more Negro Judges; we are entitled to more. The November 6 election presents an opportunity for Negro voters to exercise their best judgment and make profitable use of their ballot... These are our choices: Democratic candidate for Municipal Judge: Mrs. Edith S. Sampson; for superior Court Judge: James D. Crosson; Republican candidates for Municipal Judge: George S. Barnes, James T. Horton, Robert C. Power; Republican candidate for Superior Court Judge: Mrs. Jewel LaFontant; for Probate Court Judge: Archibald J. Carey, Jr.

ABA STANDING COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL JUDICIARY REPORT states that "since President Kennedy assumed office he has nominated 128 persons to the federal bench, 113 of them to lifetime judgeships. There are nineteen vacancies, making a total of 147 vacancies thus far during the Kennedy administration."

PRESIDENT KENNEDY HAS APPOINTED THREE NEGRO FEDERAL JUDGES who have all been confirmed by the Senate, making a total of five lifetime Negro federal judges. The loss of the late Judge Mollison reduced the number of Negro federal judges from six to five. CCBA, at its October 12th monthly meeting, adopted a resolution endorsing President Edward B. Toles to the President for appointment to the Democratic vacancy created by the death of Judge Irvin C. Mollison as U.S. Judge of the Customs Court. The first Vice President of the Chicago Bar Association, Carl McGowan, was nominated by President Kennedy in September for Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia Circuit, where he will sit with another Chicagoan, Judge David L. Bazelon. The District is more than 54 per cent Negro with four Municipal Court Negro Judges but no Negro Judges on the U.S. District Court or the U.S. Court of Appeals have been appointed.

CCBA expresses its undying gratitude to the President and the Attorney General and hopes for additional Negro Judges for the District and the Nation.

CCBA endorses Blue Ballot Judicial Amendment, with George Leighton, Chairman; Owen Rall, Past President Illinois State Bar Association; President Edward B. Toles and Archibald J. Carey, Jr., Republican candidate for Probate Court Judge, at March 23rd meeting at Ted's Diner where Mr. Rall addressed full membership.

VOTE X YES

BLUE BALLOT

JUDICIAL AMENDMENT

VOTE X YES

File under Negro History

RADICAL MEMBERS OF THE 39 CA. LEGISLATURE.

Atlanta Daily World

SECTION TWO — ATLANTA (3), GEORGIA, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6, 1963 — (CENTENNIAL EDITION) — PAGE ONE

Heroes Of Emancipation

SAMUEL RINGOLD WARD

Born into slavery in Maryland in 1817, Ward became a fugitive while still a child, and fled with his parents, first to New Jersey and then to New York. His education was financed by the wealthy Abolitionist, Gerrit Smith. After studying at the Oneida Institute he became an agent of the New York Anti - Slavery Society in 1839. During this same year, he was also licensed to preach by the New York Congregational Association and at one time led a congregation composed entirely of white parishioners. Along with his religious duties, he traveled throughout New York and the other free states lecturing for the Society.

Traveling in England as so many of his compatriots did, he became internationally known. Upon returning from England, he went to Canada where he became an agent for the Canadian Anti - Slavery Society. He actively aided the various Canadian Negro settlements. Such settlements, composed of industrious individuals, proved that the Negro was equal to the white man. Ward finally left Canada and settled in the British West Indies where he remained until his death in 1867.

Slaves Imported

Richard Allen Turned Career, Founded Church

Richard Allen was born a slave in Philadelphia, February 14, 1760. From Philadelphia he was sold to a farmer near Dover, Delaware. Allen early became interested in religion as manifested by the Methodists. As a spiritual leader Allen impressed his master who was converted under the preaching of the slave. This change of heart led Allen's owner to make it possible for him to obtain his freedom. Allen then educated himself by

John Langston Was Congressman From Virginia

John Mercer Langston was born in Louisa County, Virginia December 14, 1829. His father was a white man and his mother a woman of Indian and Negro blood His father by his will sent him to Oberlin College to be educated. There he finished the course in liberal arts and studied theology. He had made an attempt to study law in New York and Ohio, but could not on account of his color. However, he did study for the profession privately and was admitted to the bar in that state. He settled upon a farm in Brownhelf in Lorain County, Ohio. There he practiced law and was also elected to the town clerkship. He moved to Oberlin in 1856 and was elected there also to a town clerkship. Next he became a member of the council, and then of the Board of Education.

Langston participated as an orator in the anti-slavery conflict and helped to recruit soldiers for the Union Army during the Civil War. He joined General O. O. Howard as an Inspector of Freedmen's schools after the close of that struggle. Next Langston was called upon to serve as professor in the Law Department of Howard University. In 1877 President Hayes appointed him as minister to Haiti where he served in this capacity eight years. He resigned in 1885 and returned to his practice of law, but that year he was made president of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.

While in Virginia he went into politics; and, much to the dissatisfaction of William Mahone, who with the Readjuster Party was in contro lof most of the Negro voters there, Langston made the race for Congress. The seat was contested for a long time, but he was finally seated a few months before the expiration of the term. While in Congress he made one or two speeches mainly along the line of defending the rights of the Negro. Langston served once as the dean of the Law School of Howard University and for a time as vice-president of the institution.

Nannie Burroughs Organized National Training School

Nannie Burroughs was born of John and Jennie (Poindexter) Burroughs, in Orange, Virginia, May 2, 1883. Her grandfather was known as "Lijah, the Slave Carpenter." The Burroughs and Poindexters were farm owners and mechanics. She sprang, then, from that fortunate class of freedmen whose energy and ability enabled them to start becoming economically independent soon after the Civil War.

In this circle Mrs. Burroughs might have remained indefinitely, but her independence and ambition caused her to take her then three-year-old daughter to Washington for its superior educational advantages. The girl's progress in education was impeded for a while, however, when at the age of seven she was stricken with typhoid fever and had to remain out of school two years. For several years thereafter she made two grades annually and recovered the lost ground. While in high school, too, Nannie felt the urge for literary expression and organized the Harriet Beecher Stowe Literary Society. The Variety of her interests is indicated by the inclusion in her training of a business course and special work in domestic science.

Miss Burroughs had the ambition to teach, but was sorely disappointed when she was not appointed to teach domestic science in the District of Columbia. Out of this disappointment was born the idea that some day she would have a school in Washington that would help every girl to have a chance in life. "It came to me like a flash of light," she says, "and I knew I was to do that thing when the time came. But I couldn't do it yet; so I just put the idea away in the back of my head and left it there."

She left Washington to become bookkeeper and associated editor of the Christian Banner of Philadelphia for one year. Years afterwards her employer said of her, "We have never had her equal. She is a dynamo in an office."

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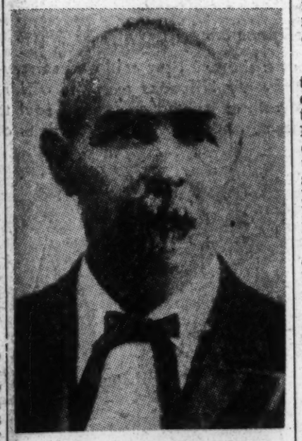
Finch Was First Atlanta Negro Councilman



THE REV. WILLIAM FINCH

(Pioneer AME Minister)

By THOMAS J. FLANAGAN

In the surveys being made to uncover the rich annals of history that sleep in garrets, old church basements, discarded schoolhouses

(Continued on Page Two)

Charles Johnson, Social Engineer Of Critical Era

Charles Spurgeon Johnson, president of Fisk University 1946-1956, died at Louisville, Ky. October 27, 1956. He was born July 24, 1893 in Bristol, Virginia and his parents were Rev. Charles Henry and Winifred (Branch) Johnson. His father was emancipated by his owner who taught him Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English and American Literature. Young Johnson read many of his father's classical and theological volumes as a part of his cultural and intellectual inheritance the equal of which possibly no colored scholar in America has had. With this background he entered Virginia Union to study there in the institution's palmy days under such great teachers as Joshua Simpson and graduated in the class of 1916. With the outbreak of World War I in 1917, Johnson enlisted and served in France and also completed a second bachelor's degree with some graduate study at the University of Chicago in 1918. With this formal academic study Johnson began an unusually productive career as a social scientist. Some smug and cynical critics often questioned his stature as a scholar because he did not go on to orthodox insignia in higher degrees which are sometimes inconsistently considered the sine qua non of scholarship. Lester F. Ward and Harold Laski did not have more formal study than Johnson had If "By their fruits ye shall know them," Johnson's harvest was abundant in research and writing on the uniquitous and changing problems of interracial relations in America and the world during his times. How solid and lasting his voluminous findings and writings were time alone will tell, but it is already evident that much of his work is enduring.

Johnson married Miss Marie A. Burgette November 6, 1920 and to them were born three sons, Charles, Jeh, and Robert and a daughter, Marie (Mrs. Clifford) who survive. The family life was happy and Mrs. Johnson contributed much in devotion and loyalty

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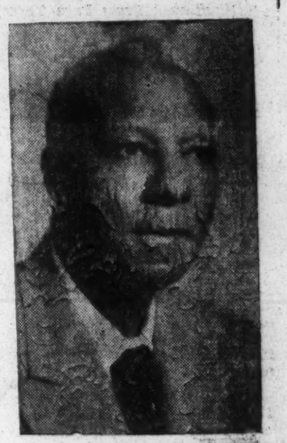
Randolph Is Pioneer In Labor



ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

LABOR LEADER—A Philip Randolph was born April 15, 1889, in Crescent City, Florida. He moved to New York City at an early age and attended high school and a few years at New York's City College. He received the LL.D. from Howard University in 1941.

Mr. Randolph was elected the first international president of the AFL's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925 and has been re-elected continuously ever since.

Mr. Randolph is the father of the Fair Employment Practices Committee concept, and was instrumental in influencing President Roosevelt's executive order in 1941 which banned discrimination in war industries and apprenticeship programs; and President Truman's executive order in 1948 which banned racial segregation from the armed forces. He is one of the nation's most forceful and uncompromising foes of racial segregation and discrimination.

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THE STRAIGHT LINE

NORWICH, Conn. — Police took Napoleon Gendreau, 52, to headquarters after his car jumped the curb and hit a house.

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Heroes Of Emancipation

SAMUEL RINGOLD WARD

Born into slavery in Maryland in 1817, Ward became a fugitive while still a child, and fled with his parents, first to New Jersey and then to New York. His education was financed by the wealthy Abolitionist, Gerrit Smith. After studying at the Oneida Institute he became an agent of the New York Anti - Slavery Society in 1839. During this same year, he was also licensed to preach by the New York Congregational Association and at one time led a congregation composed entirely of white parishioners. Along with his religious duties, he traveled throughout New York and the other free states lecturing for the Society.

Ward was deeply committed to abolitionism and his position as an agent gave him " . . the ever-to-be remembered pleasure of meeting all classes of Abolitionists, profiting by their suggestions, accepting their hospitalities, rejoicing in their sympathies and sharing their devotions". He was convinced that if the principle be admitted that a black man may be legally, righteously enslaved, so may any other man; that slavery was altogether evil regardless of the color of its victims. Ward believed that one of the methods by which slavery could be abolished was through participation in political action. Thus, he joined the Liberty Party and actively supported it. A very popular orator, this "Black Daniel Webster" as he was called by many, was among the most famous of the Negro Abolitionists.

Traveling in England as so many of his compatriots did, he became internationally known. Upon returning from England, he went to Canada where he became an agent for the Canadian Anti - Slavery Society. He actively aided the various Canadian Negro settlements. Such settlements, composed of industrious individuals, proved that the Negro was equal to the white man. Ward finally left Canada and settled in the British West Indies where he remained until his death in 1867.

Slaves Imported From Africa

More than 10,000 Africans a year were being sold to European colonists by the middle of the sixteenth century, and shipped to the West Indies. Portugese ships were the first to engage in the slave traffic, but it was not long before Spanish, French, Dutch and English slavers took it up.

White indentured workers were imported first, but when it was found there were not enough of them, and Indians refused to work, it was found to be cheaper and easier to import black slaves.

Slaves were bought in Africa, and transported in crowded slave ships.

Richard Allen Turned Career, Founded Church

Richard Allen was born a slave in Philadelphia, February 14, 1760. From Philadelphia he was sold to a farmer near Dover, Delaware. Allen early became interested in religion as manifested by the Methodists. As a spiritual leader Allen impressed his master who was converted under the preaching of the slave. This change of heart led Allen's owner to make it possible for him to obtain his freedom. Allen then educated himself by private study while making a living cutting and hauling wood. Next he began to preach and traveled as an itinerant minister through the Middle States with Richard Watcoat and Bishop Asbury.

Allen reached the turning point in his career when he came back to Philadelphia in 1786. There he began to hold meetings among his own people while preaching occasionally at the St. George Methodist Church. At first he thought of opening a special place of worship for his people, but both races objected. His forceful preaching, however, drew so many Negroes to that church that trouble followed. One morning Allen, Absalom Jones, and other co-workers were pulled

(Continued on Page Two)

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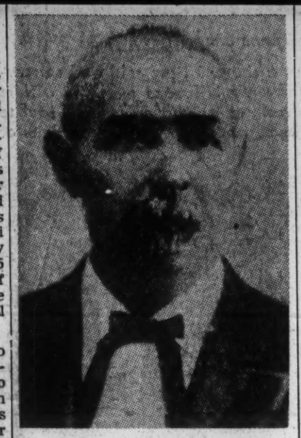

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EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

TODAY AS A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

FREEDOM

IS EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS MAY WE PRESERVE IT AT ALL COST

We Are Proud To Be One Of The First Chartered Old Line Legal Reserve Fire Insurance Companies And The Only Multi-Line Company Operated By Negroes . . .

SOUTHEASTERN FIDELITY FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY

197 Auburn Ave., N.E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA

CITY OF ATLANTA

IVAN ALLEN, JR.
MAYOR

My dear fellow Atlantians:

One hundred years ago, President Abraham Lincoln set a new standard of liberty, not only for the United States, but for all humanity. . .when he signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

In the century which has followed that mighty and courageous deed, the people of our city, by their words and deeds, have demonstrated time and time again how right Lincoln was in proclaiming to all the world that our Declaration of Independence meant in action what it said in words. . . "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness."

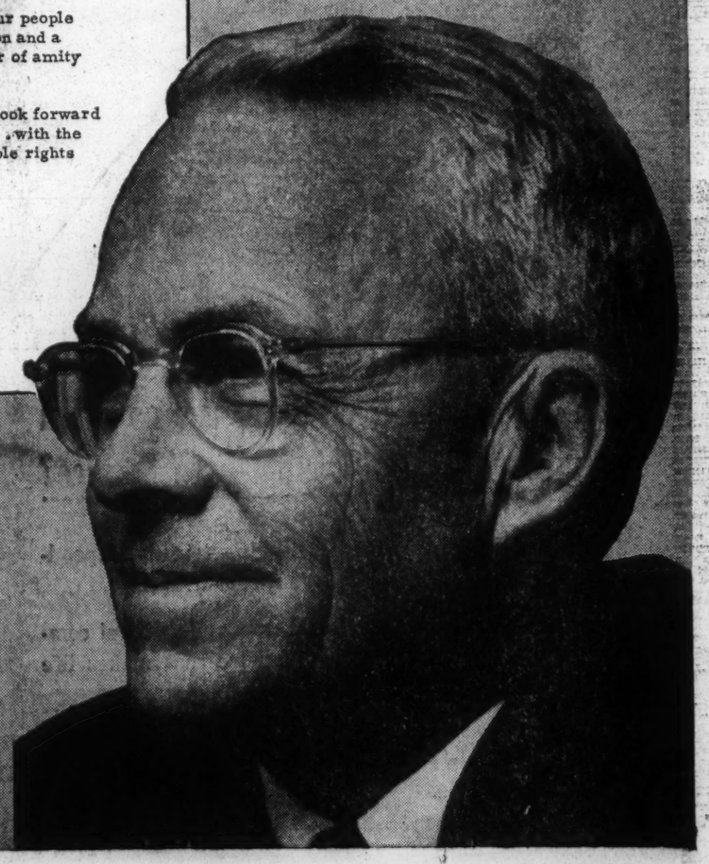
In this past century, the people of our City, many of them set free by the stroke of Lincoln's pen. . .and many of their children and grandchildren. . .have built a great city. We recognize the importance of the material might of our City, but of comparable importance in its advancement is the strength of friendship between our races. . . which has kept pace with the terrific business and industrial progress.

Not by accident, but by the will and thought and action of our people has Atlanta become the world's first city in Negro education and a city which stands as a fortress of friendship and as a tower of amity in the turmoil of transformed times and changing customs.

As we mark the centennial of Lincoln's momentous act, I look forward to even greater achievements in the century to come. . . .with the help of our Creator who endowed all men with the inalienable rights outlined in our Declaration of Independence.

Sincerely,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor



A message from....
Ivan Allen Jr.
Mayor of Atlanta

THE AFTERMATH

(Continued From Page Three)

schools, and of the tests. When he gets to school, learning for him is really "un - learning;" he has to "unlearn" the sub-standard language habits he learned at home (or in the community), and on top of that, "learn" the standard speech the standard words, the standard language. His chance, therefore, is doubly hard.

(Don't you believe this? Don't you have some non - standard language habit you picked up at home — or in the community — never realizing it at the time — that shows up, every now and then, in your speech, or your writing? Example: do you ever use a plural subject, with a singular noun? — Like, "They is?" Well, I do; maybe not exactly one that flat; but I break the same principle in a more refined and educated way. I learned that non-standard form of language when I was a child; to use it now, is almost second-nature, in fact, I do it so often, that I'd better call it, "first nature;" it's part of me.

Was I born that way? No child is born, knowing the language. Illiteracy is not inherited; but its habits, and "non -standard" words, certainly are handed down from generation to generation —through the family.

Why God should coutenance such a fact, I do not know. But still it exists, I think; that the wicked hand of slavery is still laid upon the children of the victims of Slavery;; even down to the third, and fourth, generation. This is not to mention the wretched schools —if, indeed, any schools at all — the parents, and grand-parents, of these descendants of a wicked system, have had.

To face these facts, is to see how very well, indeed Negroes have done for themselves. Slavery was a fiery furnace; Emancipation, to use Langston Hughes' words, "Ain't been no bed of roses." Both have been tough. To get ahead, the Negro had to be tough; he has had to run twice as hard just to get ahead the few steps he has. The big point is, that he has got ahead; and every teacher, and school-child, should remember that this is the way it has to be, if he is to get ahead in the American "standard" culture.

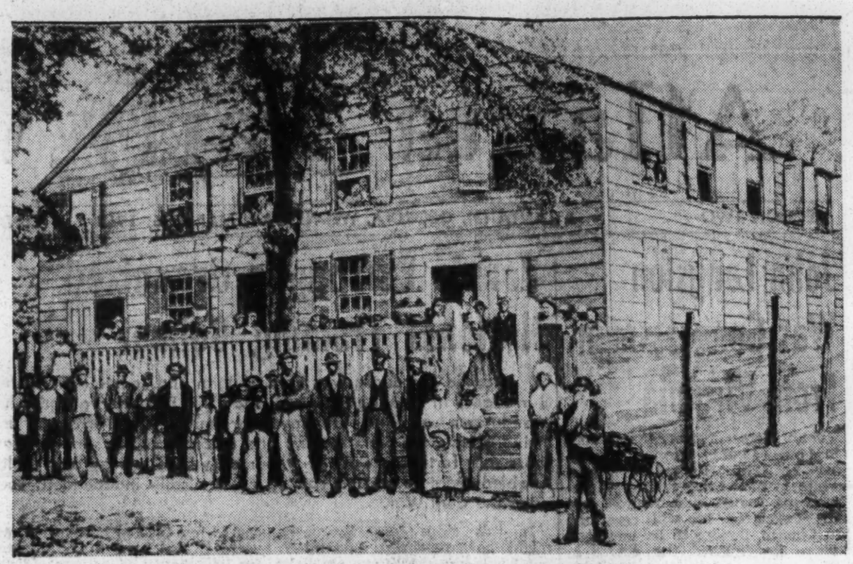
Richard Allen

(Continued from Page One)

from their knees at prayer and ordered to the gallery. They withdrew in protest and established the independent body known as the Free African Society.

This body first functioned as a social and business organization; but finally there went out of it certain Christians who with Absalom Jones established in Philadelphia the African Protestant Episcopal Church, but the majority of them joined with Allen in founding a Methodist Episcopal Church. This church was dedicated by Bishop Asbury in 1794. Under the stimulus of Allen and other churches of this stamp were established in the Middle States, and by 1816 there were sixteen of them which came together and established the African Methodist Episcopal Church with Richard Allen as the first bishop.

Richard Allen was the type of man for pioneer work. In the first place, he was a hard worker. Then he was a man of great sincerity or purpose, one who never failed to meet his obligations and an administrator of unusual tact. The work of his church expanded slowly into all parts where it was not actually proscribed as it was in Charleston, South Carolina, as a result of the Denmark Vesey Insurrection in 1822. In the eastern and northern states more success was achieved. Allen died March 26, 1831, but five years later the churches of his connection numbered eighty-six, with four conferences, two bishops and twenty-seven ministers working among 7,594 members and with property worth $25,000. Allen himself was thrifty himself and died in good circumstances.



FIRST NEGRO BAPTIST CHURCH, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Church Role U. S. Advancement Of Negro

By REV. TASCHEREAU ARNOLD

(World Religious Editor)

What would we be without a church? How cold and sorrowful living would be without heavenly influence over the affairs of men in this world! How refreshing it is to one's very soul to rest under the roof of God's House and pour out the burdens of the soul!

What is more refreshing than to come.. of God's church — a place where we can sing and pray together? There one can surely find rest for the soul, especially when burdened down with the weights of this world's sorrow and troubles.

Let us hasten to come to our subject for a little while. You perhaps know more about it from experience than the writer. Well, you just fill in where we fail to cover.

The Church has meant, no doubt, more to the advancement of the Negro race than any other force in our society. Before and since the days of slavery, she has been administering to the ever - pressing needs of our people in every field of endeavor outside of purely spiritual matters.

Financially, socially, educationally and politically the Church has played well her role in the affairs of Negroes in this country. In a strange land not by his own will at all, but by the will of greedy white men, the Negro has known sorrow in every form and has stood it better than the American Indian who almost passed out fighting the whites.

Why was the Negro able to survive when the Indians went down so to speak? Well, he had and believed in the Church of God. Do you as offspring have that faith

stitutions, professional men owe much of their early success to the Negro Church, so to speak. It was the Negro preacher who told our people to have faith and cooperate with our businesses and professional men.

Yet, today one might well form the opinion that some of our successful people have forgotten the role the church has played in their success. That's a sad saga. Despite the church's short comings today and yesterday, it has played well its role of comfort and leadership for the race. No leadership in the Negro race controls the thinking of our people like the church. The average, not the classy, Negro believes in his church and mostly his minister. He does this despite t he fact that some Negro leaders in church are disgraceful to God and man. The day is not far distance when a better leadership will grace the church.

It is with a great degree of pride that we write this article upon the request of the Atlanta Daily World It is proper and fitting that the church's contribution to our people's welfare be old and recognized in this speical Emancipation edition, of which we are justly proud.

This paper from its very inception has had an open mind for the church. Well, it started, if my memory serves me well, in the mind of the late founder of this paper, the late W. A. Scott. Shortly after he started the paper he announced that news of the churches would be printed as a public service without charge.

That policy lasted until time and cost, plus other reasons forced a change in this policy slightly to the effect that today this department has grown to such an extent until promotional publicity in the paper carries a nominal charge for the

FINCH WAS FIRST

(Continued from Page One)

and deserted cabins, hardly would any story eclipse that of the Rev. William Finch, pioneer Atlanta

people spiritually. She does more than bury the dead, visit the sick, marry and teach. The church, in many cases, helps Negroes business wise.

Many in the Negro race would commit suicide if it were not for the great influence of the Church. Many of us are mistreated all during the week by mean bosses and by those for whom we labor, but how refreshing to the soul is the church — a place where we can leave our troubles with the people of God?

Did you ever think about the fact that some of our early graduates of schools would have failed if the church had not urged our people to use them! Yet, some of our professional people have little respect for the church other than to drum up some business or sales for their wares. That's a sad story, but its a story that must be told to make the book complete. Despite its short coming the church today as she was yesterday, is the Negro's greatest institution. It is the one institution that is not subsidized by the white man. That's something to be mighty proud of; to say the least

What would, I say, the Negro be without the Church? Nothing much is the answer we are giving. Maybe you might have another, but that's the way I see it.

And so we bring this brief article to a close. It has been good to converse with you through the press and especially the columns of this paper. We congratulate the Church, Negro and the Atlanta Daily World on this Emancipation observance. Yes, the Negro church has played well her role in the development of the Negro race as always she will for all races.

AME Minister, who joined an AME Church somewhere in Georgia in 1848, the year that the late Bishop Wesley John Gaines was born. While we were unable to get any relationship or connection between the two great men, it is definitely established that both were born in Wilkes county, where Washington, Georgia is the county seat.

William Finch was the first Negro to be elected to the Atlanta city council right after the close of the civil war through which he himself fought. He was the son of slave parents and when he was 12 years of age he went to live with a Judge Andrews of Wilkes County. Here he was fortunate to imbibe the cultural and refinement of the polished Georgia jurist who manifested every interest in him.

Leaving Judge Andrews he was fortunate to land in the care of Georgia's first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the illustrious Judge Joseph Henry Lumpkin, whose daughter, Martha supplied the second Name of Atlanta, Marthasville.

On March 15th, 1868, he was given Deacon's orders to preach by the late Bishop A. W. Wayman; was later given elders orders by the late Bishop T. M. D. Ward.

FOR WHOM SCHOOLS ARE NAMED

It is noteworthy to state for the benefit of the educational side of this state and city, that William Finch was one of the leaders in the fight to secure Negro teachers among his people where white teachers were doing the teaching, if qualified Negroes could be found. It took great courage in those days when there were mixed opinions on both sides, but Finch stood his ground and led that fight for Negro teachers and finally as a member of the city council he won out.

While we were unable to find out which side on which Finch fought in the civil war, we did establish the fact that he was so proud of

Nannie Burroughs

(Continued from Page One)

when Miss Burroughs went to Louisville, Kentucky, and served as bookkeeper, stenographer, and editorial secretary in the office of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention.

BEGINNING TO DO THINGS OF CONSEQUENCE

Having been a devoted church member from childhood, Miss Burroughs availed herself of the opportunity offered and put her energy, training and gifts into the service of the church. She was asked to talk at various kinds of Religious gatherings. Miss Burroughs, however, deemed talk without action useless.

his freedom, he made a flag and presented it to the Union Army's 144th., New York Regiment.

Because of his able fight in his primitive day for Negro teachers, youth should know something about the man who stood up for equal job opportunity in anther era.

The teachers should be eternally grateful to one who espoused their cause and his name shoul blaze across the entrance of one of our finest schools.

Let youth get acquainted with the name. Let youth inquire about him, search the records and old scripts and dig up more facts about this pioneer educator and councilman.

He was a tailor by trade and his uniqueness and bent for art naturally would lead him to design the old flag of the Union.

More should be found out about that flag. It should be located and reproduced and brought back to Georgia where History and art are still in the formative state.

Some day he will illustrate one of our great schools.

THE
FORT VALLEY
STATE COLLEGE

He was a man of great sincerity of purpose, one who never failed to meet his obligations and an administrator of unusual tact. The work of his church expanded slowly into all parts where it was not actually proscribed as it was in Charleston, South Carolina, as a result of the Denmark Vesey Insurrection in 1822. In the eastern and northern states more success was achieved. Allen died March 26, 1831, but five years later the churches of his connection numbered eighty-six, with four conferences, two bishops and twenty-seven ministers working among 7,594 members and with property worth $25,000. Allen himself was thrifty himself and died in good circumstances.

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Let us hasten to come to our subject for a little while. You perhaps know more about it from experience than the writer. Well, you just fill in where we fail to cover.

The Church has meant, no doubt, more to the advancement of the Negro race than any other force in our society. Before and since the days of slavery, she has been administering to the ever - pressing needs of our people in every field of endeavor outside of purely spiritual matters.

Financially, socially, educationally and politically the Church has played well her role in the affairs of Negroes in this country. In a strange land not by his own will at all, but by the will of greedy white men, the Negro has known sorrow in every form and has stood it better than the American Indian who almost passed out fighting the whites.

Why was the Negro able to survive when the Indians went down so to speak? Well, he had and believed in the Church of God. Do you as offsprings have that faith in the Almighty as did the forefathers? If you don't, certainly you have lost something that was precious to those who labored long and hard in the days of slavery and after slavery.

Some of our leading business in- role the church has played in their success. That's a sad saga. Despite the church's short comings today and yesterday, it has played well its role of comfort and leadership for the race. No leadership in the Negro race controls the thinking of our people like the church. The average, not the classy, Negro believes in his church and mostly his minister. He does this despite t he fact that some Negro leaders in church are disgraceful to God and man. The day is not far distance when a better leadership will grace the church.

It is with a great degree of pride that we write this article upon the request of the Atlanta Daily World It is proper and fitting that the church's contribution to our people's welfare be old and recognized in this speical Emancipation edition, of which we are justly proud.

This paper from its very inception has had an open mind for the church. Well, it started, if my memory serves me well, in the mind of the late founder of this paper, the late W. A. Scott. Shortly after he started the paper he announced that news of the churches would be printed as a public service without charge.

That policy lasted until time and cost, plus other reasons forced a change in this policy slightly to the effect that today this department has grown to such an extent until promotional publicity in the paper carries a meager charge for the service of spreading good news and glad tidings about the church. Yet, today about a page and a half of church news is printed free gladly by this paper. We do this graciously for we know that church has and is doing a good job for our

Maybe you might have another, but that's the way I see it.

And so we bring this brief article to a close. It has been good to converse with you through the press and especially the columns of this paper. We congratulate the Church, Negro and the Atlanta Daily World on this Emancipation observance. Yes, the Negro church has played well her role in the development of the Negro race as always she will for all races.

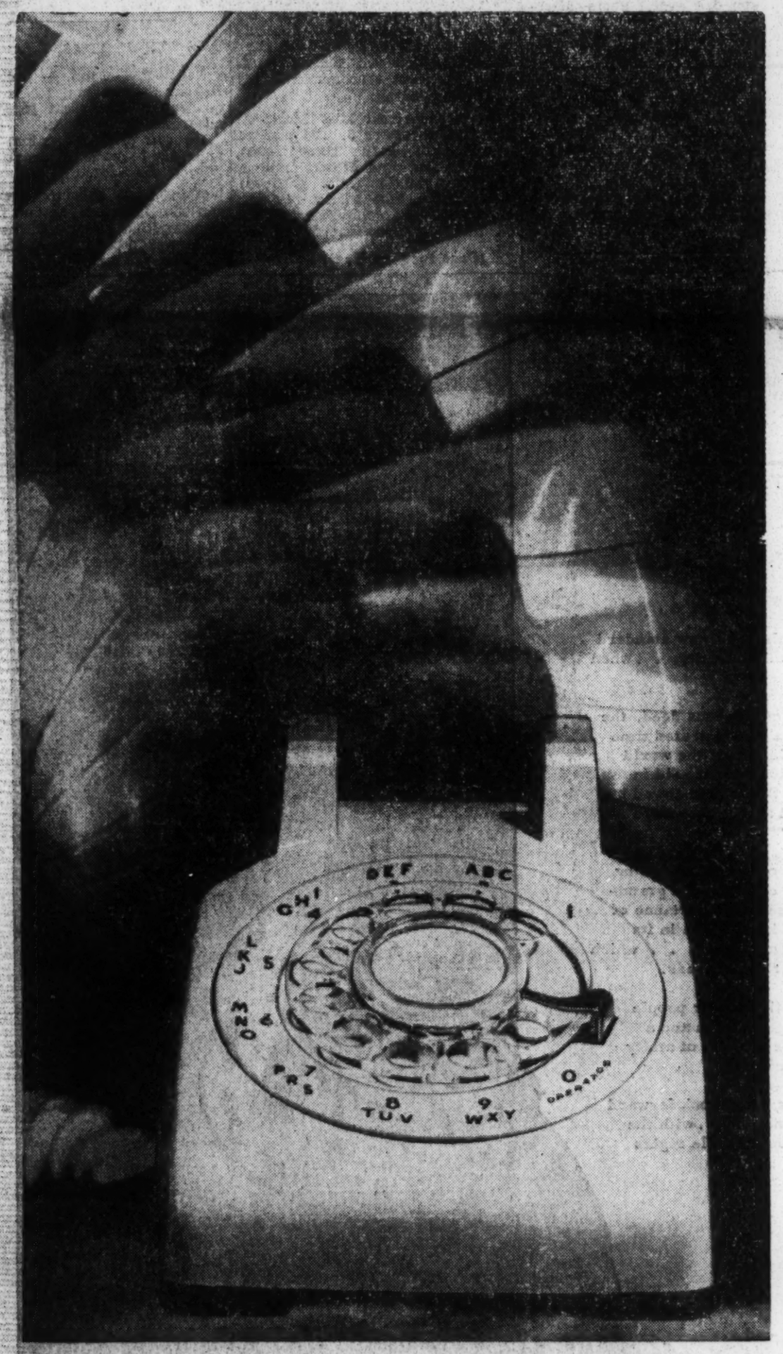
among his people where white teachers were doing the teaching, if qualified Negroes could be found. It took great courage in those days when there were mixed opinions on both sides, but Finch stood his ground and led that fight for Negro teachers and finally as a member of the city council he won out.

While we were unable to find out which side on which Finch fought in the civil war, we did establish the fact that he was so proud of

He was a tailor by trade and his uniqueness and bent for art naturally would lead him to design the old flag of the Union.

More should be found out about that flag. It should be located and reproduced and brought back to Georgia where History and art are still in the formative state.

Some day he will illustrate one of our great schools.



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THE FORT VALLEY STATE COLLEGE

FORT VALLEY, GEORGIA

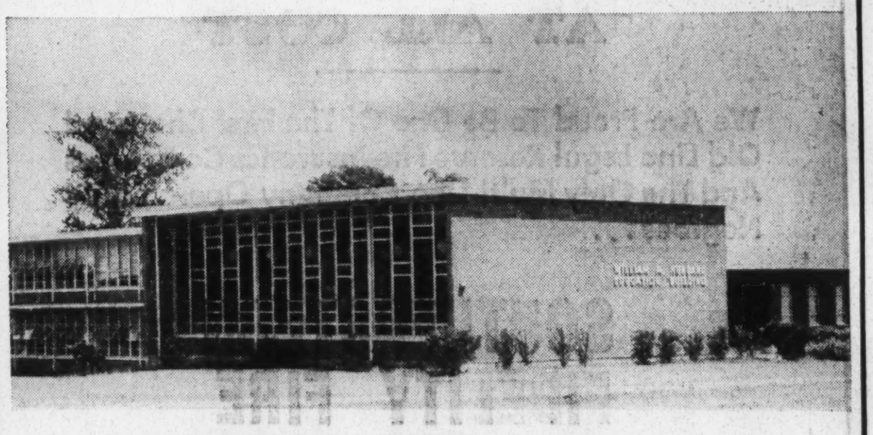
During the 100 years since President Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, the Negro in America has made remarkable strides. The Fort Valley State College, along with other institutions of higher learning, takes pride in the fact that it has been instrumental in contributing toward the Negro's record of achievement.

PRESIDENT C. V. TROUP

The Fort Valley State College lists among its graduates and former students many who have been and are now in the vanguard of progress. Now in its 68th year, the Fort Valley State College has achieved significant growth and enjoys a position of respect among American colleges and universities.

As American Negroes turn their faces toward the rising sun of a second century of Emancipation, the Fort Valley State College looks forward to the challenging task of providing its share of educated citizens for roles of leadership in what we hope will be a greater century of achievement.

C. V. TROUP, President



THE HUBBARD EDUCATION BUILDING

The Aftermath Of Slavery

By HORACE MANN BOND
Dean, The School of Education, Atlanta University

After inspecting hundreds of high schools, some of them slum schools in Northern cities enrolling almost altogether a Negro student body, James B. Conant, former President of Harvard Univeristy, had this to say about the horrible conditions he saw in the schools, and in the communities:

"As I read the history of the United States, this republic was born with a congenital defect — Negro slavery .... We make a great mistake, I believe, if we fail to recognize the rough and weary road we have had to travel in our attempt as a free and independent people to remove the social consequence of the inherited curse of Negro slavery."

And Robert M. Hutchins, the former President of the University of Chicago, and now the President of the Fund - Financed Fund for the Advancement of Education, said this in his recent books, "The political Animal;"

"The Negro in America is not a part of the American society. This is the greatest single crime that the American people have ever committed, and one of the greatest crimes that any people has ever committed."

If this is the sober judgment of two of the greatest "elder statesmen" of American intellectual and public life, why should we who are the victims of this "greatest crime committed by any people" in the history of the world, speak frankly of the wicked, wicked, system that still throws its shadow on twenty million darker people in what is supposed to be the "land of the Free, and the home of the Brave"? It is the intention of this article, to speak about some of the aftermaths of Slavery as we see them around us today.

First a word, as to the essential evils of Slavery. They were countless; only three major ones, that lead to inumerable smaller ones, need be listed here.

First, was the destruction of the FAMILY. The family unit is the basis for morals, habits, manners, and learning. It is in the family that the child learns security and love; learns his first and most important lessons in the use of the language; learns to obey the unwritten, and even written, laws of society; in short, where he first begins to be a citizen of a community, and of a nation, and of the human race.

Slavery could not tolerate the existence of a family. A child could, and was, frequently sold away from a mother; a husband from wife and children; and there was no such thing as a legal marriage, nor respect for the wife and mother, nor any value placed on the ordinary laws of monogamy or sex abstinence.

Say what you will about the African slave; this wicked system tried to make its peace with God and conscience, by claiming that the African was brought to America to be made a Christian, and to be "civilized." But the African had a [illegible] he owned, what he acquired, belonged to his Master, not to himself. True, there were occasional masters who did permit slaves to work for themselves, and even to buy themselves; but these cases were the exception, and not the rule.

The great educator, Horace Mann, thought that the greatest evil of Slavery, was that it deprived slave children of the right to learn. It was against the law to teach a slave how to read or write. Horace Mann called this a "devilish miracle," that a man would prevent a child from learning. So it happened that out of the 4,500,000 Negroes in the United States, the ability to read and write was found only among the half-million free Negroes of the time, and a scattered handful of the slaves.

One Hundred Years Later —

What is the aftermath? Take the family.

In the city of Atlanta, in 1957, 29 out of every 100 Negro births were out of wedlock. The corresponding figure for whites was reported to be 2.1. Even the Census takers warn that these figures do not tell the whole story. Illegitimacy rates follow the amount of money and education of the family — its social class. The better-off families tend to hide their true illegitimacy rates; by abortions, by various devices of concealing the fact of illegitimacy through nursing homes, and even avoiding registration Negroes, comparatively poor, and with rate of illegitimacy due to such inherited, racial factors, as "greater sex drive," "more passionate," etc., etc., etc. — the folk tales that are widely believed?

This writer thinks not. His explanation is, that the wicked institution of Slavery did not permit the family to exist among Negroes; that within the relatively short period of 100 years, the fact that Negroes have generally been able to build up stable families, is almost miraculous.

Prfoperty - Economic Well - Being-Occupations

The owner rate of Negroes in Atlanta is twenty-percent lower than that of whites; and the average house they do own, is worth scarcely half as much as that of the average white owner. The Negro family has an income forty percent lower than that of the average white home owner.

Some of this, of course, is due to rank prejudicial treatment of the Negro in the present generation. But a great deal of it is due to the aftermath of Slavery. Consider, if you will, only Government hand-outs; free lands; bonuses and pensions from the Revolutionary, 1812, Mexican War, even the Civil War. Negroes did serve in each of these wars but in a percentage far below their number in the general population; and because of—Slavery! It is estimated, that some 6,000 Negroes did serve in the War of the Revolution, and some 175,000 in the Union Armies during the Civil War. Their proportion should have been: 60,000 during the War of the Revolution (Negroes were then 20 percent of the population). and 400,000 during the Civil War. A great many white families, and a few Negro families, can count their rise to getting ahead in the World, from land bounties, and pensions, received from these Wars.

gro teacher is not doing a good job!"

Or even: "Negroes simply haven't got the brain power that whites have. These scores prove it!"

This writer thinks not. He thinks that these test scores are an aftermath of Slavery; the Slavery that made it a crime to teach Negroes how to read and write.

Let's take a look at some of these scores. In 1957, the Testing Survey of Atlanta reported these scores for white and Negro children:

Test-Metropolitan Primary Grade 3.4 National Normal Score (In Grade)—3.1 Atlanta White Score (In Grade) 2.9 Atlanta Negro Score (In Grade) -1.8.

Test — Stanford Elementary Grade 4.4 National Normal Score (In Grade) 4.4 Atlanta White Score (In Grade) 4.0 Atlanta Negro Score (In Grade) 2.2.

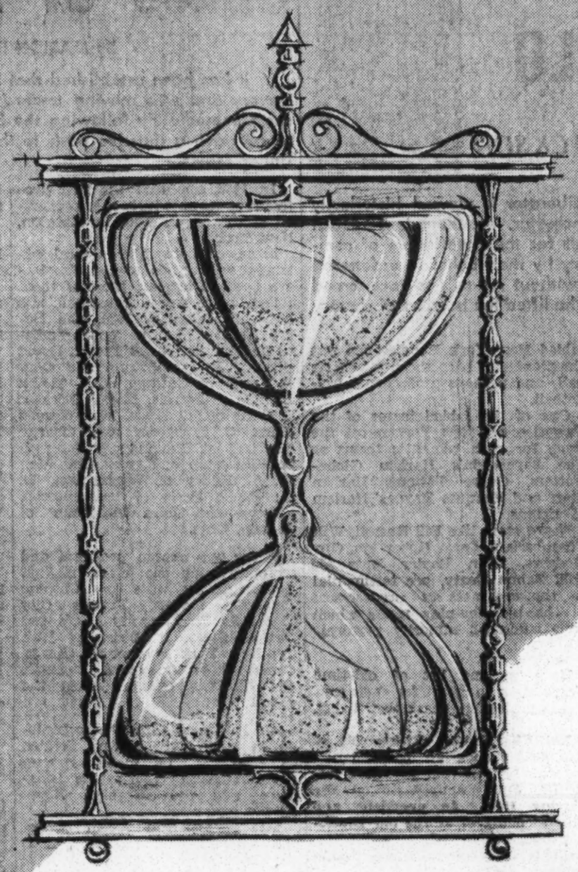
Test Iowa Every Pupil Grade 8.1 National Normal Score (In Grade) 8.1 Atlanta White Score (In Grade) 7.4 Atlanta Negro Score (In Grade) 4.7.

Now the figures in this Table mean, that both the Atlanta Whites and the Atlanta Negroes, were behind National normal standards as to where the child should be at his grade level. But the Negro children were far behind. Those in the third grade were not up to second grade standards. Those in the Fourth grade were just above beginning second grade standards. Those in the eighth grade were not up to fifth grade standards. And this continues, of course, right through high school.

Does this mean that Negro children were born, with less brains than white children? This writer thinks not.

He thinks that these Negro children are behind, principally, be-

SLAVE TRAFFIC ON THE COAST OF AFRICA IS DEPICTED IN THIS PHOTOGRAPH



100 years from now . . .

This is the crossroads where two centuries meet. History impatiently awaits the moment that gives her irrefutable title to the past 100 years, a century now irrevocably committed to the pages of time. Memory recalls it as an era of heartaches and triumphs, frustrations and victories . . a

supposed to be the "land of the Free, and the home of the Brave"? It is the intention of this article, to speak about some of the aftermaths of Slavery as we see them around us today.

First a word, as to the essential evils of Slavery. They were countless; only three major ones, that lead to inumerable smaller ones, need be listed here.

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Slavery could not tolerate the existence of a family. A child could, and was, frequently sold away from a mother; a husband from wife and children; and there was no such thing as a legal marriage, nor respect for the wife and mother, nor any value placed on the ordinary laws of monogamy or sex abstinence.

Say what you will about the African slave; this wicked system tried to make its peace with God and conscience, by claiming that the African was brought to America to be made a Christian, and to be "civilized." But the African had a strong and effective family organization; he was brought into slavery that destroyed the family system he had, and would not permit a new family system to be built up. To this extent Slavery was designed to make beasts, not men.

The second great evil of Slavery, was to deprive the Slave of property, and of any right or reason to acquire it. He did not even own himself. All of the habits and ambitions to get ahead in the world through improving his condition through acquiring property, were defeated by the slave system. What

education of the family — its social | of the Revolution (Negroes were | through high school

SLAVE TRAFFIC ON THE COAST OF AFRICA IS DEPICTED IN THIS PHOTOGRAPH

class. The better-off families tend to hide their true illegitimacy rates; by abortions, by various devices of concealing the fact of illegitimacy through nursing homes, and even avoiding registration Negroes, comparatively poor, and with less education and sensitivity, are likely to reveal the true illegitimacy rates.

Yet there can be little point in denying that it is a fact, that illegitimacy rates for Negroes are higher than those for whites. Add to this; desertions; abandonments; one begins to see the terrible aftermath of family disorganization among Negroes, coming directly out of Slavery.

Are Negroes basically more "immoral" than white persons? This writer thinks not. Is their higher

then 20 percent of the population). and 400,000 during the Civil War. A great many white families, and a few Negro families, can count their rise to getting ahead in the World, from land bounties, and pensions, received from these Wars. Here again, the wonderful thing is not that the Negro has so little; but that he has as much as he does have.

Education - Learning - Literacy

A great many people have the idea, that when you provide a child with a school building, and a teacher, that you have given him an equal start with all other children. Therefore, when they look at test scores made by Negro children and compare those test scores with those made by white children — (which are very likely to be higher) — they say: "Ah! The Ne-

Does this mean that Negro children were born, with less brains than white children? This writer thinks not.

He thinks that these Negro children are behind, principally, because of the awful curse of Slavery; a Slavery that made it a crime to teach their great grand-parents how to read and write. Now, you don't inherit the ability to read and write; nor do you inherit ignorance.

But in the family, the child first learns the language. If he comes up in an illiterate home, he learns the language of illiteracy. He picks up the habits of speech of an illiterate. He never has the chance to learn at home - the standard language, which is the language of the

(Continued on Page Two)

ABE LINCOLN

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A. F. HERNDON

The concept of freedom of the human personality, as set forth by President Abraham Lincoln in signing the Emancipation Proclamation January 1st, 1863, (100) years ago, is hailed and saluted in this century period as the basis of true American Democracy but which effectiveness needs strong implementation to bulwark the U. S. Constitution and to assure liberty for all Americans. In commemorating this century of progress since President Lincoln's famous Stroke of the quill to save the union and free the slaves in 1863, we are happy to salute a youth, who was but five years of age when President Lincoln proclaimed freedom for the slaves. A. F. Herndon's concept of Economic Freedom for the Negro (58) years ago was to found a Financial Institution, The Atlanta Life, which we are happy to claim as a heritage and a credit to the American economy. We hail President Lincoln and salute the late A. F. Herndon, Founder.

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100 years from now . . .

This is the crossroads where two centuries meet. History impatiently awaits the moment that gives her irrefutable title to the past 100 years, a century now irrevocably committed to the pages of time. Memory recalls it as an era of heartaches and triumphs, frustrations and victories . . a century-long struggle of a region's reconcilliation with explosive changes. Historians will record it as a time of great economic and social advancement . . . the time when the South came of age. Davison's salutes the progress of the South. We're proud of the part we played in furthering its development. But now we must look to the future . . . to the other side of the crossroads. History has claimed the century past — but the next 100 years are the South's. A new and vigorous century, full of youth and promise, worthy of the best we can offer. Future prosperity for the South depends on a united effort — all its peoples working together. With this unity, we of the South hold the power to shape a century that History will claim with pride . . . 100 years from now.

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SPORTS OF THE WORLD

BY MARION E. JACKSON

Abraham Lincoln the Great Liberator is viewed historically and universally as the Great Emancipator. Yet there is a special niche in the freedom Hall of Heroes for the pathfinders of competition who emboldened democracy by their belief in unfettered play. Unencumbered performance without regards to race, creed or color was a crusade with those who lifted the barriers of slavery from competition.

Unchallenged as the No. 1 sports emancipator is Branch Rickey, who opened the doors of organized baseball.

Yet, there were others, who deserve the highest accolade for their contribution to the Negro freedom cause through opening up the portals of sports on a basis of merit, skill and accomplishments.

* * *

Rickey, was abetted in his desire for performance on a basis of merit, by Bill Veeck, who signed Larry Doby as the first Negro in the Negro American League.

* * *

Paul Brown, who organized the Cleveland Browns of football immortality, is widely credited with pushing wider the door of professional football to Negro gridders.

* * *

Cleveland Leigh Abbott, a South Dakota Negro, who built invincible teams in football, track and field, and basketball, pushed the Southern Negro into national sports competition.

H. T. Harvey, who played against former President Dwight D. Eisenhower for Colgate, against West Point, carried the first basketball Negro team North with fabeled Morehouse College gives.

Credit Ted A. Wright, then at Xavier University, for introducing to the nation a new brand of basketball with his unforgettable University Ambassadors.

* * *

It was Cleve Abbott, too, that aided in the formation of the American Tennis Association, and who broke the colorline as the first Negro on the United States Olympic Committee.

The Great Liberators of boxing are numerous. You remember Jack Johnson was the emancipator of heavyweight boxing. Joe Louis Barrow, the Brown Bomber or Dusty Destroyer as you may call him won boxing new respectability.

* * *

Jack Johnson and Joe Louis were emancipators in a sense that they broke down the stereotypes. Eroded the myths and convinced the Doubting Thomases that a Negro could reign. Add a long list of heavyweight champions and you will see Ezzard Charles, Jersey Walcott, Floyd [illegible]

fabled New York Renaissance was the pioneer of barnstorming basketball, and perhaps professional basketball.

One of the fabled teams of the Twenties, the New Yorkers set the stage for such romantic teams as Abe Saperstein's Harlem Globetrotters, Goose Tatum's Harlem Stars and Marques Haynes' Harlem Magicians.

Negro stars like Bill Russell, Wilt Chamberlain, Oscar Robertson, Guy Rodgers, Elgin Baylor, Billy Mc Gill, Zelmo Beaty, are testimonial to the greatness of predecessors in the play-for-play ranks which early embraced minority performers.

Have a long list of old-time Negro stars to credit for their success in professional basketball today.

* * *

Yet, the Branch Rickey bit of trailblazing tops all the emancipators who not only preached tolerance but practiced it on the playing field. As president and general manager of the old Brooklyn Dodgers in 1942, he spoke out strongly for adding Negroes to the Dodgers' roster.

* * *

So genuinely did Rickey blueprint the destiny of the Negro in sports, but the significant thing is that he did it prior to the May 17, 1954 U. S. Supreme Court decisions and subsequent decrees that set the Negro on the path of the second century of freedom.

There have been numerous U. S. Supreme Court decisions bolstering the position of the Negro in the United States.

* * *

However, the most vital of the decisions was neither controlled nor managed but a simple belief that the untapped reservoir of Negro talent would be the savior of competition.

In the play-for-play ranks, as well as sports in general, this has proven to be true.

* * *

No finer competitor in the world is to be found than the American Negro who has shaped not only the freedom trend in the United States but throughout the world.

There have been many emancipators

Baseball Pushed Freedom Cause Of Negro Athletes

By MARION E. JACKSON

It has been established that Negro baseball had its roots in slavery and was moving toward some stature as an organized sport immediately following the Emancipation Proclamation. The game gave a massive push to the Negro freedom cause in the United States.

In 1885, appeared the first professional team, which was organized at the Argyle Hotel in Babylon, New York.

From 1887 to 1919 several attempts were made to organize Negro baseball leagues. Most of them failed before anything tangible was done. In February 1920, the Negro National League was organized by Andrew (Rube) Foster, David Wright, Joseph Greene and Cary B. Lewis of Chicago, Ill. Tenny Blount of Detroit, Mich.; Lorenzo S. Cobb of St. Louis, Mo.; Elwood Knox, C. I. Taylor and Charles Marshall of Indianapolis Ind.; J. L. Williamson of Kansas City, Mo.; W. A. Kelley of Washington, D. C.; Elisha Scott of Leavenworth, Kansas and John Matthews of Dayton, Ohio.

Foster was chosen president and secretary and the clubs making up the league were the Chicago American Giants, Kansas City Monarchs, Indianapolis ABC's and Detroit Stars. In December 1920, the New York Bacharach Giants, Cuban Stars, Columbus Buckeyes and Hillsdale Giants joined the circuit.

An Eastern League was organized in 1922 with Edward Bolden as president. Its members were the Harrisburg Giants, the Hillsdales and the Brooklyn Royal Giants.

The first Negro World Series was held in 1924. History was to see both leagues collapse in 1932.

* * * *

The Negro American League was formed in 1935 and was composed of the Atlanta Black Crackers (with headquarters in Louisville, Ky.), the Kansas City Monarchs, the Jacksonville Red Caps (in Cleveland, Ohio), the ABC's, the Chicago American Giants, Baltimore Elite Giants, Homestead Grays, N. Y. Cuban Stars, Newark Eagles, N. Y. Black Yankees, the Philadelphia Stars and the Toledo Club.

* * * *

Negro baseball thrived, its East-West Game in Chicago, drawing thousands until Jackie Robinson broke the color line in 1946.

This heralded the deathknoll of the once powerful Negro leagues that sent Larry Doby, Don Newcombe, Roy Campanella, Satchel Paige, Dan Bankhead and many other greats to the major leagues.

* * * *

Dr. J. B. Martin today heads a Negro American League that is more of name than fact. Dr. Martin, a Chicago, Ill. Republican and a member of the Sanitary Commission operates the circuit from his office. The league has dwindled [illegible]

ding, Joseph (Cyclone) Williams, and Don Newcombe.

CATCHERS: Clarence Williams, Josh Gibson, Ernie Wright and Biz Mackey, and Roy Campanella, John Roseboro and Elston Howard.

OUTFIELDERS: Alexander Ratcliffe, Oscar Charleston, Bingo Demoss, Peter Hill, William Monroe, Oliver Marcelle, Otto Briggs, Edward Douglass and John Beckwith. Larry Doby, Henry Aaron, Vada Pinson, Minnie Minoso, Willie Mays, Bill White, Roberto Clemente, Frank Robinson and Hector Lopez.

INFIELDERS: Jackie Robinson, Ben Taylor, Leroy Grant, Samuel Hughes, John H. Lloyd, Judson Wilson, Leonard Grant, Andrew Jackson, Frank Warfield and Avelino Canarzies, Ernie Banks, Maury Wills, Junior Gilliam.

Today more than 60 Negroes play in the major leagues. To pinpoint the democratic gains since the Emancipation one must note that in the early 1920s,, Negroes were not permitted in the grandstands in Sportsman Park in St. Louis, Mo.

* * * *

Branch Rickey, who opened the doors of the big league game, could not even admit an Ohio Wesleyan friend and teammate who dropped by his office. He was Dr. Charles Thomas, a St. Louis dentist. Rickey then vice president and general manager of the St. Louis Cardinals told Dr. Thomas "Some day we'll have all that changed." While this might be easily regarded as a prophecy, in view of Rickey's integration of the Negro into organized ball some twenty odd years later, he was merely expressing a logical belief that the refusal to sell tickets to Negroes would end one day.

* * * *

Rickey as president and general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers broke the color line.

He had several Negroes in mind, Marvin Williams, Sam Jethroe, Jackie Robinson, Thomas Piper, Satchel Paige, Silvio Garcia and Josh Gibson. The name mentioned

Football Trailblazed Way To Unfettered Competition

By JAMES D. HEATH

Negro college football had its beginning in 1892, with Livingstone College and Biddle (now Johnson C. Smith) University playing the first game at Salisbury, N.C., on Thanksgiving Day. Biddle won 4-to-0. In 1894 Howard University, Washington, D.C., and Lincoln University (Pa.) played the first game in the East, and in 1897 Tuskegee Institute (Ala.) and Atlanta (Ga.) University played the first game in the middle or deep South.

"In 1897, only about a half dozen colleges had football teams. Squads were small, and many varsity teams had no substitute players. That year Shaw University organized a team, and for several years thereafter was monarch of all it surveyed. Two years later Morehouse, Talladega, Fisk, Knoxville and Meharry began playing the game, and Negro college football began to grow in popularity. By 1901, many colleges had well organized athletic committees that sponsored interesting sports programs and regular football schedule each fall.

"In 1912, the Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association was organized, with Hampton, Lincoln, Virginia Union, Shaw and Howard as members. They were joined later by Virginia State, St. Paul, North Carolina A. & T. Morgan, Bluefield and North Carolina State. In 1913 Talladega, Tuskegee, Morehouse, Morris Brown, Clark, Atlanta, and Alabama State formed the [illegible]

"In 1923, the South - Central Athletic Conference was organized, with Alcorn, Haven Teachers, Mississippi Industrial, Tougaloo, Jackson, Rust, Campbell, Okolona and Mount Beulah as members. Later a few other schools joined this union.

"In 1930 Haven discontinued operations, and the conference lost its membership. In 1931 West Virginia State, Wilberforce, Kentucky State, Lincoln (Mo.) and Louisville Municipal formed the Midwestern Association, later taking in Tennessee State and other colleges. Still later, the Middle Atlantic Athletic Association and the South Atlantic Conference, were formed, and they had teams that were great.

"When the United States entered World War II many of these associations suspended competition because the military draft called so

Conference

most often was Jackie Robinson. In 1946 he signed Jackie to play for the Montreal Royals of the International League.

THE REST IS HISTORY ! ! ! many players into the armed service. Army camps at Tuskegee, Fort Benning and Columbus Georgia, Fort Riley (Kans.) Camp Mackall (Md.), Selman Field (La.) Randolph Field and Byran Field (Tex.) and McDill Field (Ala.) and the Naval Training Station at Norfolk (Va.) had splendid teams made up largely of players from the conference mentioned."

CANAL ZONE DUE FORCE

The Army is planning to form a new group of anti-guerrila experts and base it in the Panama Canal Zone — in position to help Latin-American nations cope with any Cuban-formented uprisings.

The United States Army now maintains four Special Forces groups, each made up of more than 1,200 men trained to a fine edge in the techniques of combating guerillas.

OLD MAXIM REVISED

Money may not buy happiness, but with it you can be unhappy in comfort.

— Washto (Iowa) Journal.

NOT SO BAD, AT THAT

About the only rod the modern boy knows anything at all about is a fishing rod.

— Louisville Times.

A "DEAD" LOBBY

Eventually we may discover that the embalmers' lobby kept grade crossings on the map.

Louisville Times.

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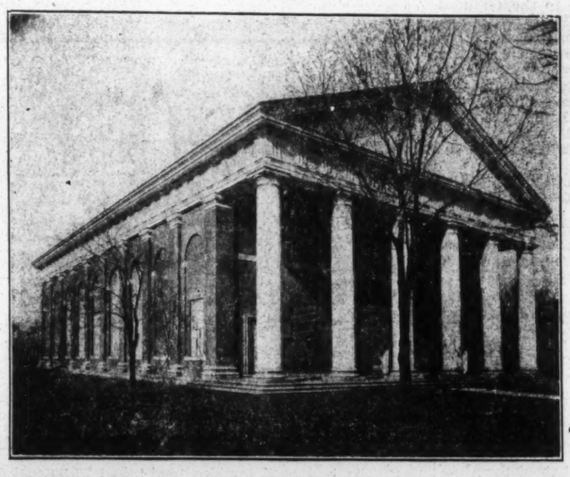

and basketball, pushed the Southern Negro into national sports competition.

H. T. Harvey, who played against former President Dwight D. Eisenhower for Colgate, against West Point, carried the first basketball Negro team North with fabeled Morehouse College gives.

Credit Ted A. Wright, then at Xavier University, for introducing to the nation a new brand of basketball with his unforgettable University Ambassadors.

* * *

It was Cleve Abbott, too, that aided in the formation of the American Tennis Association, and who broke the colorline as the first Negro on the United States Olympic Committee.

The Great Liberators of boxing are numerous. You remember Jack Johnson was the emancipator of heavyweight boxing. Joe Louis Barrow, the Brown Bomber or Dusty Destroyer as you may call him won boxing new respectability.

* * *

Jack Johnson and Joe Louis were emancipators in a sense that they broke down the stereotypes. Eroded the myths and convinced the Doubting Thomases that a Negro could reign. Add a long list of heavyweight champions and you will see Ezzard Charles, Jersey Walcott, Floyd Patterson and now Sonny Liston.

Woody Hayes of Ohio State is widely credited with breaking down the few remaining walls of professional football chauvinism. Hayes fears no one as he speaks of the Negro athlete.

* * *

In basketball, Bob Douglas of the

pators who not only preached tolerance but practiced it on the playing field. As president and general manager of the old Brooklyn Dodgers in 1942, he spoke out strongly for adding Negroes to the Dodgers' roster.

* * *

So genuinely did Rickey blueprint the destiny of the Negro in sports, but the significant thing is that he did it prior to the May 17, 1954 U. S. Supreme Court decisions and subsequent decrees that set the Negro on the path of the second century of freedom.

There have been numerous U. S. Supreme Court decisions bolstering the position of the Negro in the United States.

* * *

However, the most vital of the decisions was neither controlled nor managed but a simple belief that the untapped reservoir of Negro talent would be the savior of competition.

In the play-for-play ranks, as well as sports in general, this has proven to be true.

* * *

No finer competitor in the world is to be found than the American Negro who has shaped not only the freedom trend in the United States but throughout the world.

There have been many emancipators of sports.

AND TO THINK .... THEY'RE A MAN'S BEST FRIEND

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Mrs. Mary Matonio, 51, sued her husband for separate maintenance and asked sole custody and support money for two boxer dogs.

as president. Its members were the Harrisburg Giants, the Hillsdales and the Brooklyn Royal Giants.

The first Negro World Series was held in 1924. History was to see both leagues collapse in 1932.

* * * *

The Negro American League was formed in 1935 and was composed of the Atlanta Black Crackers (with headquarters in Louisville, Ky.), the Kansas City Monarchs, the Jacksonville Red Caps (in Cleveland, Ohio), the ABC's, the Chicago American Giants, Baltimore Elite Giants, Homestead Grays, N. Y. Cuban Stars, Newark Eagles, N. Y. Black Yankees, the Philadelphia Stars and the Toledo Club.

* * * *

Negro baseball thrived, its East-West Game in Chicago, drawing thousands until Jackie Robinson broke the color line in 1946.

This heralded the deathknoll of the once powerful Negro leagues that sent Larry Doby, Don Newcombe, Roy Campanella, Satchel Paige, Dan Bankhead and many other greats to the major leagues.

* * * *

Dr. J. B. Martin today heads a Negro American League that is more of name than fact. Dr. Martin, a Chicago, Ill. Republican and a member of the Sanitary Commission operates the circuit from his office. The league has dwindled to the Birmingham Black Barons, K. C. Monarchs, Detroit Stars and Raleigh Tigers.

* * * *

Among the great Negro baseball players since the Emancipation Proclamation have been:

PITCHERS: Andrew (Rube) Foster, Satchel Paige, David Brown, Bullet Rogan, Richard Red-

By JAMES D. HEATH

Negro college football had its beginning in 1892, with Livingstone College and Biddle (now Johnson C. Smith) University playing the first game at Salisbury, N.C., on Thanksgiving Day. Biddle won 4-to-0. In 1894 Howard University, Washington, D.C., and Lincoln University (Pa.) played the first game in the East, and in 1897 Tuskegee Institute (Ala.) and Atlanta (Ga.) University played the first game in the middle or deep South.

"In 1897, only about a half dozen colleges had football teams. Squads were small, and many varsity teams had no substitute players. That year Shaw University organized a team, and for several years thereafter was monarch of all it surveyed. Two years later Morehouse, Talladega, Fisk, Knoxville and Meharry began playing the game, and Negro college football began to grow in popularity. By 1901, many colleges had well organized athletic committees that sponsored interesting sports programs and regular football schedule each fall.

"In 1912, the Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association was organized, with Hampton, Lincoln, Virginia Union, Shaw and Howard as members. They were joined later by Virginia State, St. Paul, North Carolina A. & T. Morgan, Bluefield and North Carolina State. In 1913 Talladega, Tuskegee, Morehouse, Morris Brown, Clark, Atlanta, and Alabama State formed the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association. Later Wiley, Prairie View, Bishop, Texas and Sam Houston organized the Southwestern

"In 1923, the South - Central Athletic Conference was organized, with Alcorn, Haven Teachers, Mississippi Industrial, Tougaloo, Jackson, Rust, Campbell, Okolona and Mount Beulah as members. Later a few other schools joined this union.

"In 1930 Haven discontinued operations, and the conference lost its membership. In 1931 West Virginia State, Wilberforce, Kentucky State, Lincoln (Mo.) and Louisville Municipal formed the Midwestern Association, later taking in Tennessee State and other colleges. Still later, the Middle Atlantic Athletic Association and the South Atlantic Conference, were formed, and they had teams that were great.

"When the United States entered World War II many of these associations suspended competition because the military draft called so Conference

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Sunshine Magazine.

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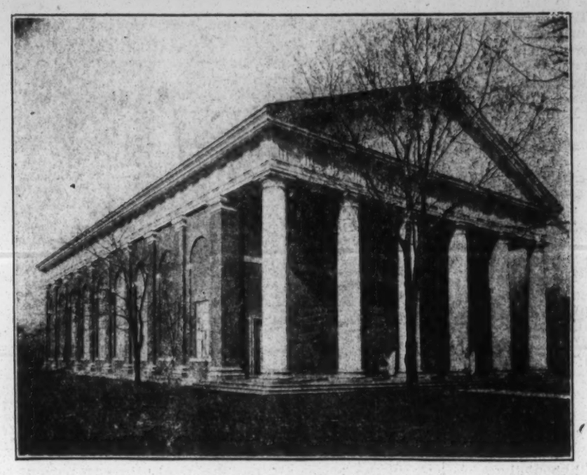

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U. S. SPORTS IN FORE FRONT OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION

Amature, Pro Sports Set Pace For World Freedom

By MARION E. JACKSON

U.S. sports were in the forefront of the emancipation of the Negro. This truth was established before the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation by the Great Liberator, Abraham Lincoln.

In amateur contests of skill prior to the Civil War, through honorable service in that sectional conflict, the Negro mastered the techniques and skills of competition.

In military - connected athletics, whether target-shooting, hunting, swimming, wrestling, etc., there are records to show that the Negro was an adversary respected and formidable.

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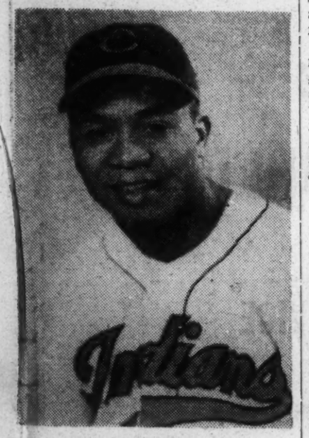
This African heritage athlete gave the spirit of brotherhood to competition in professional boxing, international track and field, baseball, field and stream, swimming and other sports, years before the May 17, 1954 U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools.



LARRY DOBY

Americans had learned a brotherhood of competitive dignity without regards to race, creed or color long before Jack Johnson became the first heavyweight champion of his race.

—0—

Even more remarkably, the old Negro American League and the Negro National League, established major league standards for minority citizens which led for their eventual inclusion into the Great American Game.

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SPORTS EMANCIPATORS

Branch Rickey was the Great Emancipator in organized baseball. Paul Brown was the Great Liberator in professional football. Joe Louis, the celebrated Brown Bomber, emerged as the fistic dusty destroyer who spearheaded the freedom cause.

Jackie Robinson pioneered as the first Negro in modern organized baseball.

Woody Hayes championed the Negro in the modern intercollegiate ranks.

—0—

Everyone remembers, Paul Brown after leaving Massillion High School, Ohio State, Great Lakes and forming the Cleveland Browns as a missionary in sports human relations.

Rickey as president and general manager of the old Brooklyn Dodgers in 1942, spoke strongly for adding Negroes to the Dodgers' roster. There was neither complexity nor a sense of crusading in Rickey's plan to pry loose the Negro from the chains of competitive slavery.

—0—

He had several Negroes in mind Marvin Williams, Sam Jethroe, Jackie Robinson, Satchel Paige, Silvio Garcia and Josh Gibson. In 1946, Rickey signed Robinson to play with the Montreal Royals.

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In 1947, Robinson was moved up the ladder to the Dodgers as a first baseman and went on to win "Rookie of the Year" honors. Only a year ago, 1962 to be exact, Jackie was named into Baseball's Hall of Fame.

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JACKIE ROBINSON

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Historians tell that Bill Richmond, the first Negro to make an effort for fistic fame went from America to England, perhaps on borrowed money seeking what ever fame he might acquire with a stout heart and mighty fists. He met the remarkable Tom Cribb in 1810, was knocked out and that seemed to end any threat for athletic supremacy by the black race.

Not many years later, Tom Molimeaux, a Negro slave "staked" by his owner invaded England. He, too met Cribb, then a great champion. Molineaux cut Cribb to ribbons for 5 rounds before a crowd of 20,000, before losing.

Isaac Murphy was the greatest of many Negro jockeys. There were many others of great skill.

Jack Johnson became a world's heavyweight champion. So did Joe Louis. Tiger Flower was a champion. Henry Armstrong was a triple titleholder. John Henry Louis was a great champion in his time.

POLLARD WAS FIRST

Fritz Pollard, the only Negro on a team otherwise made of whites, was one of the greatest halfbacks college football has ever known. Paul Robeson soared to fame at Rutgers. Jerome (Brud) Holland and Claude (Buddy) Young started at Illinois, William Lewis was at Harvard in the 1890's and Kenny Washington made history at UCLA.

—0—

Howard Drew was perhaps the first of the marvelous line of Negro sprinters, middle distance runners or sprinters who followed him were De Hart Hubbard, Eddie Gourdin, Eddie Tolan, Ralph Metcalfe, Jesse Owens, Ben Johnson, John Woodruff, Phil Edwards, Jim Herbert, Earl Johnson, Tom Anderson, Eddie Smith, Eulace Peacock, John Borican, Eddie Dugger, Archie Williams, Elmore Harris, Herb McKenley, Norwood Ewell, Mozelle Ellerbe and Harrison Dillard.

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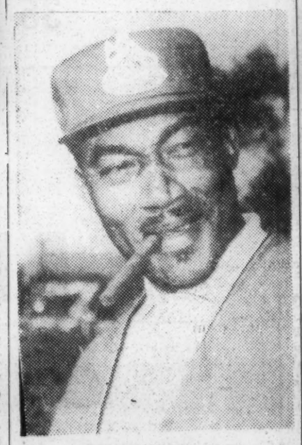
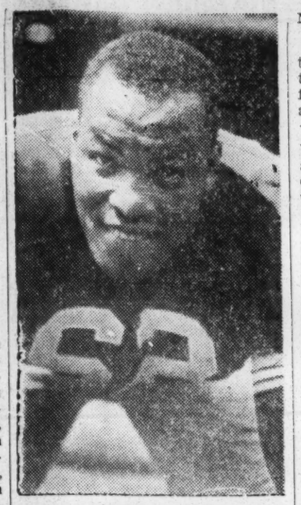
ALL-AROUND SPORTS

Paul W. Jones, of the Colored Industrial School of Cincinnati, ranked one of America's greatest all-around sports authorities, discussing baseball, contributed the following:

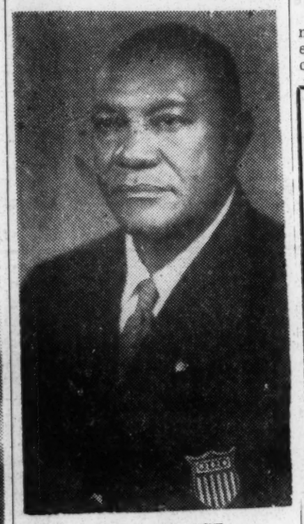
Negroes began playing baseball before emancipation. We are told that games were played between youngsters on the same plantations and farms. They did not know much about the sport, however, they witnessed contests between Union soldiers, stationed here and there, in the South. Teams were picked by 'choosing sides,' and rivalry was keen. Some good games were witnessed by onlookers.



CHARLES SIFFORD



BUDDY YOUNG



CLEVE ABBOTT

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"In the late 1870's, and in the early 1880's, most of the larger cities of the South, had baseball teams and in the beginning of the 1890's hundreds of smaller cities were represented by clubs that played excellently. Later even country villages had teams that competed on Saturdays and Sundays, in or near, rural settlements.

"In Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennesse, North Carolina and Florida Negro players appeared who later made foot prints on the sands that are being followed today.

—0—

FIRST RACE PROS

"In 1885, appeared the first Negro professional team. It was composed of waiters of the Argyle Hotel at Babylon, N. Y. Its first opponents were white clubs. The leader of this team was Frank Thompson, and he named the team the Cuban Giants. Thompson called his players Cubans in order to enable them to play in towns where Negroes were not welcomed. 'Giants' was a magic name for the next 30 years, scores of Negro teams making use of it in all parts of the country.

Negro sports emerged into the midstream of American culture even before the Emancipation Proclamation

NATO FLEET

The United States is planning to tell its European allies it will help them build a NATO nuclear missile force of less costly surface ships as well as Polaris submarines.

Plans Underway For Tourney Of Champions

Plans are well underway for the second annual Tournament of Champions, sponsored by the Georgia Interscholastic Association, which will be held this weekend.

Tournament Director Frank S. McClarin, principal of South Fulton High School, will make the official announcement and release the names of the competing quints when he returns to the city from the Class AA State Tourament, at Savannah.

Atlanta sports fans will recall that the first annual Tournament of Champions was held last March, at the BTW Gymnasium.

Competing in the history- making hardwood carnival last March were the Luther Judson Price High Wildcats, Class AA champions; George W. Drake High Yellowjackets, Class A champions; R. L. Cousins Maroon Tigers, Class B champions; and the Mary McLeod Bethune Wildcats, Class C champions.

PRICE SWEEPS CROWN

The Price Wildcats swept the Tournament of Champions last year crown by polishing off the Cousins Maroon Tigers, 75-49 and taking the Drake Yellowjackets in camp, 74-46.

The Bethune High Wildcats, of Class C, defeated the Cousins Maroon Tigers, of Class M, 70-61 for the consolations laurels.

Classifications in the GIA are based on the ADA (average daily attendance), and until last year the state Class AA champions automatically got the bid to represent Georgia in the National High School Basketball Tournament, at Tennessee A and I State University, Nashville, Tenn.

The Tournament of Champions now makes it possible for teams in Classes A, B and C to also get an opportunity to compete in the national tournament.

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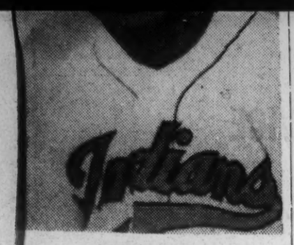

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May 17, 1954 U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools.

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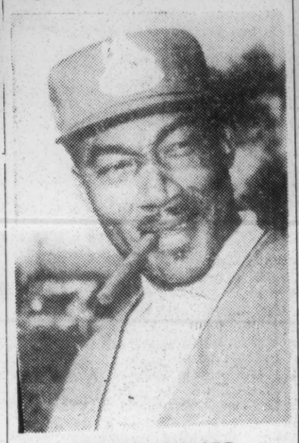

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Morehouse is a four-year liberal arts college for the education of young men for constructive leadership and service. Strong and vigorous academic programs are offered in sixteen major fields: 1) Art, 2) Biology, 3) Business Administration, 4) Chemistry, 5) Economics, 6) English, 7) History, 8) Mathematics, 9) Modern Foreign Languages, 10) Music, 11) Philosophy, 12) Physical Education, 13) Physics, 14) Political Science, 15) Psychology, and 16) Sociology. A carefully designed minor in Education is available to qualify students for state teaching certificates. A student may also minor in Drama, Library Science, and Religion.

Morehouse has an able faculty trained in the finest universities of the world. Nearly half of the teachers have earned the doc'orate degree.

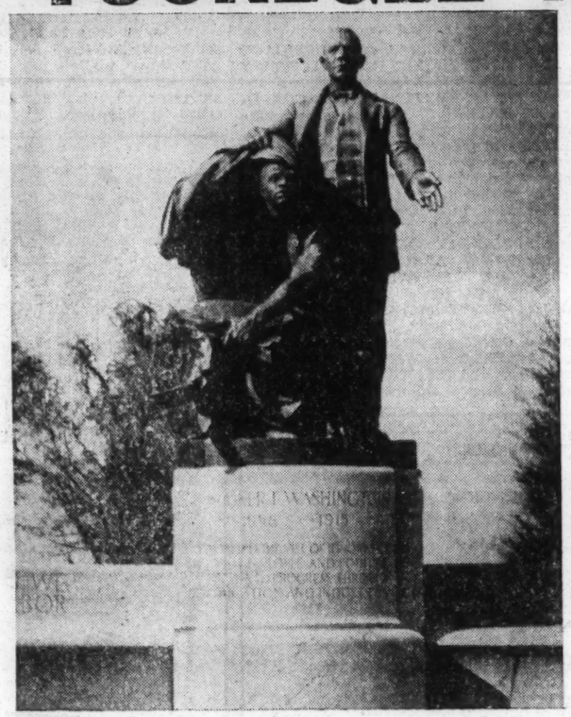
High academic standards and strong motivation are basic to the nature of education at Morehouse. In the ninety-six years since Morehouse was founded, its graduates have been found in positions of constructive leadership and service all over the world. They have achieved eminence in Education, as administrators (currently nine college presidents) and teachers; in Religion, as clergymen who pastor influential congregations, and who hold high appointive and elective offices in their denominations; in Governmen Service, as elected and appointed public officials, foreign service officers, and other positions of public trust; in Medicine, as dentists and physicians, as diplomates and fellows, as owners and administrators of hospitals and clinics; in Fraternal Organizations, as men in positions of leadership and influence; in Business, as bankers, insurance executives, realtors, scientists, men of industry and commerce; in Journalism and Public Relations, as executives, editors, and correspondents; in Law, as some of the most respected members of the American bar; in Civil Rights, as dedicated leaders who continue to generate great social change. More than thirty Morehouse graduates are diplomates in Medicine and ninety-four Morehouse graduates have earned academic doctorate degrees.

Since 1940, Benjamin E. Mays has been the sixth President. A distinguished educator, religious leader, writer, and scholar, he gives dynamic leadership to the character of education at Morehouse College.

One hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the 800-odd students from nearly every state in the Union and several foreign countries continue to pursue academic excellence in this climate of scholarship, motivation, and achievement.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

Founded in 1881



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OFFICE OF ADMISSIONS Tuskegee, Ala.

Many Pioneers Contributed To Atlanta Negro Business

By WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta today boasts one of the most thriving and successful Negro business empires of the nation, accounting for upwards of $80,000,000 in finance-controlling firms along two blocks of Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Most of presently flourishing businesses, including the remarkable housing developments, succeeded the burst bubble of Heman Perry's dream, or followed in the wake of his genius for organization, far ahead of his associates and time. However, Negroes — ex-slaves and freemen — who came to Terminus, later to be known as Marthasville, and then Atlanta, started contributing to the city's business enterprise years before Heman Perry arrived on the scene from Texas.

The Atlanta Life story, birthed and boomed by the late Alonzo F. Herndon and his successor son, Norris B., parellels and outlives the Perry dream.

It is worthy, therefore to go back to the Emancipation period and pick up a few of the business stalwarts who helped begin the Atlanta story, which has continued to astonish the world.

FIRST PROPERTY OWNER

The first colored person to own property in Terminus was one Mary Combs, where Wheat Street (now Auburn Avenue) meets Peachtree Street. The second was Ransome Montgomery, who had obtained his freedom by saving the lives of more than one hundred passengers during the burning of the bridge over the Chattahoochee river while a passenger train was crossing it. A few other freed persons brought property and organized to deal in services after Atlanta was chartered as a railroad city in 1848, but there is no recorded history of business names during the period preceding Sherman's conquest.

In 1867, when the Constitutional Convention met in Atlanta to map reconstruction of political affairs, there appeared many noble and patriotic leaders of color. The two races, at considerable odds over the result of the Civil War, vied for education, wealth, supremacy or existence.

JAMES TATE, in 1866 began a successful wholesale and retail grocery business on Walton street. He later occupied a two-story brick building on Decatur street.

Other business of this line followed in business dealing in rock-quarrying and dealing in sand and brick. The Cooperative SOUTH VIEW CEMETERY CO. during this period became what is now the oldest incorporated Negro business in Georgia.

The GEORGIA REAL ESTATE LOAN AND TRUST CO., the HON. H. A. RUCKER, president, developed, while the ATLANTA LOAN and TRUST CO., W. C. Redding, president, operated. FRIENDSHIP DRUG STORE ran under the firm of Drs. Asbury, Taylor and Company.

THE GOOD SAMARITAN ORDER, which bulit a fine four-story brick building on Ivy Street, the first Atlanta secret order to purchase real estate, was organized in Atlanta in 1875.

THE COLORED MEN'S PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION was organized by the Rev. N. J. Jones in 1886. It dealt in charitable, as well as business enterprise.

THE ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS, which later figured in construction of Atlanta's tallest Negro business structure, was chartered in 1871.

The Schell Opera House and Hall operated on West Mitchell St.

Associated with Mr. Rucker in the GEORGIA REAL ESTATE LOAN AND TRUST COMPANY were business and building stalwarts J. T. SCHELL, J. N. BLACKSHEAR, ALEX HAMILTON and FLOYD H. CRUMBLY.

WILLIAM C. ROSETTE, was an early real estate and renting agent: Augustus Thompson was a blacksmith in the rear of 69 South Pryor Street. Rev. William Finch was an ex-city councilman and tailor . . . Frank T. Howard, successful undertaker and embalmer, was the eldest son of David T. Howard.

H. A. HAGLER, editor-stationer, managed the ATLANTA TIMES, before starting the "People's Advocate" on his own. His influence resulted in the organization of the Negro Press Association of Georgia. He had associated with him in his job office, Moses Amos, leading Negro pharmacist in the state in the early '90's and who developed several paying enterprises, while owning much Atlanta real estate. The ATLANTA INDEPENDENT was founded in 1908 by Antone Graves, realtist. The ATLANTA POST ran same period.

DR. H. R. BUTLER and DR. T. H. SLATER developed what at one . . . THOMAS GOOSBY, artisan and merchant, followed the carpentry profession, was employed in the erection of the present Kimball House, the State capitol and other notable buildings, before becoming successful as a grocer . . . JAMES LEE HONEYWELL was a cigar maunfacturer and United States letter carrier . . . ELIJAH RICHARD GRAVES, a candy manufacturer, went into business for himself after working many years for the F. E. Block and Company . . . JACKSON McHENRY, hack and cab operator, was also a politician of note . . . JOHN W. WILLIAMS was a successful dyer . . DAVID W. RYAN was a successful picture frame maker and dealer in bronze, oxodized oaks, compositions and mouldings . . . J. O. CONNALLY was a sausage grinder and successful butcher . . . WILLIS SMITH was a progressive mechanic, having followed the trade of bridge-building and housebuilding with several assistants . . . GEORGE W. HATSFIELD conducted a well-paying grocery on Chapel Street . . . AARON PERRY had a "neat, inviting restaurant" on West Mitchell Street in 1889 . . . JAMES SIMONTON was an eminent merchant . . . FELIX BROWN, professor of the culinary art, developed wide trade . . . ALEXANDER HAMILTON, contractor and builder, was ranked as oneof the city's best long before the turn of the century . . . W. A. HARRIS became foreman and salesman for W. J. Willingham, the lumber dealer, developing ownership of cottages on Chapel Street . . . G. M. HOWELL developed one of the largest merchant tailoring businesses in the South . . . WILLIAM DRISCOLL, J. C. LINDSAY and others figured in Union Mutual, which was a forerunner of Atlanta Life.

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These were a few of the older stalwarts . . . In 1905, A. F. HERNDON organized the Atlanta Mutual Benefit Association, predecessor of the present Atlanta Life Insurance Company . . . On Sept. 26, 1916, the company was granted a new charter and is now listed with $6,836,526 in assets . . .

In 1903, HEMAN PERRY organized Standard Life Insurance . . . In 1921 he organized CITIZEN'S TRUST COMPANY . . . The Service Company had been begun by him in 1907, as a corporate . . . still figure in some of the most successful business enterprises of the race, both in Atlanta and the nation . . . W. J. SHAW was another touched by Perry, and who figured in other fraternal and business ventures . . .

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Architect Archie Alexander One Of Profession's Finest

Archie A. Alexander who died January 4, 1958, was born in Ottumwa, Iowa, in 1887. He attended the public schools in Des Moines and made a fine record in scholarship and athletics at West High School and Highland Park College. He entered the University of Iowa in 1908 and received the Bachelor of Science degree in 1912. In 1925, he was awarded an an honorary degree for achievement in his profession. When he was studying engineering, however, the head of the school tried to discourage him by saying that, although he had talent, his color would prevent him for finding employment.

For two years thereafter he was fortunate enough to get employment as a foreman for a bridge construction firm, and out of that experience became inspired to go into business for himself. His many jobs of construction work included several million-dollar projects. The first was in the building for his alma mater its heating plant and a system of tunnels under the Iowa River. This, he said, was the one project he was proudest of because it enabled him to convince his instructor that his race was not a bar to success in the field of engineering. In fact, the instructor was among those who recommended him for the job and took pride in the accomplishment.

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In 1920 he studied abroad at the University of London, and toured the British Isles, France and Belgium.

LOS ANGELES ATTORNEY NAMED TO JUDGESHIP

LOS ANGELES — (ANP) — Sherman W. Smith, Los Angeles Negro attorney, has been named to a Los Angeles county municipal judgeship by Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown.

Smith is a West Virginia State college graduate and an honor graduate of Howard University's school of law. He has practiced law in San Diego and here since passing the California bar in 1949.

He is a member of the NAACP, the Urban League, Omega Psi Phi fraternity and the American Legion.

Smith and his wife, the former Dr. Helen Marie Guenveur, have three children.

In accepting the appointment, Smith said:

"I am grateful to Gov. Brown for the confidence which he has reposed in me. I shall acquit myself in a manner that the Governor and the people of California will be proud of my career as a jurist. I welcome this new opportunity and challenge."

1863 1963

WE PROUDLY SALUTE

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

ON HIS

100 YEARS OF PROGRESS

AND

CONGRATULATE

THE ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

ON ITS

35 YEARS OF DISTINGUISHED SERVICE

IN THE NEWSPAPER FIELD

THE

PILGRIM HEALTH

& LIFE INSURANCE

COMPANY

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

pick up a few of the business stalwarts who helped begin the Atlanta story, which has continued to astonish the world.

FIRST PROPERTY OWNER

The first colored person to own property in Terminus was one Mary Combs, where Wheat Street (now Auburn Avenue) meets Peachtree Street. The second was Ransome Montgomery, who had obtained his freedom by saving the lives of more than one hundred passengers during the burning of the bridge over the Chattahoochee River while a passenger train was crossing it. A few other freed persons brought property and organized to deal in services after Atlanta was chartered as a railroad city in 1848, but there is no recorded history of business names during the period preceding Sherman's conquest.

In 1867, when the Constitutional Convention met in Atlanta to map reconstruction of political affairs, there appeared many noble and patriotic leaders of color. The two races, at considerable odds over the result of the Civil War, vied for education, wealth, supremacy or existence.

JAMES TATE, in 1866 began a successful wholesale and retail grocery business on Walton street. He later occupied a two-story brick building on Decatur street.

Other business of this line followed in the few years before the turn of the century. Around 1890, there were the storehouses of TATE and MURPHY on Decatur, of N. HOLMES and W.H. LANDRUM on West Mitchell; of M. V. JAMES on West Hunter, of P. ESCRIDGE, on Wheat Street; of I. P. Moyer, on Peters, as well as that of R. N. Davis on the same street.

On Wheat Street (now Auburn Avenue), the large fancy grocery of F. H. Crumbly prospered, along with his apartment holdings. Then there existed the business houses of PACE and C. C. CATER; the storehouse and residence of T. M. GOOSBY and Son; the bookstore of HAGLER & CO.; the pharmacy of Drs. T. H. Slater, H. R. Butler and Company. On Fraser Street, there were the storehouses and dwellings of WATTS, GRAHAM, EMERY, and EPPS & JONES. The grocery of JOHN ALEXANDER had its successful roots in this section.

J. McKINLEY developed a large business [illegible] Atlanta's earliest Negro business structure, was chartered in 1871.

The Schell Opera House and Hall operated on West Mitchell St.

Associated with Mr. Rucker in the GEORGIA REAL ESTATE LOAN AND TRUST COMPANY were business and building stalwarts J. T. SCHELL, J. N. BLACKSHEAR, ALEX HAMILTON and FLOYD H. CRUMBLY.

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DR. H. R. BUTLER and DR. T. H. SLATER developed what at one time was referred to as the largest retail Negro drug establishment in the nation . . . JAMES C. ODOM was a thriving grocery merchant, having bought out his partner's share in Goodlett & Odom . . . LEWIS H. COX became a successful merchant after careers of shipping clerk and stenographer . . . J. W. COX developed the hack and shoemaker's businesses . . . GREEN W. WILSON was a successful butcher on Tattnall Street, having opened the business in 1891 . . . MORGAN McNAIR repaired sewing machines, after an apprenticeship with Singer Co., his place of business being at 43 West Mitchell street . . .

JOHN OLIVER ROSS engaged in grocery business after 1889, later developing other enterprises including the Atlanta State Savings Bank (failed in 1921) . . . CORNELIUS KING, son of a Cherokee Indian mother in Mississippi, founded Atlanta's still successful real estate firm, following a varied career in government and service wide trade . . . ALEXANDER HAMILTON, contractor and builder, was ranked as oneof the city's best long before the turn of the century . . . W. A. HARRIS became foreman and salesman for W. J. Willingham, the lumber dealer, developing ownership of cottages on Chapel Street . . . G. M. HOWELL developed one of the largest merchant tailoring businesses in the South . . . WILLIAM DRISCOLL, J. C. LINDSAY and others figured in Union Mutual, which was a forerunner of Atlanta Life.

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Clark College

Founded 1869

NEARLY 100 YEARS OF DISTINGUISHED SERVICE TO AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

"Culture for Service" is the motto of Clark College. It is basically the guiding philosophy of the institution — handed down for nearly a century — firmly a part of the lives of thousands of Clark graduates the world over. It is a motto and a tradition. It has guided the steady growth of Clark through the early years and dominated the explosive growth of the college in the past two decades.

The founders of Clark College would be proud to see their school now; for it is a prominent and widely-respected institution known for its productivity, its program and its deep-rooted educational philosophy.

When the college celebrated its 94th anniversary last week it looked back on a panorama of the people and events which provided the base for Clark's educational prominence; it looked ahead to already-blueprinted growth in the future; it hailed the present year as another colorful chapter in a history crammed full of glowing episodes.

It was merely six years after Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation that Clark College had its birth. It was unheralded and came modestly in little Clark Chapel Methodist Church in the Summer Hill section of Atlanta. Its growth was steady and the institution was never out of touch with the events which unfolded on either side.

Now approaching its centennial year, Clark has returned the investment of its friends and supporters with prideful increment. Its graduates have been sent throughout the land and abroad, making productive contributions wherever they are located. Its present students are reaping the benefits of a foresighted administration and a dynamic faculty.

ON ITS

35 YEARS OF DISTINGUISHED SERVICE IN THE NEWSPAPER FIELD

THE

PILGRIM HEALTH & LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

Celebrating our 65th Anniversary by Introducing Ordinary and Weekly Premium Plans to the Insuring Public in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Florida, on April 1, 1963.

The crisp, new, custom look of

CHRYSLER '63

Chrysler '63! Especially designed to set the pace in styling. ■ The one car that could make its beautiful custom impression *without* its nameplate. Crisp, original lines are Chrysler's own. ■ Top styling experts agree. They say "... racy, thoroughbred look ... the new American fashion ..." "Clean, crisp, sleek lines ..." "... lack of flashy costume trimming." ■ Full-size, *all* over. Every Chrysler is V-8 powered. No "jr. editions" to undercut your big-car investment or penalize your pride. Just come in and see!

HARRY SOMMERS, INC.
446 SPRING STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GA.

WAGSTAFF MOTOR CO., INC.
SPRING & 8TH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GA.

HENRY MOTOR COMPANY
2485 MAIN STREET
EAST POINT, GA.

BUCKHEAD CHRYSLER-PLYMOUTH, INC.
3126 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA, GA.

DeKALB CHRYSLER-PLYMOUTH, INC.
303 ATLANTA AVENUE
DECATUR, GA.

The Emancipated Negro American: Progress, Opportunity, Challenge In The Years Ahead

By ALONZO T. STEPHENS

The United States of North America is a great nation of many peoples, ideals, traditions and concepts. It is a land where each of the following terms in some degree explain what the country was, is, and will become. Regionalism, sectionalism, evolution, revolution, slavery, and freedom and many more words describe the great republic. The United States of North America is a world melting pot. European — Spanish, French, Dutch, English, German; Asian — Chinese, Japanese; African — Natives of Central and West Africa; South American; Native American Indians and Eskimos; and many more in smaller numbers from all sections of the earth find opportunity for work and a chance to live in the United States.

It is inevitable that there must be conflicts and problems when so many people from so many lands and cultures mix to find a way of life in such a short period.

In 1607, the first permanent English settlement was made in Jamestown, Virginia. In 1619 Negroes representing a foreign and alien race came to that settlement. It was perhaps natural that they would work only a few years as indentured servants, later to be converted to complete slave status. In the following year, 1620, the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, Massachusetts. In time the two settlements — Virginia and Massachusetts became symbols of two great but distinct economic, social, political and intellectual sections, the South and the North.

As both sections grew, the South more agricultural and the North more industrial, it was inevitable that only a crisis would bind them together. Compromises failed to unite the two giant forces. The Compromise of 1788 — the three-fifth representation clause, the pledge to re-examine the slave trade in 1808; the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance (in regard to slavery North of the Ohio River); the Compromise of 1820 (Missouri-slave and Maine-free) and no extension of slavery North of 36 degrees and 30 minutes; the Compromise of 1850 (which extended the concept of 1820 by making all persons North or South, East or West, Slave or Free, responsible for the reporting and recapture of a run away slave, all only delayed the day in which a solution would have to be made on the question of Negro slavery and of the two contesting economic systems.

SOUTHERN PRESIDENTS

From 1789 to 1860, except in a few cases — John Adams and John Q. Adams, Martin Van Buren, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan — the executive branch of the United States was dominated by Southern Presidents. After 1860 the situation is reversed and only three men — Thomas Woodrow Wilson, Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisen-

ernment — Senate and House of Representatives, was in the hands of the South, even though in some years they formed the minority. Moreover, before 1860 the Supreme Court was packed with Southern men but since 1860 the men of the North gained positions in the Supreme Court. The above outlined composition of the United States of North America's chief governmental branches explains why the revolution, as it affected the Negro, took certain turns at different times in United States history.

April is an important month in the history of the United States. April 12, 1861 the Confederate bombardment of Fort Sumter began at 4:30 a.m. Before the last surrender of the Civil War (General E. Kirby in Texas on May 26, 1865) would be accepted the Negro would become a liberated man who would begin a long, bitter and upward climb to full freedom of opportunity and challenge and resposibility.

"One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the War. To strength, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object which the insurgents would rend the Union even by War, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained."

INTENTION OF RESTORATION

Lincoln's second inaugural message indicated that his intention to restore Southern states quickly and without recrimination is one of the great truths of his administration. The quoted portion above and the extracted portion below attest to the humanitarian spirit of the Great Emancipator.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to fin-

nations."

The Civil War after four years of destruction and construction ended in April 1865 and President Abraham Lincoln was shot the same month. One-hundred years later the Negro was not yet free. Job, residence, education, social and other types of discrimination, too numerous to mention, were very much evident throughout the land. Progress could be seen in almost every facet of American life but much of this progress could be measured and seen and accepted by the present generation of whites and Negroes.

World War II after four years ended in 1945, the formation of the United Nations in the same year, the rapid growth of Russia, with a hope of extending itself over all areas of the world, the independence agitations of African, Asian, Latin American and other underdeveloped or former colonial peoples, the development in practical religious action the great educational, cultural and economic advances; the Supreme Court, Federal, State and Interstate Commerce Commission decisions rendered in behalf of the Negro, plus a desire on the part of the nation to maintain its position as a leader of the West and of the world all worked in favor of new steps in the right direction for all people. The Negro perhaps benefitted the most, but the United States gained much in the period 1945-1962.

THIRD REVOLUTION

The Civil War was America's third great Revolution. The American Revolution, 1770-1783 and the Jeffersonian-Jacksonian Revolution, 1800-1840 were the first and second great changes in American's political life before the War Between the States. Not only was the vote extended but Negroes gained freedom, citizenship, and the right to marry, own property and to have a business and develop a family of his own. To be more exact the Civil War gave the Negro the right to be a human being in the land of the free and home of the brave, and the right to have opportunity and responsibility for his own life and for the life of his great nation .

Moreover the Civil War united the United States for the first time because the destruction of the Confederacy settled one great constitutional issue — the nature of the Union. After 1865 millions of small white farmers and citizens who formally did not work for wages, send their children to school or have any real hope for advancement in the land of great promise found that they too were citizens of the great nation. By 1900 when the United States had become the greatest industrial na-

erick Douglass but all was not completely bright for a revolution of such great change and magnitude takes time. One author put it this way.

"In Mrs. Stowe's day the caste system could not look quite so evil because the American Negro had not yet had reasonable opportunity to show what was in him. The raeists' position as of 1850 had not yet been riddled by the examples of writers like James Weldon Johnson; statesmen like Ralph Bunche; judges like William L. Hastie; scientists like George Washington Carver; Negro organizers like Booker T. Washington and Lester Grainger."

The changes in America and for the Negro, since the Emancipation Proclamation, in spite of handicaps and opposition, have been great and phenomenal. Thousands of young men and women now work and study toward jobs and positions in the main stream of economic life. Negroes are gaining seats in local, state and national government son merit and there are indications that the year 1963 will be a year of new gains, accomplishments and of new orientations, faith and dedication to the American dream, even in greater proportion than any could fairly predict ten years ago.

The nation, except in a few instances, has come to view the Negro as a partner, and an asset, rather than as an alien or liability.

Charles Johnson,

(Continued from Page One)

to the accomplishments of her husband.

The ten years of Dr. Johnson's administration at Fisk University represent progress and a contribution to that illustrious institution's distinguished tradition. This has been unique in many respects of cultural and scholastic eminence. The loyalty and devotion of the Fisk Alumni have no parallel or equal among similar institutions. Recently, there have been some comparisons on the relative distinctions of alumni of some colored colleges. Those of Fisk are so outstanding that the mentioning of four names only is sufficient to rest the case for Fisk—DuBois, Franklin, Haynes, and Wesley (Charles).

Dr. Johnson developed at Fisk one of the most comprehensive centers of record for the scientific examination of interracial relations. Each year he brought to Fisk outstanding authorities in this difficult field to conduct seminars which probed into the intricacies of Negro-white problems. The summaries and announcements have been guides during recent years for the most perplexing social problems which have faced the South since the Civil War. These investigations and exchanges had the calm judgment and statesmanlike leadership of Charles Spurgeon Johnson to guide the specialists whom he secured for the Institutes of Racial Relations which he founded and directed. While DuBois originated the ideas in his Atlanta University studies and publications a generation earlier, Johnson assembled his in a series of his books. That what he did was of paramount importance at critical times and since 1954 needs no comment.

1863 1963

A CENTURY AFTER EMAMCIPATION

MAY WE LIFT OUR EYES TO FREEDOM
MAY IT NEVER PERISH FROM THE EARTH

YATES & MILTON DRUG STORES

NO. 1 – 228 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
NO. 2 – 767 FAIR STREET, S.W.
NO. 3 – 676 FAIR STREET, S.W.
NO. 4 – 1029 McDANIEL STREET, S.W.
NO. 5 – 1063 PERRY BOULEVARD, N.W.

1863 1963

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

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But even though Northern men were generally elected to the presidency in the period 1860 to 1962, the legislative branch of the gov- at 4:30 a.m. Before the last surrender of the Civil War (General E. Kirby in Texas on May 26, 1865) would be accepted the Negro would become a liberated man who would begin a long, bitter and upward climb to full freedom of opportunity and challenge and resposibility.

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Gone were the pre-Civil War days of Harriet B. Stowe and Fred-

ten years ago.

The nation, except in a few in- gro as a partner, and an asset, rather than as an alien or liability.

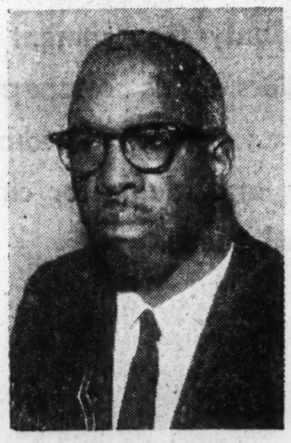
MAY WE CONGRATULATE YOU
ON
100 YEARS OF WORTHY PROGRESS

KASH and KARRY Mkt.

162 HUNTER STREET, S.W.

MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE

SALUTES THE CENTENNIAL
of the
EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION



DR. FRANK CUNNINGHAM
President

It is quite fitting and proper that Morris Brown College should join the Atlanta Daily World in saluting the one hundred years of Emancipation.

Morris Brown is symbolic of the struggles and travail of the Negro in this country. It was founded in 1881 by underprivileged people whose aim was to educate our people, thus freeing them from poverty, superstition, racial inferiority and second-class citizenship.

Since its founding Morris Brown's course has been up-stream, its battle against the tide. It has had to depend for the most part upon the meager support from Negroes, almost all of whom are poor.

In spite of the uphill struggle that has been Morris Brown's, it has become a first-rate college, holding unconditional membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Its graduates have excelled in education, religion, business, law, medicine, journalism, and other fields.

Morris Brown College is a by-product of the movement began by Richard Allen in 1787, which was the founding of the A.M.E. Church. It is significant that the movement started in the same year and in the same city where the United States Constitution was set in motion. Both were efforts at achieving freedom for Americans. It is also noteworthy that Richard Allen planted the foundation upon which Abraham Lincoln based his Proclamation of Emancipation in 1863.

In fine then, Morris Brown College happily joins the Atlanta Daily World in observing 100 years of freedom.

Dr. Frank Cunningham, President

NORTH CAROLINA
MUTUAL LIFE
INSURANCE COMPANY

The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company is proud of its contribution to the history and development of our race as we celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Organized on October 20, 1898 and today serving nearly 800,000 policyholders in the 11 states and the District of Columbia with assets exceeding 76 million dollars–the North Carolina Mutual is more than a business institution–it is a symbol: a symbol of Negro enterprise, faith, courage, initiative, industry, determination, perserverance, and integrity.

It is the largest Negro owned and operated business in the world, and is a shining example of what can happen in America.

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.

ASA. T. SPAULDING, PRESIDENT

HOME OFFICE: DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

FULTON COUNTY GOVERNMENT

AREA, 550 SQUARE MILES—POPULATION, 600,000—REGISTERED VOTERS, 177,475
WHERE CLIMATE, EDUCATION, AND INDUSTRY ENCOURAGE GOOD CITIZENSHIP

Created in 1853, Fulton County has for more than a century enjoyed excellent climatic and public health conditions, has a traditional background of churches, offers excellent educational facilities, and good emplyoment opportunities in industrial vocations.

tion, served by major Railroads, Air Lines, and Highways. Fulton County Government owns more than 2,000 acres of County land zoned and platted for new industry, with water, sewer, railroad, and other utilities available. 10,000 additional acres of industrial land are available to industry in the County. At the close of 1962, Metro-

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A moderate climate in a progressive county averaging over 1,000 feet above sea level contributes to comfortable living and working conditions.

Among the higher educational institutional facilities, and good employment opportunfiliated with established religious doctrinal associations.

Fulton County Government administers county-wide public health services, operating 20 neighborhood clinics and a central clinic-laboratory-administration building, serving all races.

The urbanized area of the County has an impressive record of diversified industrialization, served by major Railroads, Air Lines, and Highways. Fulton County Government owns more than 2,000 acres of County land zoned and platted for new industry, with water, sewer, railroad, and other utilities available. 10,000 additional acres of industrial land are available to industry in the County. At the close of 1962, Metropolitan Atlanta area reported an all time high of 456,350 persons gainfully employed. Over 3,500 leading national business concerns have operations in this county, including Atlanta, the county seat-capital city of Georgia.

Interest of our Negro citizens in governmental affairs is indicated by the high figure of 26% of total County Voter registration.

Your County Government extends its greetings to readers of this newspaper as it joins hands with its management in promoting better living standards and ideals for citizens of all classes, races, and creeds.

COMMISSIONERS OF ROADS & REVENUES

ARCHIE LINDSEY
CHAIRMAN

HAROLD F. McCART
VICE CHAIRMAN

JAS. H. ALDREDGE
MEMBER

Atlanta Daily World

SECTION THREE ATLANTA (3), GEORGIA, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6, 1963 (CENTENNIAL EDITION) PAGE ONE

Organizations Kept The Negro "Inchin Along" For Equality

By GEORGE M. COLEMAN

Individual freedom for the American Negro has been "A Hard Row To Hoe," in stark contrast to the wonderful words of the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, but unlike the ambigious charge of Southern politicians that the dark man is satisfied, history has shown a steady flow of organizations to "Keep Inchin Along" until the distant star of equality one day is reached.

This has been true, although the nation's historians have cleverly avoided enough detail to show that the racial struggle has been an active thing since the first slave was whipped, the first Negro woman was violated.

Of course, truly organized efforts came with the patient crusade of Booker T. Washington, and were brought into a far more liberal focus with the victory of Dr. W.E. B. DuBois over the outdated ideals of the President of Tuskegee Institute.

And Atlanta, strong in national leadership today, was no less a vibrant force in the battle for equality at the turn of the century when forces were established to lay the ground work of much of what is being done today.

BEGUN BY SLAVES

But the idea of organization to oppose racial indignities seems to have begun with rebellions against slavery itself by slaves, who although they held no conventions, passed no resolutions, are remembered by Negroes for their often futile efforts.

And while names of great white leaders, who fought and died for freedom, should be recalled, it is the emergence of Negroes fighting for themselves to which this article is dedicated.

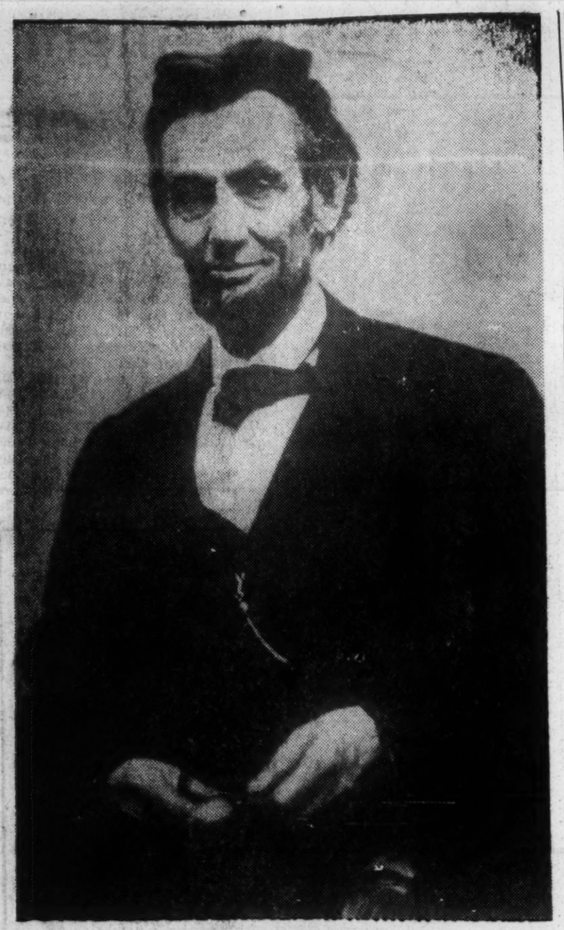
One of the first organizations to be formed was the National Negro Business League, formed by Mr. Washington at the turn of the century.

Washington, a disciple of Civil War General Samuel Armstrong, first President of Hampton Institute, had placed his emphasis on developing the Negro to become strong in industry to increase his power.

The West Virginian had accepted that desegregation and full equality were long way off, and his famous speech delivered in Atlanta in 1895, declared "When your head is in the lion's mouth, use your hand to pet him."

Realizing the full power of the

(Continued on Page Five)



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
(16th President of The United States)

Georgia's West Point Graduate Flipper Honored

Henry Ossian Flipper died May 5, 1940. He was born in Thomasville, Thomas County, Georgia, March 21, 1856. He was the eldest of five brothers. His mother was the slave of the Rev. Reuben Lucky, a Methodist Minister. Henry Ossian Flipper's father, Festus Flipper, was a shoemaker and carriage-trimmer owned by Ephriam G. Ponder, a slave trader. Young Flipper learned to read in 1864 in a night school; but, when Sherman's Army came, the school had to flee. Flipper attended the Missionary Schools of his area after the Emancipation and finally advanced far enough to study at Atlanta University in the College Department.

Flipper reached the turning point in his career when he secured through J. C. Freeman, the Congressman from his District, an appointment as a cadet at the West Point Military Academy. He passed the entrance examination, was admitted, and made a good standing in his studies. He met with all sorts of insults and discrimination in the worst form, aggravated by newspaper comments that he would be "slaughtered" before graduation. Flipper, however, paid no attention to these persons and their comments and kept on studying. He was graduated with honor with the class in 1877. Of the courtesy and kindness shown him by the professors and officers at West Point Flipper spoke most highly.

Flipper met outside of West Point the same general hostility to a Negro Army Officer which he met as a cadet at the Academy. Wherever he went, military honors were give him only begrudgingly. While the Negroes were highly elated to have him referred to as the first Negro product of West Point, the whites bore it very grievously that a black man had been thus elevated. Flipper did not remain long in the service before charges of misconduct were lodged against him — such charges that one cannot easily refute or prove. General Shafter, it is said, did not like Flipper. He heard that Flipper was spending money rather freely as canteen officer of the regiment. He ordered Flipper arrested and called upon him for an accounting. Flipper produced some of the money for which he was responsible and informed Shafter that the balance was on deposit. Shafter wanted to know where, but Flipper refused to say. He did produce the balance in a few days, but he was dismissed just the same. Under similar circumstances before the Civil War General U. S. Grant was allowed to resign when his friends made up the missing funds. Flipper's friends say that he was "framed." Be that as it may, however, his superiors accepted those complaints as true and he was dismissed from the United States Army.

After leaving the army Flipper worked as an engineer and made a good reputation in this sphere. He operated chiefly in Latin America. Near the end of his career he made his home in Atlanta with his brother, Bishop Joseph Simeon Flipper, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. There the former Lieutenant died May 5, 1940.

JOHNSON IS FIRST GEORGIA SOLON SINCE RECONSTRUCTION

This Emancipation Centennial year of 1963 is being made epochal by the election of Attorney Leroy R. Johnson to The State Senate of Georgia as the first Negro to be a member of The State Legislature of Georgia since Reconstruction Days. He is representing the newly-created 38th District in Metropolitan Fulton County which is result of the reapportionment effort and in which Negroes constitute a 60% majority of the population.

Born in Atlanta on July 28, 1928, Atty. Johnson graduated from B. T. Washington High School in Atlanta in 1945. He received the Bachelor of Arts from Morehouse College in 1949 and the Master of Arts degree from Atlanta University in 1951. At Morehouse his major-minor was Sociology and History while at Atlanta University, his major was Political Science. He subsequently received the LL.B. degree from the North Carolina such appointment.

In his profession of Law, Attorney Johnson has achieved honors and a record of distinguished service. In 1955-56, he was president of the Law School Student Bar Association. He was the first person of color to hold the position of Vice president of the 4th Circuit of American Law Students Association, which is composed of Law Schools in the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Citizens' Democratic Clubs, Chairman of the Fulton County Citizen's Democratic Club and Vice President from Georgia of the Southern Conference of Democrats.

In Atlanta, he is a member of Wheat Street Baptist Church, an original member of the Board of Directors of The Atlanta Inquirer, member of the Board of Directors of Campfire Girls, Inc., and member of the Executive Committee of The Atlanta Committee for Corporative Action.

Attorney Johnson is married to Mrs. Cleopatra Whittington Johnson, Librarian in The Atlanta Public School and has an eleven year old son, Michael V. Johnson.

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For four years (1950-54) Atty. Johnson was a teacher of Social Science in the Atlanta Public School System. For the past five years (1957-1962) he was employed as a Criminal Investigator on the Solicitor's General's Staff for the 5th Judicial District — Fulton County — as the first Negro in the Southeastern States to have such appointment.

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In Political activities, his wide participation includes membership on the Executive Committee of the Atlanta Negro Voters League, one of the three founders of Atlanta's Junior Voters League, Vice President of the Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs, Chairman of the Fulton County Citizen's Democratic Club and Vice President from Georgia of the Southern Conference of Democrats.

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LeROY R. JOHNSON

Myth Of The Separate But Equal Status In The U. S.

By DR. T. J. FLANAGAN

"SEPARATE BUT EQUAL"

Well have many court decisions been handed down to the effect that separate education is by no means equal. Strange indeed how on earth could those who devised the term felt that such a fallacy could long endure in the sunlight of reason and truth.

For many years we have had with us those separate projects for education of Negro youths. These were located in Negro communities where the Negro population was dense and were built with all their inferior effects so as to suggest to those who sought a haven there for education, that they were being given inferior advantage in the area of education. Still those faithful teachers among us carried on brilliantly and with such as they had, did a good job.

Today it is a far cry from the "separate but equal" shanties—shanties that cursed Atlanta and the South for many generations. We saw them dotted from Summer Hill all through Pittsburgh, Darktown, Reynoldstown, Roach Street, Mitchell Street and elsewhere. There were a few brick structures here and there like the old Gray Street School, the Summer Hill School and a few where whites moved out and Negroes came in. The Walker Street School, the Ashby Street (later named E. R. Carter, the Capitol Avenue, The Whitefoord Street and so on.

It is encouraging to note that in a later day when the conscious of the city was worrying it and growing pains ached on every side, there came into being a move for the modernization of the system. Schools began to bear names of educators, upstanding citizens, clergymen and business and professional men. This not only gave a new touch, but a better taste and something for youth to strive after.

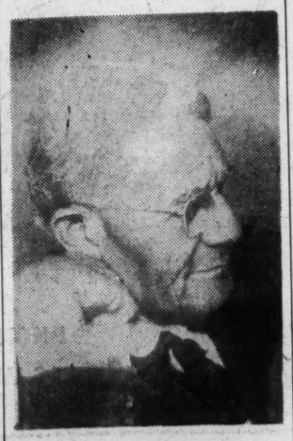
The H. R. Butler School, on Yonge Street was named for one of Atlanta's first physicians, who not only practiced medicine but was dean of a Nurse Training School at the old Morris Brown College plant on Boulevard. The Thomas H. Slater School was named for another pioneer Negro physician, Dr. Thomas H. Slater who made his footprints on the sands of professional and civic endeavors.

The Charles L. Harper School is one of the finest projects to be found anywhere in the city. It well symbolizes the hard work and true worth of Principal Charles L. Harper who made such a fine record as principal of Booker T. Washington High School in Atlanta, our finest high school in the system.

No name among us in the educational arena shines brighter than that of Mrs. M. Agnes Jones, who was for years Supervisor of Atlanta Negro School System. Mrs. Jones was a former principal and gave the major portion of her life to education in this community and state. The school in West End not only bears her illustrous name, but the street bounding the property on the east is known as Agnes Jones Place.

The old Davis Street School proudly bears the name of Mary McLeod Bethune, that fine South Carolinian who made such a fine contribution in the field of education. She founded the Bethune-Cookman College at Daytona Beach, Florida, and proudly Atlanta has erected a monument to her memory.

On Holly Road, we have the Clarissa Clement School, named for the mother of the Atlanta Board of Education, Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University. The Henry McNeal Turner High School out Anderson Avenue, was named from one of the AME Bishops who was a pioneer Missionary spirit right after the Civil War. He was a great soldier, crusader, member of the General Assembly of Georgia and powerful preacher.



DR. T. J. FLANAGAN

The old Gray Street School has been re-christened the Robert L. Craddock School, pioneer citizen and insurance man, who lived and worked so long in that community. The I. P. Reynolds School is out at Reynoldstown and named for one of Atlanta's pioneer realty operators, who made his home and developed the area bearing his name. On Richardson Street will be found the Edwin Percy Johnson School, named for a pioneer Baptist Minister who was one of Atlanta University's early graduates. The A. F. Herndon School on Simpson Road is another project bearing the name of a wealthy and worthy citizen of Atlanta who not only operated a chain of barber shops, but founded the Atlanta Life Insurance Company.

The beautiful John Hope School on Irwin Street and the Archer School out at Perry Homes are two projects bearing the names of two presidents of Morehouse College. Near the Perry Homes is the Carrie Pitts Elementary School, bearing the name of one of Atlanta's early school teachers and civic leaders. The Jessie Mae Jones School was named for an Atlanta Principal, the late Jessie Mae Jones who made a long and brilliant career in the teaching profession.

The Ashby Street School, taken over for Negro children living in the community was named for Rev. E. R. Carter who was minister of Friendship Baptist Church for 62 years.

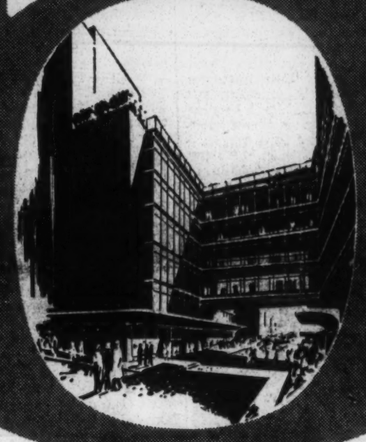
Another fine project commemorating the blessed memory of a hard worker, a former educator and business and civic spirit, is the Rosalie Wright Elementary School.

The Charles Gideon School in the old Pittsburgh section is an appropriate memorial to one of Atlanta's top educators of his time.

A fine county school out in the Fairburn section would be the W. A. Fountain School, named for one of the Bishops of the AME Church, who was born at Elberton and who

(Continued on Page Five)

we believe



that prices at Rich's must be as low or lower than any in town, That's why Rich's keeps a staff of comparison shoppers shopping the town. They look. They compare. Check to see that quality for quality, Rich's is not undersold.

We believe that high quality is maintained at lower prices because of the tremendous buying power that Rich's has established throughout the world in 95 years of storekeeping. This buying power enables Rich's to pass the savings on to the customer, and Rich's buyers stay in the major markets, ready to buy at price advantage on the spot. And Rich's own merchandise, made to our rigid specifications by the world's most famous manufacturers, and purchased in great quantities, make it possible for us to offer high quality merchandise at much lower prices.

We believe that the customer is always right. This belief is backed up by adherence to Rich's traditionally liberal return policy . . . with complete satisfaction for the customer. Whether you're buying or returning merchandise. Rich's believes you deserve the same, friendly, courteous treatment.

We believe that Rich's customers are entitled to the widest possible selection of timely, fresh, useful merchandise. That's why you always find the South's widest assortment here. We believe that credit should function to the customer's advantage. That's why Rich's liberal attitude about credit is talked about far and wide.

We believe that no transaction is complete until you're satisfied, be it price, quality, selection, service or a friendly smile.

RICH'S

THE CENTENNIAL OF THE NEGRO-PROGRESS OR CHANGE

By HEMAN M. SWEATT
Associate Director, Southern Region Urban League, Inc.

The period spanning the last twenty-five years has given the Negro in America more "firsts" than he has experienced in the whole of his history. Television, radio, newspapers and magazines remind us daily of these break-throughs, and each such development is accepted as evidence per se of the Negro's climb to equality.

It, therefore, comes as a shock to our equalitarian thesis when the more meaningful balance sheets reveal that these "firsts" have in reality created a mirage by bringing us face to face with the fact that almost negligible change is taking place in the economic gap between the Negro and his fellow citizens.

In evaluating the true economic status of the Negro in America, it is pertinent therefore not only to analyze the level of living of the Negro but also to investigate the difference between Negroes and whites.

This, at any period or in any comparison of periods, leads to a consideration of such related questions as whether Negroes have better or poorer facilities than whites; e. g., whether they have to pay more for the same kind of houses, whether the public economy represents a net benefit or the other way around, etc.

Moreover, it involves a comparative analysis of the number of wage earners per family who are involved in amassing the economic resources for heightening family income and unit standards of living.

Add to this criteria the results of an accurate inquiry into the job inlets that are developing for Negroes as they relate to classification changes constantly taking place in industry, and a host of related factors pertinent to a tally sheet from which to draw proper distiction between change and progress. They are not one and the same; nor does the one flow inevitably from the other.

Therefore, the centennial of the American Negro's change in national legal status is apt to produce, for a period, the largest outflow of "progress reports" on the economic and social status of the American Negro than we have ever witnessed, though most of them will reflect preoccupations with change rather than fundamental improvements as measured against the aforementioned gap.

Interesting enough, the centennial of the Negro's "freedom" arrives at a period of the most problematical industrial transition of the Nation's history —— Automation!

All to suddenly, therefore, the demands educationally, in training and experience, are shifting increasingly distant from the quality of education to which the Negro has been exposed, the training of most pronounced past discrimination and [illegible] experience [illegible]

the greatest roadblocks.

The present then tells us much about the past and its impact upon the present "progress status" of the Negro.

As Negro citizens for generations have not benefited equitably from the billions of dollars of public funds spent for federal, state and local programs in employment, housing, health, welfare and education, the question arises as to the extent to which he is any more equitably situated today for the onsetting transitions than he was for the others of the past.

True he stands on the threshold of rights and respects long denied. But rights and respects are empty symbols unless they can be translated into tangible social, economic and cultural gains.

However unpleasant the reminder, the Centennial of Negro "emancipation" finds us too heavily burdened with an 80 percent population that falls between a 20 percent, itself divided between the highly trained and skilled and the hopelessly scarred, permanently demoralized and destined for chronic dependency.

This eighty per cent who fall between these extremes range from below -average to the level of potential genius, who, unless something is done about them, face a midnight of horror and disillusionment unparallel in our history.

Unless we can begin to get entrance jobs into all types of employment, available middle-income housing, good, comprehensive, educational opportunities, this period of centennial observance will prove to be truly the era which Dr. Covant rightly calls "social dynamite' and which in this setting, assumes the potential of a nuclear explosion. Change or progress? A cause for celebration or a warning of the short time ahead to de-fuse the powder-keg?

MAJOR SETBACK

An effort to "liberalize" the Senate Finance Committee has ended in failure.

The Senate Democratic Steering committee refused to expand the Finance Committee recently by adding two Democratic supporters of President Kennedy's tax and medical-care programs. Thus, the Finance Committee remains at [illegible]

PRESIDENT LINCOLN and his Cabinet signing "The Emancipation Proclamation" Standing from left to right are: Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of Treasury; Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior; Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General. Seated, left to right are: Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War; Abraham Lincoln, President; Gideon Wells, Secretary of the Navy; William H. Seward, Secretary of State; and Edward Bates, Attorney General. — (Library of Congress)

A New Birth Of Freedom

By E. PAULINE MYERS

The efforts of the Negro to give substance to this freedom, while arousing mixed emotions and provoking much controversy along some fronts, have made their appeals to the noblest aspirations of American life and to the highest precepts of the Judeo-Christian conscience.

They have given rise to the relinquishing of special privileges, the development of concepts of human dignity and individual worth, the widening of opportunities and the lowering of barriers. These values are of the very essence of democracy. The drive and spirit of moral and religious forces to extend the areas of freedom in America and to restore ethical practices abroad must be attributed in a very large measure to the irrepressive and heroic a struggle of the Negro minority to secure these rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The fight for Civil Rights — the concept of equality and freedom for all is an American concern in the truest sense of the word. This has been the Negro's historic mission not because he is a saint, not because he is a courageous lover of freedom, but because he is a victim.

Some day when the "clash of color" ceases to exist, someone may write an Odyssey about the Negro's contribution to human progress and his part in the American [illegible] most impressive folk-epics of human history.

To comprehend the Negro in America one must trace his path for eight or nine human generations through a long inferno of chattel slavery and purgatory of testing struggle and development. This must be seen not as something to be explained away, but as a part of the phenomena of history to be approached with scientific objectivity.

EPOCHAL ADVENTURE

Pursued against great odds and oppositions, favored at certain critical times by saving alliances with the forces of social and moral liberalism, the Negro's unending struggle to achieve first-class citizenship has been an epochal adventure. The late James Weldon Johnson has paraphrased it in these immortal lines:

"We have come over a way that with tears has been watered. We have come treading the paths through the blood of the slaughtered. Out of the Gloomy past 'till now we stand at last, where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

might prevail.

The dedication of inspired, consecrated humane men and women to the causes of Negro freedom, advancement ,equality and human rights, generally, has helped to provide one of the richest spiritual experiences of American life.

In the midst of a hostile world, hardened by custom, and weakened by cowardice, these men and women were among the first to claim on our behalf certain inherent and inalienable rights that we can no longer do without.

HUMAN RIGHTS

With their toil, suffering and blood, they claimed these rights for others not for one race, nor one class — but for all humanity. They recognized, quite simply, a human duty which would have been dishonorable for them not to fulfill — and they fulfilled it. That is where the real value of human rights lies. Some were inspired by conscience, some by reason, some by science, some by charity and others because they were victims — but they all knew that they would not live to see the end of the struggle nor celebrate a victory. Now they are gone, are we therefore to regard these rights as free gifts?

Historians of the future may record this 20th Century as the era of liberation of colonial and sub- [illegible] peoples all over the world. As

Wilkins Delivers L. T. Wright Lecture In N. Y.

NEW YORK — Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, will deliver the Louis T. Wright Memorial Lecture at Harlem Hospital Center, Wednesday, March 6.

This is the tenth annual observance honoring the former director of surgery at Harlem Hospital. Dr. Wright served the hospital for more than thirty years.

He also served as chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors from 1932 to 1952. Dr. Wright pioneered in the fight to secure staff positions for Negro doctors in New York City hospitals.

An authority on the treatment of accidental injuries, particularly fractures of the skull, Dr. Wright also pioneered in cancer and antibioti research.

He was president of the Harlem Hospital Medical Board at the time of his death in 1952. In addition, he was the 25th recipient of the NAACP Spingarn Medal "for his contributions to the healing of mankind . . ."

Secretary Wilkins' address will be entitled, "Louis T. Wright: Fighter for Equality and Excellence."

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met Thee—
Lest our hearts drunk with the wine of the world we forget Thee . . ."

Disfranchisement Halted Negro Vote

When federal military occupation came to the South at the end of the Civil War, about 70,000 Negroes were added to the voting rolls. Negroes flocked to the polls and many freedmen participated in municipal and state governments.

There were black majorities in Alabama, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Mississippi, and the Republican Party took full advantage of the situation and with Negro votes broke the Democratic strong hold.

A good example was the so called "Radical Members" of the South Carolina legislature, elected about this time. Fifty of them were Negro and 13 were white.

Louisiana elected 32 Negro state senators and 95 representatives. Not all the Negroes in Southern politics were illiterate former bondsmen. Some had been born free. Some were even highly educated.

In most cases they worked willingly with whites at law making. A good example of this was Beverly Nash, who in addressing the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina, declared, "We recognize the Southern white man as a true friend of the black man .... In these public affairs we must unite with our fellow citizens."

The first Negro elected to the National House of Representatives was John Willis Menard, of Louisiana. His seat was challenged, and he never served. The first Negro representative to be seated was Jefferson P. Long, of Georgia, who served from 1869 to 1871. Between that time and 1876 thirteen other Negroes were elected to the House from Southern states.

But Southern reaction set in, and with such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan becoming active, disfranchisement arrived. Negro leaders attempted to hold back the tide, but as the century ended the Negro found politics had become all but an impossibility for him in Dixie.

Compliments
Of
Albany
State
College
ALBANY,

involved in amassing the economic resources for heightening family income and unit standards of living.

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This eighty per cent who fall between these extremes range from below -average to the level of potential genius, who, unless something is done about them, face a midnight of horror and disillusionment unparallel in our history.

Unless we can begin to get entrance jobs into all types of employment, available middle-income housing, good, comprehensive, educational opportunities, this period of centennial observance will prove to be truly the era which Dr. Covant rightly calls "social dynamite' and which in this setting, assumes the potential of a nuclear explosion. Change or progress? A cause for celebration or a warning of the short time ahead to de-fuse the powder-keg?

MAJOR SETBACK

An effort to "liberalize" the Senate Finance Committee has ended in faliure.

The Senate Democratic Steering committee refused to expand the Finance Committee recently by adding two Democratic supporters of President Kennedy's tax and medical-care programs. Thus, the Finance Committee remains at 11 Democrats and six Republicans.

By E. PAULINE MYERS

The efforts of the Negro to give substance to this freedom, while arousing mixed emotions and provoking much controversy along some fronts, have made their appeals to the noblest aspirations of American life and to the highest precepts of the Judeo-Christian conscience.

They have given rise to the relinquishing of special privileges, the development of concepts of human dignity and individual worth, the widening of opportunities and the lowering of barriers. These values are of the very essence of democracy. The drive and spirit of moral and religious forces to extend the areas of freedom in America and to restore ethical practices abroad must be attributed in a very large measure to the irrepressive and heroic a struggle of the Negro minority to secure these rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The fight for Civil Rights — the concept of equality and freedom for all is an American concern in the truest sense of the word. This has been the Negro's historic mission not because he is a saint, not because he is a courageous lover of freedom, but because he is a victim.

Some day when the "clash of color" ceases to exist, someone may write an Odyssey about the Negro's contribution to human progress and his part in the American tradition of democratic freedoms. This may be one of the most impressive folk-epics of human history.

To comprehend the Negro in America one must trace his path for eight or nine human generations through a long inferno of chattel slavery and purgatory of testing struggle and development. This must be seen not as something to be explained away, but as a part of the phenomena of history to be approached with scientific objectivity.

EPOCHAL ADVENTURE

Pursued against great odds and oppositions, favored at certain critical times by saving alliances with the forces of social and moral liberalism, the Negro's unending struggle to achieve first-class citizenship has been an epochal adventure. The late James Weldon Johnson has paraphrased it in these immortal lines:

". . . We have come over a way that with tears has been watered. We have come treading the paths through the blood of the slaughtered. Out of the Gloomy past 'till now we stand at last, where the write gleam of our bright star is cast . . ."

Many have enlisted in the struggle to obtain first-class citizenship for Negroes; some have fallen in the ranks as martyrs to the Great Cause; and others may yet be sacrificed before social justice and consistent democracy are achieved as a practical way of life.

Even today the non-violent movement among Negroes is attracting many white recruits. Notable examples are the sit-ins and freedom riders who have been stoned, beaten and cast into prison for making common cause with Negroes. So, down through the past in every movement for social progress, Negroes and whites have cooperated in order that democratic freedoms might prevail.

The dedication of inspired, consecrated humane men and women to the causes of Negro freedom, advancement ,equality and human rights, generally, has helped to provide one of the richest spiritual experiences of American life.

In the midst of a hostile world, hardened by custom, and weakened by cowardice, these men and women were among the first to claim on our behalf certain inherent and inalienable rights that we can no longer do without.

HUMAN RIGHTS

With their toil, suffering and blood, they claimed these rights for others not for one race, nor one class — but for all humanity. They recognized, quite simply, a human duty which would have been dishonorable for them not to fulfill — and they fulfilled it. That is where the real value of human rights lies. Some were inspired by conscience, some by reason, some by science, some by charity and others because they were victims — but they all knew that they would not live to see the end of the struggle nor celebrate a victory. Now they are gone, are we therefore to regard these rights as free gifts?

Historians of the future may record this 20th Century as the era of liberation of colonial and subject peoples all over the world. As 17 million Negro Americans pause to observe the Centennial Celebration of their Emancipation, Year of Our Lord 1963, they may look upon this period through which we are now passing as the era of their advancement and full citizenship rights. They will have made many worthwhile gains, and suffered some agonizing losses. They will know that while much remains to be done, we will never go **back.**

Now it remains for us the living, to mark this way by which we have come and to rededicate ourselves to the "Unfinished Task" which lies before us:

". . . Lest our feet stray from the places our God where we

CHARLES SUMNER

The Great Abolition Senator Stops on the Street to give a poor Little Colored Girl a Coin.

Albany State College

ALBANY, GEORGIA

DR. W. H. DENNIS, JR.

President

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Negro History Evaluates Emancipation

Dr. Wesley Is President Of Association For History Study

Dr. Charles H. Wesley who is President of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Vice-President of the Associated Publishers, and President of Central State College at Wilberforce, Ohio, is also distinguished as a scholarly historian and a prolific writer.

Born at Louisville, Kentucky, Dr. Wesley completed his elementary and high school education in the public schools of his native city. He earned the B.A. degree at Fisk University, the M.A. degree at Yale University, and the Ph.D. degree at Harvard University. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society, and has been awarded degrees by eight universities. His scholastic carrier was also marked as a University Scholar at Yale, as an Austin Scholar at Harvard, and as a Guggenheim Fellow at London, England.

CHARLES HARRIS WESLEY

Dr. Wesley has had an extended period of staff service at Howard University as instructor of Histroy and Modern Languages, as Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, and Professor and Head of Department in the Department of History, as Director of the Summer School, as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, and as Dean of the Graduate Staff. For five years (1942-1947) he served as President of Wilberforce University, and is in his twenty-first year as President of Central State College. He has also served as an Educational Secretary of the Army YMCA and as International Secretary with the YMCA International Committee.

Dr. Wesley is President of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and also Vice-President of the Associated Publishers. He was a two-term choice as chairman of the Inter-University Council of the State of Ohio, is a past President of the Ohio College Presidents and Deans, and is the 1962-63 Vice-President and the 1963-64 President-Elect of the Ohio College Association. He is a past President and now the Historian of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. He is currently the Secretary-General for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite Masons, Prince Hall Affiliation.

The professional memberships of Dr. Wesley include the National Council of the Social Studies, the American Historical Society, the Society for the Advancement of Education, the National Education Association, the American Teachers Association, the American Association of School Administrators, the American Geographical Society (Fellow) and the Advisory Committee of the Ohio Congress of Parents and Teachers. His awards and citations include the Achievement Award of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, the Diamond Jubilee Citation of the Kentucky Educational Association, the Certificate of Award and Placement on the Honor Roll of the IBPOE John Brown Gallery of Fame, the 50th Anniversary Founders Award of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, and the Scottish Rite Gold Medal Award of the United Supreme Council.

Marian Anderson Termed Greatest All-Time Singer

Marian Anderson was a poor girl, born in Philadelphia and brought up in poverty. She was fortunate in having the opportunity to attend a good elementary and a secondary school in that city, and she finished high school at the age of eighteen. She began singing in the choir of the Union Baptist Church, and persons delighted to hear her. A few of them, realizing the greatness of her voice, assisted her in

(Continued on Page Five)

Partial Freedom In 1863; Full Freedom Today's Goal

(FROM THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN)
By ALBERT N. D. BROOKS

Negro history evaluates both the partial freedom bestowed upon Negroes in 1863 and the steps toward a more complete freedom in 1963. Negro history examines the heroic self-sacrifice of those seeking a fuller freedom in Albany, Georgia, in 1963, as well as the majestic stroke of Abraham Lincoln, which removed the yoke of slavery from millions of Negroes in 1863.

Emancipation is not a static thing. Like freedom, it must be constantly refined. It has been said that Lincoln's battlefield decree of emancipation was a thing of convenience, to promote Union chances of winning the Civil War.

It did not free all the slaves, but only those in states still in rebellion against the United States. Whatever the intent, it had happy results. It gave new hope and strength to anti-slavery forces. Nothing could hold back the crusading zeal which sponsored the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, and the programs of reconstruction, which were designed to make Negroes free men and citiens.

Nothing, that is, except the "deal" which made Rutherford Hayes President of the United States in 1876. The supporters of Rutherford Hayes sought to appease the former rebels by giving the Ku Klux Klan a free hand, and by using every possible device to discredit the programs of the Reconstruction.

The program of reaction following the Civil War needed justification. Textbook writers cited the works of pro-slavery historians as authority on slavery and reconstruction. Whereas the military forces had stood firm in the face of these evil forces of slavery, many politicians and educators surrendered principles of freedom to the South. Education was producing bigoted whites and Negroes with inferiority complexes, as well as sub-standard education.

Definite progress had been made during Reconstruction prior to 1876. Negroes used the franchise to elect many of their race to state legislatures, and to send a score of their readers to the national Congress. The character and education of many of these Negro legislators compared favorably with that of the white legislators of the period. Several of these Negroes had attended schools of higher education in England and in the North. Others had demonstrated qualities of character and ability based on native intelligence.

White people who came South to help the Negro during Reconstruction were labeled "Carpet Baggers," while liberal southern whites were called "Scalawags." It made no difference to their detractors that many of these whites were in fact educational missionaries, who helped found and operate early schools and colleges for Negroes in the South. Any person who helped Negroes gained a reputation of dishonor.

The first progressive laws in the South were passed during Reconstruction by the so-called "ignorant Negroes, Carpet-Baggers and Scalawags." This maligned group was responsible for establishing the first public school systems and the first public health and works programs in the South. Of course, these great benefits to man are not free as air, so naturally large sums were spent. The chant of the reactionaries of that day was similar to that of their modern counterparts during the administration of F. D. Roosevelt. They accused the Reconstruction legislatures of wasting and stealing public funds in the South, just as the "New Deal" has been accused of waste and corruption in recent times. In both cases, little mention is made of the value to the public of the programs created, which became important features in the American way of life and are accepted as a matter of course today. It is unfortunate that only the related scandal is featured in slanted accounts which have become a part of the so-called history taught from many textbooks. Such is a phase of so-called education, which has persisted to our day.

Between 1876 and 1896, most of the gains of emancipation and reconstruction were lost to Negroes. During these years, Negroes in the South saw the franchise and other rights of citizens denied them by state governments, lawless night rights, and a hostile Supreme Court. "Grandfather" clauses limited the vote to persons whose grandfather could vote. This automatically eliminated the descendants of former slaves. Lest any descendants of free Negroes might seek to exercise the franchise, economic intimidation and lawless brutality constituted an effective bar. By 1896, the South had gained by various subversions what it had not been able to gain on the field of battle. It had relegated the Negro to the category of second-class citizenship and had seen its stand sanctioned by the Supreme Court in the decision in Plessy vs. Ferguson.

The legal sanction of second-class citizenship for Negroes in 1896 all but destroyed the freedoms gained by Emancipation and the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. To this day, freedom for Negroes has never been fully attained. From Plessy vs. Ferguson to 1954, the marks of second-class citizenship for Negroes were: restricted employment, with most Negroes in menial occupations or jobless; restricted movement, with Negroes denied access to places of public accommodation, or "Jim Crowed"; restricted housing, with Negroes denied the right to purchase or rent properties in most favorable areas; restricted franchise, with the Negro denied the right to vote and hold office; and restricted education, as well as many other restrictions to full enjoyment of citizenship. In varying degrees, many of these restrictions against Negroes are still practiced in many parts of our country, and not in the South only.

The first half of the Twentieth Century witnessed the rise of freedom movements designed to secure a true emancipation and a more complete freedom for Negroes. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has waged battles in the courts to secure Negro rights. After many years of frustration, NAACP lawyers gained a series of legal victories, highlighted by the Supreme Court's Brown vs- Board of Education decision in 1954. The NAACP has never ended its legal battles in the fight to secure Negro rights, and it still is taking this fight to the state and federal courts on every level.

The National Urban League is engaged in a constructive program to improve opportunities for employment for Negroes in all communities it can reach. In recent years, labor unions, churches, and other organizations have attacked this problem either independently or in cooperation with the Urban League, Although action groups might make spectacular gains in this field, to the Urban League must go the credit for acquainting communities with the facts which arouse clamors for remedies of conditions. The League must get credit also for its part in preparing Negroes for better jobs and in educating employers in the wisdom of hiring Negroes for other than the most menial occupations. The Urban League has rendered, and still is contributing, a great service in the fight for a more complete freedom.

Since 1916, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (A.S.N.L.H.) has engaged in research to find and publish the true accounts of the life and contributions of the Negro in this country, and the real nature of the forces that have caused him to be what he is. For those who assert that the Negro is inferior by nature, the A.S.N.L.H. inquires why "Black Code" laws were necessary to prevent Negroes from learning. Why were laws necessary to cause the ears of a Negro to be clipped for learning to write, or for a white man to be punished severely for teaching Negroes to read and write? Negro history has the answers to refute hypocritical stereotyped beliefs.

Aside from its contribution to the intrinsic worth of educational truth, which is of benefit to all mankind, Negro history has a functional value for Negroes. A sense of racial and individual pride comes from the knowledge of the contributions of the Negro to the building of our nation, and especially of the extent of participation by Negroes in all our country's wars. This knowledge can extend to the present, when our fine athletes in baseball, basketball, football and track belie the stereotype of the Negro physical weakling. What should the Negro student believe? Will he accept as fact the material about Negroes wracked with venereal disease, which he sees on a handbill distributed by a white citizens council, or will be he thrilled by the fact that Negroes won victories for the United States in the last Olympic games far out of proportion to their numbers? Or, will the Negro student wonder how a race of physical degenerates can produce the most perfect male athlete, Rafer Johnson and the best female athlete, Wilma Rudolph Ward?

The apparent backward social conditions of Negroes were not self-imposed. From the "Black Code" laws to the most recent racial restrictions, our society has been responsible for the undesirable traits of Negroes about which it now complains. The five hundred thousand free Negroes in the South suffered restrictions to movement and education which were formidable indeed. Millions of slaves were subjected to a designed system of mis-education. The slaves were indoctrinated in ignorance and immorality to the extent that one hundred years of some formal education has not been able to erase all of its vestiges. Progress has been limited further by restrictions to Liberty for Negroes and enforced second-class education up to recent times. Those who understand these past problems are equipped better to solve the problems of the present and the future. To this end, the A.S.N.L.H. has helped to make knowledgeable and to orient the new Negro fighters for freedom.

Emancipation in 1963 is in the hands of the new Negro fighters for freedom. The weapon is non-violence. This movement was begun by southern Negro students who cannot reconcile their educational status with second-class citizenship. Martin Luther King, CORE many clergymen, and others have taken leadership in this movement, which has been joined by many whites. The NAACP and other groups cooperate in various phases of this movement. Although there is much overlapping in efforts, work is advancing in registering Negro voters, protesting segregated public facilities, and fighting legal battles. Albany, Georgia, and Oxford Mississippi, are the fields of battle, where liberty is at the crossroads.

Many gains have been made by Negroes in the past decade. Negro hirings and appointments in government are no longer merely symbolic. The days are gone when two or three plums to Negro leaders wil lsatisfy faithful Negro voters. For example, the large numbers of Negroes in high positions in government under the Kennedy Administration as a far cry from the days when appointment as D. C. Recorder of Deeds was a prime political reward. Advances in desegregation of public schools an dof public accommodation have been encouraging in many areas. Little progress has been made in the area of desegregated housing. Finally, in two or three southern states, there has been no progress at all. A Negro still is restricted. He cannot go to all parts of his country and enjoy its wondrous natural resources and places of public accomodation.

In evaluating Emancipation, Negro History examines and seeks public acclaim for those who have contributed to freedom, whether in 1863 or 1963, or in the years between. At the same time, Negro History seeks to expose the roadblocks to freedom, to point out the conditions which produce second-class citizenship. Although gains for the Negro have been significant, the basis for the theory of gradualism has been discredited. The fight for full Emancipation is not over, in fact, it is really just starting.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

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"In Giving Freedom to the Slave We Assure Freedom To The Free....."

Second Annual Message to Congress, December 1, 1862

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ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT

In the year 1865, the year of "The Surrender" at Appomattax, two mighty impluses began their work for the education of the newly emancipated freedmen in Atlanta. One impulse was from within, the desire of the freedmen themselves to acquire learning. The other was from without, the effective help of friends in the North who were interested in their welfare.

The pioneer missionary to Atlanta was Rev erend Frederick Ayer, who came with Mrs. Ayer from Belle Prairie, Minnesota. Mr. and Mrs. Ayer reached Atlanta on November 15, 1865. Three weeks later they were joined by two young women, sisters, the Misses Rosa and Lucy C. Kinney. The conditions which they found were these:

In an old church building on Jenkins Stre et, now Armstrong, not far from the present City Auditorium, was a small private school which h ad been opened by James Tate and Grandison B. Daniels, two ex-slaves. This was the first school in Atlanta for colored children.

In another part of the city, about four blocks west of the Carnegie Library, fronting north towards Ellis Street, was a railroad car which had just been purchased at Chattanooga by the Association for $310 and brought to Atlanta to serve as a school.

In these two places, far from ideal but the best that could be obtained, the work began. Mr. Ayer and Miss Lucy C. Kinney at the Jenkins Street School, and Mrs. Ayer and Miss Rosa Kinney taught at the Walton Springs School, popularly known as the "Car-Box."

But the ideals of these early workers could not be satisfied with this alone. They felt that the best possible was none too good for the new citizenry of Atlanta and of Georgia. And so a charter was asked from the Superior Court of Fulton County, in which Atlanta is located, for a University. It was signed by eleven men, some white, some colored, in part residents of Atlanta, in part officers of the American Missionary Association. Two of the names were those of Edmund Asa Ware and Frederick Ayer, and a third, Erastus M. Cravath, became later the president of a sister school, Fisk University. This petition was approved and the new corporation, The Trustees of the Atlanta University, came into existence October 16, 1867.

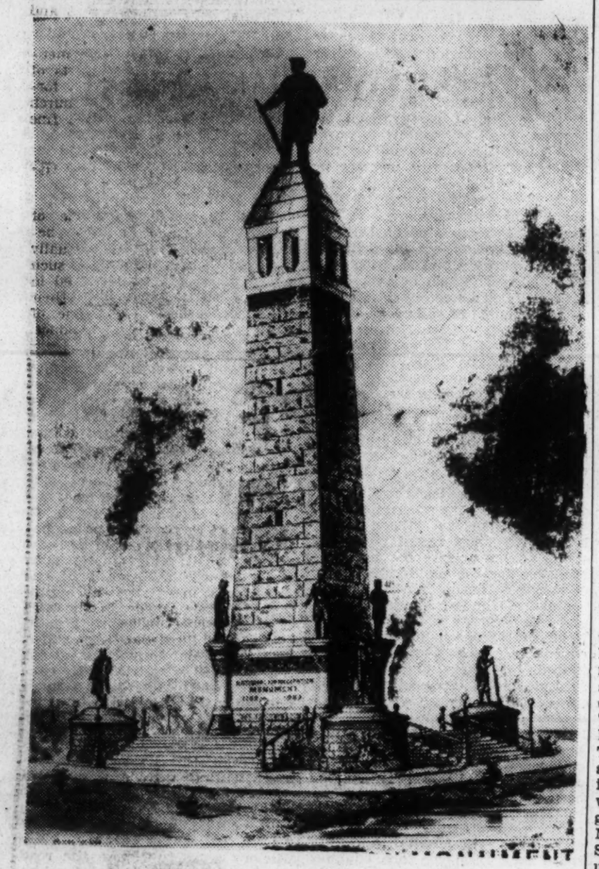
Today, the latest catalog of Atlanta Univer sity lists five schools with various programs for candidates for the Master's Degree: Arts and Sciences, Social Work, Business Administration, Education, and Library Service. All programs of the schools are fully accredited. It lists a faculty of 53 full-time and 14 part-time teachers, 33 of t he full-time ones holding the Ph.D. Degree. It describes a full schedule of cultural events, a lib rary, art collection, and laboratories. It cites publication of Phylon, the nation's leading journal on race and culture.

In the Annual Report of the President of the University, 1962, Dr. Rufus E. Clement wrote:

"The people who were educated at Atlanta University have made substantial contributions in many fields of American life. They have been leaders in education and religion; they have served their fellowmen in law, medicine, dentistry, business and government; they have been nationally recognized spokesmen pleading and working for extension of full democracy to every American citizen, they have gone out into rural areas of our Southland to teach and to inspire the rising generation; they moved into depressed areas of our cities as angels of mercy and of light carrying the gospel of the good life and ministering to the needs of the troubled and dispossessed. On national platforms, under the hard white glare of the spotlights, they have rendered a service to the nation by calling attention to the conditions under which many of its citizens had to live and at the same time have interpreted the hopes and aspirations of a large minority group in its population. They have walked quietly and humbly in unpublicized paths of dignity and service to improve the literacy, skills, living conditions, behavior and attitudes of their fellowmen. All of this and more can be seen in the record of the achievements of those who have been educated in Atlanta University."

Among the names which stand high among the graduates of the University are James Wendell Johnson, author, Walter F. White, author, Richard R. Wright, educator and banker, and Lucy Laney, educator.

DRED SCOTT DECISION BROUGHT A WAR TO REVERSE IT



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Two Major Innovations Of Decision Still In Effect

By JOEL E. COHEN

(Harvard University)

The Dred Scott Decision helped bring about a war to reverse it. Yet two of its major innovations still stand. The first established the power of the Supreme Court to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional so as to affect a judicial decision.

The second applied the "due process" clause of the Fifth Amendment to the substance of laws rather than to formal legal procedure for the first time.

Editor's Note: Authorities, such as Homer Carey Hockett and numerous others, state that the "case of Marbury vs. Madison (1830) is memorable because it was the first in which the Court passed upon the constitutionality of an act of Congress."

The majority opinion was represented by "probably the greatest of the chief justices," Roger Brooke Taney.

It has often been attacked as "conservative," but its innovations were actually revolutionary, and began the transformation of due process" into our most important constitutional restriction upon the substance of legislation." These innovations were unaffected by the Civil War and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, and still are active principles in American constitutional law.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Dred Scott Decision involved a slave named Sam, born in 1795 in Southampton County, Virginia, whose owner, Mr. Peter Blow, migrated to Alabama in 1819, and to Missouri in 1827. Mr. Blow took Sam with him to St. Louis, where, under the 1820 Compromise which let Missouri enter the Union, slavery was permitted.

After four years in St. Louis, Mr. Blow died. In 1833 Sam was sold to Dr. John Emmerson, an assistant surgeon in the United States Army. A year later Dr. Emmerson was moved to Ft. Armstrong, in Illinois, a free state since 1818. From there, with his slave, he went to Ft. Snelling (now Minneapolis, Minnesota) in what was then the Wisconsin Territory, free under the Missouri Compromise.

In 1836 Dr. Emmerson bought another slave, Harriet, who married Sam, whose name had been changed to Dred Scott. Their first daughter, Eliza, was born on the steamboat "Gypsy" as Dr. Emmerson was returning down the Missippi in 1838.

When Emmerson died in 1843, his will passed Scott to his widow, sue for his freedom, on the grounds that he had had been held a slave illegally on free Illinois soil.

Scott began proceedings in April 1846, but Mrs. Emmerson won the first trial in the 1847 session of the Missouri Circuit Court. During this time Scott's second daughter, Lizzie, was born. Three years later, in January 1850, a circuit court retrial found for Scott but Mrs. Emmerson appealed the case to the Missouri Supreme Court, which on April 10, 1852, gave a 2-1 decision for Mrs. Emmerson. In effect the decision said that in spite of the legal precedents for granting freedom, it was not the duty of the Missouri courts to carry into effect the laws of other jurisdictions regardless of the rights, policy, and institutions of that state.

In 1850 Mrs. Emmerson married Dr. Calvin C. Chaffee from Massachusetts. Since Missouri laws forbade her to deal in affairs of her first husband's estate, her brother, John F. A. Sandford, from New York, executor of Dr. Emmerson's will, took the case. On grounds suggested by Roswell Field, a St. Louis lawyer, that cases involving diverse citizenship (Illinois, New York, Massachusetts, and Missouri) fall under Federal jurisdiction, the case was carried to the Federal District Court for Missouri in 1854. When Sandford argued that Scott could not sue under a government which does not recognize him as a citizen, the court instructed the jury to find in Sandford's favor.

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In March 1857, two days after the inauguration of President James Buchanan, the judgement of the Supreme Court was announced.

About this time Sandford died. Chaffee sold Scott for a nominal sum to Taylor Blow, son of Scott's

On September 17, 1858, Scott died in St. Louis.

There was no one Supreme Court opinion. Each of the nine judges wrote his position. Seven said the Scotts were still slaves; two said they were not; three said that even free Negroes were not citizens, and hence could sue; six considered the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional. This majority opinion on the Missouri Compromise was the first time an act of Congress, not relating to the judiciary itself, had been held void by the Supreme Court.

The decision of Chief Justice Taney roughly summarizes the majority opinion.

The question is simply this: Can a negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country, and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the righs, and privileges, and immunities, guarantied by that instrument to the citizen?

Since "no state can . . . introduce a new member into the political community created by the constitution," Taney inquired whether slaves were considered part of the political community when the constitution was written:

They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the Negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit.

Although this is incorrectly quoted as a summary of conditions in 1857, Taney intended it as a historical summary of the situation at the time of the creation of the Constitution. The founding fathers could not have included the Negroes in "all men are created equal," for their conduct would have been inconsistent with their words. Further, the 1808 importation clause and the provisions for the return of runaways indicated that slaves were considered property.

. . . no authority beyond these two provisions can be constitutionally exercised. The government of the United States had no right to interfere for any other purpose but that of protecting the rights of the owner, leaving it altogether with the several States to deal with this race, as each State may think justice, humanity, and the interests and safety of society, require.

Since the counsel for the plaintiff stressed the power granted Congress under the elastic clause of the Constitution (Art. 1, Sect. 8, Par. 18, Taney stated that the power of he clause was restricted to the area of the United States at the time of the framing of the Constitution.

And no word can be found in the constitution which gives congress a greater power over slave property . . . The only power conferred is the power coupled with the duty of guarding \d protecting the owner in his rights.

The dissenting opinion of Justice Benjamin Robbins Curtis (1809-1874) was equally vigorous. He argued that the Missouri Compromise was constitutional and that, since Northern states had already recognized them as such Negroes could become citizens. Regardless of the majority opinion, he said, Missouri had already adopted interstate comity, and hence was bound to respect the claims of Illinois. Further, Congressional control over expanding territories had been acknowledged for seventy years. That Congress could not deprive citizens of property without "due process of law" is correct; but, he said, "due process" refers to procedure, not substance. In this, Curtis reflected the interpretation of "due process" which was dominant in 1857. His decision was immediately published as an anti-slavery document. Six months later he resigned from the Court to practice law privately.

Judge McLean wrote an equally elaborate dissenting opinion, while Judge Nelson objected to the Court's entering the political arena, a point supported in Benton's review.

The majority decision was reluctantly accepted in Northern, and even in some Southern, quarters. Thomas Hart Benton, U. S. Senator from Missouri for thirty years and a slaveholder, declared as early as 1844 that he was against introducing slavery into Texas, where it would be a curse.

In 1857 he wrote a lengthy review of the Supreme Court's decision. The power of the court, he said, was limited to cases arising "in law and equity" and hence a political enactment" such as the Missouri Compromise was out of its jurisdiction. The decision, he felt, ignored a gradual extension of constitutional powers: as early as 1803 Congress established a "despotic" government in Illinois territory, transferring theree Indiana judges and the Indiana governor,

(Continued on Page Five)

THE GALLANT CHARGE OF THE FIFTY-FOURTH MASSACHUSETTS (COLORED REGIMENT — On the Rebel works of Fort Wagner, Morris Island, near Charleston, July 18, 1863, and death of Colonel Robert G. Shaw.

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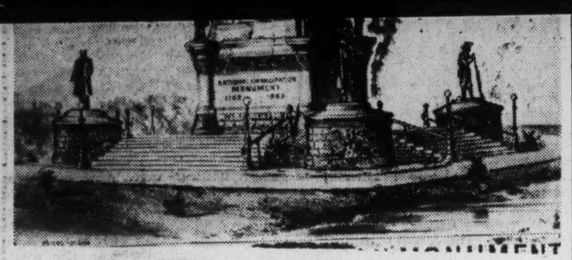

NATIONAL EMANCIPATION MONUMENT

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novations were unaffected by the Civil War and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, and still are active principles in American constitutional law.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Dred Scott Decision involved a slave named Sam, born in 1795 in Southampton County, Virginia, whose owner, Mr. Peter Blow, migrated to Alabama in 1819, and to Missouri in 1827. Mr. Blow took Sam with him to St. Louis, where, under the 1820 Compromise which let Missouri enter the Union, slavery was permitted.

After four years in St. Louis, Mr. Blow died. In 1833 Sam was sold to Dr. John Emmerson, an assistant surgeon in the United States Army. A year later Dr. Emmerson was moved to Ft. Armstrong, in Illinois, a free state since 1818. From there, with his slave, he went to Ft. Snelling (now Minneapolis, Minnesota) in what was then the Wisconsin Territory, free under the Missouri Compromise.

In 1836 Dr. Emmerson bought another slave, Harriet, who married Sam, whose name had been changed to Dred Scott. Their first daughter, Eliza, was born on the steamboat "Gypsy" as Dr. Emmerson was returning down the Missippi in 1838.

When Emmerson died in 1843, his will passed Scott to his widow, Irene Sandford Emmerson ,for the duration of her life. In 1846 some Abolitionists advised Dred Scott to forbade her to deal in affairs of her first husband's estate, her brother, John F. A. Sandford, from New York, executor of Dr. Emmerson's will, took the case. On grounds suggested by Roswell Field, a St. Louis lawyer, that cases involving diverse citizenship (Illinois, New York, Massachusetts, and Missouri) fall under Federal jurisdiction, the case was carried to the Federal District Court for Missouri in 1854. When Sandford argued that Scott could not sue under a government which does not recognize him as a citizen, the court instructed the jury to find in Sandford's favor.

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(Continued on Page Five)

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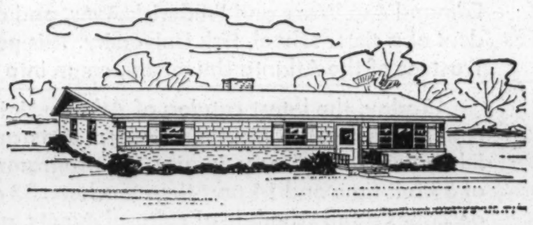

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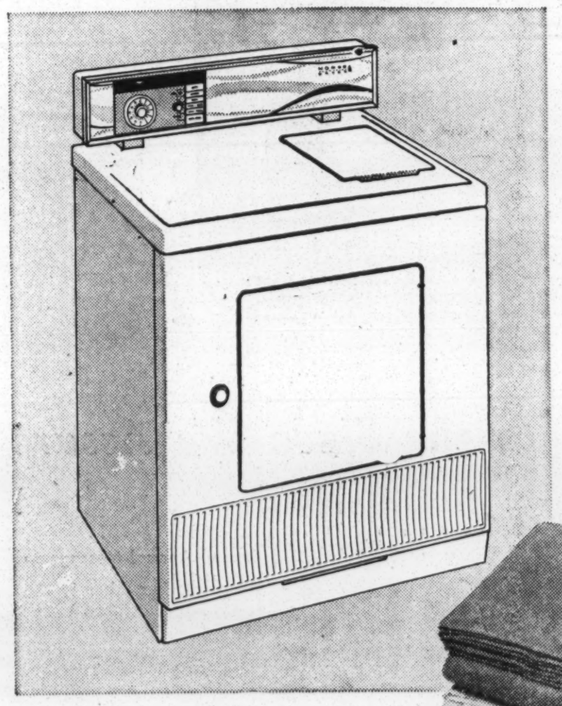

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Organizations Kept The Negro

(Continued from Page One)

Klan and the misery forced upon the Negro, while the government condoned it through a sort of "Gentlemen's Agreement," Washington told Atlantans:

"In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress . . . The wisest among my race understands that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly . . . The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house."

This speech, dilivered at the Cotton States' Exposition in Atlanta, was termed by Negro critics as "The Great Booker T. Washington Compromise."

LAUDED BY PRESS

But Washington, who was seeking that which he thought could be attained in his day under existing conditions, won his point. The press across the nation carried his words on front pages, and ignored more liberal Negro expressions, making him in the eyes of white America the official leader of the Negro race.

But here, events began shaping up in Atlanta which were to eventually topple Washington's leadership as a bolder point of view smoldered which would bring new organizations and ideals.

DuBois came to the faculty of Atlanta University and joined hands with Georgia born John Hope in condemning Washington's ideals.

At one point DuBois angrily contended that "Things came to such a pass that when any Negro complained or advocated a course of action, he was silenced with the remark that Mr. Washington did not agree."

But Washington had such a power over the Negro press that few newspapers would oppose him, and although many felt that he advocated leadership of two races, and compromised between North, South and the Negro, he remained in power until July, 1905.

This year at Fort Erie twenty nine Negroes, in answer to a call from Du Bois, gathered to form the Niagara Movement, probably the first liberal organization of the Negro.

The purpose was for "organized and agressive action" in working for rights, freedom and opportunity.

At this meeting Hope, who had become president of Atlanta Baptist College, (Morehouse), was the only high ranking Negro educator who dared align himself openly with the "radical" group which opposed Washington.

FOR FULL EQUALITY

Members of Niagra declared, "We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social, and until we get these we will never cease to agitate, we will never keep silence, and we will never rest."

These meetings became the impetus to the organization of a third meeting which formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909 to protest an Illinois lynching.

It was instigated by Miss Ovington, and other white liberals, who saw in the bravery and intelligence of Hope and Du Bois the ripe season for an all out effort against racial inequality.

Moorfield Storey, a white Boston Lawyer, who had been secretary to the great civil war liberal Charles Sumner, became the first president, Du Bois, resigned his position in Atlanta, became the director of publicity and Editor of the Crisis . . .

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

In 1912 the Rosenwald Fund was established, and helped build more than 5,000 public schools for Negroes in the South. This followed the Peabody Education Fund in 1867, The Slater Fund in 1882; the expose racial cruelty.

But about this time Jamaica born Marcus Garvey, convinced that no organization could cause the Negro to prosper in a "white land," began his futile "Back to Africa Movement."

He wasn't the first. A Negro sea captain, Paul Cuffee, had attempted this same thing. This preceded the "American Colonization Society," which settled Liberia, but liberal Negroes condemned it so that colonization with hardly 15,000 Negroes leaving American shores.

RICHARD ALLEN

Perhaps the first real organization by Negroes was formed by religious leader, Rev. Richard Allen, whose fruits stand today as a bulwark in the fight for racial freedom in the form of the A.M.E. Church. Rev. Allen, pulled from his knees while at prayer by a white usher in the St. George Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, made a firm resolution which lead to establishing an all

Dred Scott Decision

(Continued from Page Four)

William Henry Harrison. Further, of the forty-two who voted against the Missouri Compromise (against 134), all voted on grounds of expediency, rather than those of unconstitutionality. Hence the Supreme Court was nullifying the sacrificing efforts to preserve the unity of the country of both North and South.

Republicans naturally suspected collusion between Democratic politicians and the members of the Supreme Court. To support his specific accusation to that effect, Seward quoted a few words in Buchanan's inaugural address referring to the coming decision, as proof that the president-elect had even been admitted to the secret. In fact, seven of the nine Justices were Democrts and five were Southerners.

In going beyond rendering a simple decision on Dred Scott's freedom, Taney and his supporters hoped to give a final settlement to the disrupting problem of extending slavery to the territories. Instead, the Court aroused the free-soilers and the supporters of popular sovereignty, since any individual could now bring slaves, and with them the institution of slavery, into a territory.

Outraged Republicans, at the time decided that everything Taney wrote not directly pertaining to Scott's freedom was obiter dictum, incidental opinion having no legal force. Southerners in turn were dismayed at the Northern disregard for the Supreme Court as representing the supreme law of the land.

In perspective, the Dred Scott Decision did much at the time to widen the breach between the North and the South. It was a Ft. Sumter on paper. The decision was both conservative and revolutionary, while Taney ignored the changed Federal powers which had evolved in the seventy years since the writing of the Constitution, the results of his innovations are still being felt in American Jurisprudence.

Myth Of The

(Continued from Page One)

served his church as a prelate for many years.

The William J. Scott School, out on Holly Road is a fitting tribute to a promoter, business spirit and community and city factor.

The Carolyn F. Harper, Elementary School near the outskirts of the county, was named for a former housewife, community, church and civic factor who reared a fine family of educators.

JOHN G. TOWER, Senator (R-Tex):

"The scope and magnitude of government competition has become so great that no one actually knows the total number of such enterprises, the capital invested in them, the total number of their employees, or the gross value of goods and services they produce.

Marian Anderson

(Continued from Page Three)

paying for her first lessons in music. She could not depend upon her poor parents inasmuch as her father was a local dealer in coal and ice which did not net him very much profit, and her mother took in washing and did house cleaning.

Marian Anderson, however, had to find a way. What training she received developed her rapidly and all but wonderfully. It was soon realized that the pains taken with her education had been rewarded in her finely developed voice under a teacher, Guisseppe Boghetti. She began then to sing in concerts which paid her small sums; but her voice was becoming known, and soon she was invited to be soloist with the Philadelphia Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. She made a very favorable impression. Engagements followed rapidly after

HISTORICAL FIGURES

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They declared the power of the Negro hater had flourished, and rights defenders had retreated until the black man's vote was stolen.

Before these liberals could be stopped a second organization came into being. This was the Harper's Ferry convention in 1906.

This meeting was covered by Mary White Ovington, of the New York Evening Post, who became deeply interested in its objectives.

These meetings became the impetus to the organization of a third meeting which formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909 to protest an Illinois lynching.

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A year earlier, in 1910 the National Urban League was formed to improved industrial and living conditions of city Negroes, with emphasis on opportunity. It was interracial from its beginning, just as was the NAACP.

A few years later, another Atlanta Negro, Walter White, brought the greatest of effectiveness to the NAACP, often risking his life to expose racial cruelty.

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These efforts followed the organized slave rebellions of Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and John Turner.

They preceeded the organization of the Underground Railway, the Negro Press, Abolition Society and Free Soil Convention. There were others, and the combined efforts kept the Negro "inchin Along" until today where Christian leadership, student, labor and educational efforts have brought the race that much closer to the still distant star of equality.

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(Continued from Page Three)

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Marian Anderson then with these great honors upon her studied abroad and made a concert tour of Europe. She appeared in all of the important musical centers in England, Germany, Norway - Sweden, Austria, France, Czechoslovkia, and Russia. Kings and Queens came to listen. The League of Nations invited her to sing before that body. Returning to America, she was hailed as a truly great singer. The President invited her to appear before him at the White House. The music lovers flocked to her concerts. The best critics of the country join in saying that she is not only a great singer who would make any race proud but one of the greatest of all time.

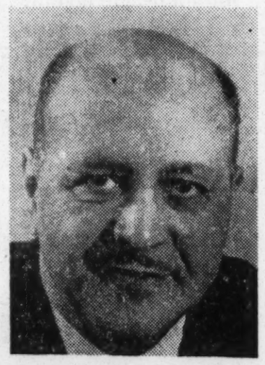
HISTORICAL FIGURES

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE

The author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, greeted by Lincoln as the "Little Woman who caused the War."

HARRIET TUBMAN

Anti-slavery Worker, Civil War Nurse, and Secret Service Agent.



ROBERT C. WEAVER

Administrator of Housing and Finance Agency

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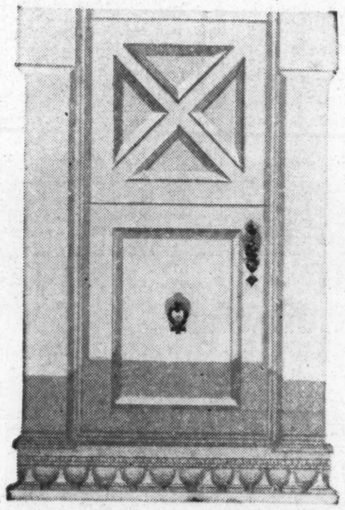

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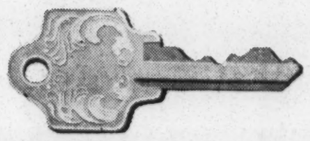

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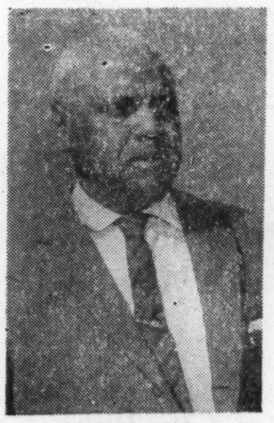

MR. EDWIN STARR

All in our employment have been with us for years. We have a picture of Mr. Edwin Starr who began work as a stock boy. He has been with us 34 years and is now Supervisor of Shipping. He has complete charge of shipping for our three stores and has a fleet of 8 trucks and 20 employees directly under his supervision. We are justly proud of Mr. Starr and all our employees . . . Come visit with us and you will receive the finest service in Atlanta.

Yes, almost a century of giving Atlanta and Georgia the finest of bargains in new and reconditioned furniture. We have always endeavored to give you the best prices, the best terms and the best service that is humanly possible . . . We are a family owned concern and feel that all Atlanta and Georgia people are our neighbors. You have been good to us and we believe that we in turn have been good for Atlanta, for we have now grown with your patronage to be one of the largest independent furniture stores in Atlanta . . . We say again "thank you Atlanta!"

BASS Furniture

DOWNTOWN — 146 Mitchell St.
EAST POINT — 1757 Washington Ave.
FOREST PARK — 1211 Main St.

Lucy Craft Laney, School Founder, Aided Native Ga.

Miss Lucy Craft Laney who died on October 23, 1933, was born in Macon, Georgia, April 13, 1854. She was the daughter of the Reverend David and of Mrs. Louisa Laney. Her father was a Presbyterian minister, born a slave in Sumter, South Carolina, in 1814. Because of the esteem in which his mistress held him he was allowed to choose his own vocation. He chose the carpenter's trade; and, being thrifty at it, he accumulated enough money with which to buy his freedom. After purchasing himself, he went to Macon, Georgia, in 1836. A number of masters hired him to teach their slaves carpentry. Many of the colonial residences of Macon were built by him and his apprentices.

He was interested in religion, and early joined the Presbyterian Church in which he worked toward Holy orders. He was one of the three men ordained by the white Presbyterian Church of Macon for the ministry, viz., Joseph Williams, Robert Carter, and David Lane. He was one of the most outstanding Negroes in Macon. When Lee surrendered it was David Laney who rang the bell of the Washington Avenue Presbyterian Church to call the Negroes together to tell them that they were free. This was the first knowledge that Negroes of Bibb County had of the general emancipation.

The mother of the subject of this sketch, Louisa Laney, was purchased at the suggestion of Miss Campbell who saw her in a band of roving Indians and begged her father to purchase this likely little girl. Louisa Laney did not know how she came into the possession of the Indians neither what her name was nor anything about her parents. She became a personal maid to Miss Campbell who taught her to read and write. At the age of 13 she married David Laney who purchased her freedom from Miss Campbell and moved her to a home of his own where they began the struggles of life.

There were ten children born to them, six girls and four boys.

Lucy Craft Laney was the seventh child. She was a normal, rollicking girl who played with others but always held her own. She was taught to read and write at the age of four and owes her early education to her mother who realized the importance of thorough training. Her mother's duties kept her in Miss Campbell's library a great deal, and Lucy snuggled there in the big chair, reading fairy stories and other books while her mother dusted the book shelves. Her ability was noted by Miss Campbell who selected books for her education and with this personal interest saw to it that she enter Atlanta University at the age of fifteen. Her preparatory education had been obtained at the Lewis High School, now known as Ballard Normal School. Mrs. Georgia Swift King, a classmate of Miss Laney work. In 1883 she rented the lecture room of the Christ Presbyterian Church. Five children came. Three years later, January 6, 1886, the school was chartered as a Normal and Industrial School under the law of Georgia.

Miss Laney founded her own school because she wanted all sides of pupil's life developed, which was not possible under the public school system. By the end of the first year the school had an enrollment of 75, and at the end of the second year the enrollment was 234. She took in children so young that they knew no mother except her.

The white ladies in the neighborhood of the Christ Presbyterian Church complained that the noise of the children at play disturbed them, and so she looked for another place for her school. A frame building in the 800 block of Gwinnett Street was rented, and the work continued. Due to over-crowded conditions here Mr. Platt, a local white undertaker, allowed her the use of a two - story frame structure on lower Calhoun Street with a barn in the rear which she converted into classrooms by means of partitions. The school faced real hardships; no money, debts, fire and flood. Following the flood, typhoid fever broke out; and Miss Freeman, the first teacher who came to work with Miss Laney, died.

Although the Presbyterian Board sanctioned the school it did not see its way clear to maintain it. Acting upon the advice of a Presbyterian minister in Augusta, she made her way to the General Assembly in 1887 which met at Minneapolis. She left home with just enough money to buy her ticket one way. Fatigued from the trip, she fell asleep after entering the meeting of the Assembly. Awakened to speak, she encountered jealously on the part of others who were there to present their case. Seeing their attitude, she merely presented the needs of the school and asked only for her fare back home. She warned her hearers that some day she would have a school that they would hear from. Time has proved her statement true.

ONLY MORAL SUPPORT

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Other things of consequence developed. In 1896, Miss Mary C. Jackson came to Miss Laney as Associate principal and remained until May 1916 when she left to become the wife of Dr. H. L. McCrorey, president of Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina. In 1906 Mrs. McCrorey, her mother as a midwife. They are now retired.

She was responsible for the first trained nurses in the city of Augusta. She urged the establishment of such work, gave the first ten girls, and persuaded a white graduate nurse from Canada to come and take charge of the training. Miss Laney sought to improve sanitation in Augusta, especially in the Negro district. Her school was the first in the city to uniform girls, and the first organized football team in the city went out from this school. She pioneered also in kindergarten instruction in this section where it was not generally known. She called from the North a teacher thoroughly prepared for this work and opened the first kindergarten in Augusta. She found time also to conduct teachers' institutes in the eastern part of the state.

Her influence was not only felt in the schoolroom but, also in the Sunday School. She taught the children to sing by note lively songs in place of the doleful hymns sung ordinarily at church services. Many of the churches were without musical instruments, so she always carried her tuning fork for which she is remembered by many of the older citizens of Augusta. She stopped what was known as "Egypt Walking" in Augusta a sacriligious and unbecoming religions ceremony engaged in on New Year's Eve. With a bold stroke she put an end to it, and never again has it been engaged in in Augusta since her dramatic crusade against it.

She considered Haines the people's school and its buildings and grounds were always at the disposal of the community for various enterprises. In the World War there were enlisted 178 Haines students, four of whom were lieutenants with a number non-commissioned officers; and the first Augusta boy to give his life overseas in that great conflict was a student of Haines. She organized thrift clubs, her students bought war savings stamps, and many of them opened bank accounts.

To speak of her strong points we should emphasize her independent spirit, her courage or conviction, her long suffering in the midst of hardships rather than compromise a situation, her power as a disciplinarian, and her personality as expressed in her orderly student body. She strove to have a school good enough for any body to visit. She was stern; but because she knew how to be human, her pupils loved her and respected her. She always sought to find the good in people regardless of their appearance. She thought of persons as persons regardless of race, color, or achievement. She always said that she wanted to teach ladies and gentlemen and sought to instill that principle, saying, "God has nothing to make men and women out of but boys and girls," and so she taught her pupils to be men and women and not just good "colored persons.' Said she, "I am as good as anybody else; God had no different dirt to make me out of than that used in making the first lady of the land." Her primary object in all her teaching was character- building. "No man," says Miss Laney, "is judged by the superficial informa-

carpenter, her mother as a midwife. They are now retired.

The Chilsholms made it possible for Lentyne to study at the Julliard School of Music in New York. It wasn't long before her ability as a singer indicated that her future lay as a vocalist rather than as a pianist.

Her singing partner in the 1952 revival of "Porgy" was the renowned baritone, William Warfield. As the musical progressed the two were drawn closer together and were married in 1952. They have no children.

The operatic venture that first drew Leontyne to the attention of music critics as well as an enthusiastic public was the NBC-TV opera, "Tosca." It was sung in an English translation done by John Gutman.

Hard work is something she doesn't worry about. On a trip to Europe in 1958 she was engaged to sing in Vienna, Berlin and London. Fially she was signed for an appearance at the famed La Scala Opera House in Milan. She was the first Negro to appear there in a major role and was a brilliant success.

She sings the role of Leonora in a recent Victor release of "Il Trovatore" in which she co-stars with the late baritone, Leonard Warren. In another recording, Verdi's "Requiem," her singing is regarded as the finest in this masterpiece on disks.

Carl T. Rowan, Ambassador To Finland

CARL T. ROWAN
Ambassador-Nominate to Finland

CARL THOMAS ROWAN

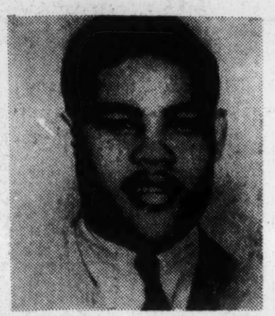
Carl T. Rowan, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, took his oath of office as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs on February 28, 1961. His salary is $18,450 a year. Mr. Rowan was born at Ravencroft, Tennessee, on August 11, 1925. He recently was appointed Ambassador to Finland.

Mr. Rowan received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in Mathematics at Oberlin College in Ohio in 1947. In 1948, Mr. Rowan received his Master's Degree in Journalism from the University of Minnesota. In 1948, Mr. Rowan worked briefly for the Baltimore Afro -American. Since 1948, Mr. Rowan has been associated with the Minneapolis Star and Tribune. Mr. Rowan is the author of "South of Freedom," published in 1952; "The Pitiful and the Proud," published in 1956; "Go South to Sorrow," published in 1957; and "Wait Til Next Year," published in 1960.

Mr. Rowan served in the United States Navy from 1943 to 1946 and attained the rank of Ensign. He served in the North Atlantic as a Communications Officer on a Fleet Tanker. Mr. Rowan has the distinction of having received three successive awards in 1954, 1955 and 1956 for general and foreign reporting.

Mr. Rowan is married to the former Vivien L. Murphy of Buffalo, New York. He is the father of three children, Barbara, Carl Jr., and Geoffrey.

HISTORICAL FIGURES



JOE LOUIS
Former Heavyweight Champion Of The World

HILDRUS POINDEXTER
U.S. Foreign Health Service

MADAME T. G. BRAMLETTE
Founder, 1913, Hawaiian System of Scalp and Hair Culture

MAJOR GENERAL
BENJAMIN O. DAVIS, JR., USAF

ROBERT SMALLS
Representative in Congress from South Carolina

Leontyne Price, Singer Of Decade

SCHOOL NEWS

PRE-SCHOOL ROUNDUP

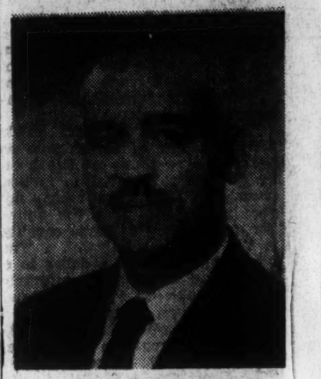
The annual pre -school roundup sponsored by the P T A will be held March 28, 1963 at 9:00 to 12:00. Nurse Louise Scruggs from the Fulton County Health Department will be in charge. All children entering school for the first time in August, 1963, age 5 years or will be 5 by December 31, 1963 are asked to come to the pre-school roundup.

SUMMER SCHOOL PROGRAM

Anderson Park Elementary School has been selected as one of the centers for the Extended Summer School Program. This program is designed to provide opportunities for pupils to strengthen and broaden their basic skills.

Parents are urged to support this program by allowing their children to participate.

Mercer Cook, Ambassador To Niger



MERCER COOK
U. S. Ambassador to the Republic of Niger

Mercer Cook was sworn in June 28, 1961 as United States Ambassador to the Republic of Niger.

Born in Washington, D. C., on March 30, 1963, the Ambassador attended Amherst College where he received his bachelor's degree with Phi Beta Kappa honors in 1925. He later undertook postgraduate studies at Brown University and was awarded his A. M. degree by that university in 1930 and his Ph. D. in 1936.

From 1936 to 1943, Mr. Cook was a member of the faculty of Atlanta College in Atlanta, Georgia. He left that position in the latter year to become Superintendent of English teaching in the Republic of Haiti. After two years in Haiti the Ambassador returned to the United States to accept an appointment as Professor of Romance Languages at Howard University. Mr. Cook remained at Howard for fourteen years and then went to Paris to become Director of the African Affairs Program of the Congress of Cultural Freedom. He retained that post until his present appointment.

Ambassador Cook is married to the former Vashti Smith and they have two sons.

DEMOCRACY-SHEMOCRACY

Away down in the land of cotton,
After the citizen votes he is forgotten.

Bristol (Va.) Herald Courier.

A LEGEND . . .

One night in ancient times, three horsemen were riding across a desert. As they crossed the dry bed of a river, out of the darkness a voice called

ing Indians and begged her father to purchase this likely little girl. Louisa Laney did not know how she came into the possession of the Indians neither what her name was nor anything about her parents. She became a personal maid to Miss Campbell who taught her to read and write. At the age of 13 she married David Laney who purchased her freedom from Miss Campbell and moved her to a home of his own where they began the struggles of life.

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Lucy Craft Laney was the seventh child. She was a normal, rollicking girl who played with others but always held her own. She was taught to read and write at the age of four and owes her early education to her mother who realized the importance of thorough training. Her mother's duties kept her in Miss Campbell's library a great deal, and Lucy snuggled there in the big chair, reading fairy stories and other books while her mother dusted the book shelves. Her ability was noted by Miss Campbell who selected books for her education and with this personal interest saw to it that she enter Atlanta University at the age of fifteen. Her preparatory education had been obtained at the Lewis High School, now known as Ballard Normal School. Mrs. Georgia Swift King, a classmate of Miss Laney at Atlanta University, says that Miss Laney was one among a group selected by the American Missionary Association to form a class at Atlanta University, and she believes that the authorities made no mistake but rather did themselves honor when they selected Lucy C. Laney, for she proved herself a most brilliant student, graduating in the first class in 1873.

TAUGHT IN GA. SCHOOLS

After graduation she immediately entered the teaching profession. For ten years she taught in the public schools of Macon, Milledgeville, Savannah, and Augusta. She left Augusta and returned to Savannah, and it was while she was at Savannah the second time that Rev. Mr. Allen, a representative of the Board of Freedmen persuaded her to return to Augusta for mission building in the 800 block of Gwinnett Street was rented, and the work continued. Due to over-crowded conditions here Mr. Platt, a local white undertaker, allowed her the use of a two - story frame structure on lower Calhoun Street with a barn in the rear which she converted into classrooms by means of partitions. The school faced real hardships; no money, debts, fire and flood. Following the flood, typhoid fever broke out; and Miss Freeman, the first teacher who came to work with Miss Laney, died.

Although the Presbyterian Board sanctioned the school it did not see its way clear to maintain it. Acting upon the advice of a Presbyterian minister in Augusta, she made her way to the General Assembly in 1887 which met at Minneapolis. She left home with just enough money to buy her ticket one way. Fatigued from the trip, she fell asleep after entering the meeting of the Assembly. Awakened to speak, she encountered jealously on the part of others who were there to present their case. Seeing their attitude, she merely presented the needs of the school and asked only for her fare back home. She warned her hearers that some day she would have a school that they would hear from. Time has proved her statement true.

ONLY MORAL SUPPORT

The school was taken under the care of the Board of Freedmen, but still they could give the institution only moral support. The trip, however, was not in vain. At this assembly she met Mrs. Haines who became so thoroughly interested in Miss Laney and her work that she used her influence among friends. Miss Laney was so impressed with her that she named her school in her honor. Finally after months of deprivation and suffering, the board began to give some financial aid such as paying teacher's salaries in part or whole and providing for some of the maintenance. This aid with gifts from friends in the North enabled Miss Laney to carry on. Later the school was moved from Calhoun Street to its present site on Gwinnett Street. A Mrs. Marshall and her daughter who al-

associated with the Minneapolis Star and Tribune. Mr. Rowan is the author of "South of Freedom," published in 1952; "The Pitiful and the Proud," published in 1956; "Go South to Sorrow," published in 1957; and "Wait Til Next Year," published in 1960.

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Other things of consequence developed. In 1896, Miss Mary C. Jackson came to Miss Laney as Associate principal and remained until May 1916 when she left to become the wife of Dr. H. L. McCrorey, president of Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina. In 1906 Mrs. McGregor of Detroit gave $5,000 for the erection of the second building which is now used for classrooms for the high school and the chapel In 1924 Mrs. Wheeler through the influence of her nurse companion, Miss Mary Cauley, a former student of Haines, gave $10,000 for the Cauley - Wheeler Memorial Building which was built to take care of the primary work. The school grew, then, from one teacher and one classroom to 3 4teachers, 900 pupils, and three brick buildings with a number of cottages and frame structures.

Exercising vision, Miss Laney availed hrself of every opportunity to serve the community. When the hospital was burned in Augusta she opened her school for the sufferers, and they were cared for until quarters could be provided.

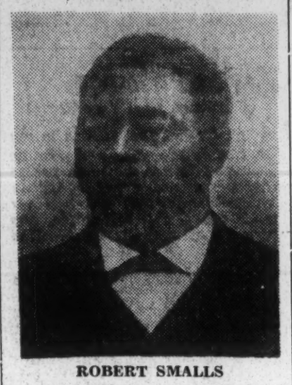
lies with a number non-commissioned officers; and the first Augusta boy to give his life overseas in that great conflict was a student of Haines. She organized thrift clubs, her students bought war savings stamps, and many of them opened bank accounts.

To speak of her strong points we should emphasize her independent spirit, her courage or conviction, her long suffering in the midst of hardships rather than compromise a situation, her power as a disciplinarian, and her personality as expressed in her orderly student body. She strove to have a school good enough for any body to visit. She was stern; but because she knew how to be human, her pupils loved her and respected her. She always sought to find the good in people regardless of their appearance. She thought of persons as persons regardless of race, color, or achievement. She always said that she wanted to teach ladies and gentlemen and sought to instill that principle, saying, "God has nothing to make men and women out of but boys and girls," and so she taught her pupils to be men and women and not just good "colored persons.' Said she, "I am as good as anybody else; God had no different dirt to make me out of than that used in making the first lady of the land." Her primary object in all her teaching was character- building. "No man," says Miss Laney, "is judged by the superficial information afforded by his clothes."

Her last days were those of inactivity brought on by excessive work, but she did not give up until she could go no further. Many would have retired when the ravages of disease came, but not so with Lucy Laney. Said she, "I want to wear out, not to rust out." Truly she wore herself in the service of her people and then sat quietly in the twilight of life waiting for the call from labor to reward.

Over five thousand sad hearts made their way to the bier of their fallen leader, thus showing their love and respect.

JOHN HOWARD MORROW
U. S. Ambassador to Guinea



MADAME T. G. BRAMLETTE
Founder, 1913, Hawaiian System of Scalp and Hair Culture

ROBERT SMALLS
Representative in Congress from South Carolina

MARTIN R. DELANY
First Negro Field Officer in the U.S. Army

HUBERT HUMPHREY, Senator (D-Minn.) speaking of tax-cut and tax-revision proposals: "As of now, the tax program is in trouble."

FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Senator (D-Ohio):
"To support a tax cut at this time might bring national calamity."

MAJOR GENERAL
BENJAMIN O. DAVIS, JR., USAF

Leontyne Price, Singer Of Decade

LEONTYNE PRICE
Opera Singer

Miss Price originally set her sights on a career as a music teacher. She studied piano as a child and later as a student at Central State College in Wilberforce, Ohio.

She had always sung but had not given serious thought to an opera or concert career until her last year in college. When it became evident to her teachers that she should sing for the public instead of teach, they encouraged her to try for a scholarship to the Julliard School of Music.

Miss Price was born in Laurel, Mississippi. As a child she loved music. Her youthful musical activities followed the usual pattern — singing in school and with the local church choir. She also studied the piano and impressed everyone with her obvious musical gifts.

She was fortunate in being a close friend of the Alexander Chisholm family of Laurel. Chisholm, a banker, and his wife, Elizabeth, took a keen interest in Leonytne. The soprano always refers to Mrs. Chilsholm as her second mother.

The friendship developed after an aunt of the singer got a job as a domestic in the banker's house. Miss Price's father worked as a

music critics as well as an enthusiastic public was the NBC-TV opera, "Tosca." It was sung in an English translation done by John Gutman.

Hard work is something she doesn't worry about. On a trip to Europe in 1958 she was engaged to sing in Vienna, Berlin and London. Fially she was signed for an appearance at the famed La Scala Opera House in Milan. She was the first Negro to appear there in a major role and was a brilliant success.

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DEMOCRACY-SHEMOCRACY

Away down in the land of cotton,
After the citizen votes he is forgotten.

Bristol (Va.) Herald Courier.

1863 1963

100 YEARS OF EMANCIPATION

We Salute
The Negro Community On Its
Progress In All Endeavors.
May You Always Prosper.

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CENTRAL CHEVROLET, Inc.
2930 PEACHTREE ROAD, N.W.

1863 1963

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Of The
100th Anniversary
Of The
Emancipation Proclamation
By
President Abraham Lincoln

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Our Negro Citizens
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BAILY THEATRES
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EIGHTY-ONE & CARVER
Bailey Theatres Have Been Serving Atlanta Since 1915

1863 1963

A LEGEND . . .

One night in ancient times, three horsemen were riding across a desert. As they crossed the dry bed of a river, out of the darkness a voice called "halt", they obeyed. The voice then told them to dismount, pick up a handful of pebbles, put the pebbles into their pockets, and remount. The voice then said "you have proven your obedience, tomorrow at sunrise you will be both glad, and sorry." Mystified the horsemen rode on: at sunrise they reached into their pockets, and found that a miracle had indeed happened — the pebbles had been transformed into diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones. They remembered the warning, they were both glad, and sorry — glad that they had taken some, sorry that they had not taken more . . . and . . .

This Is The Story Of
Any Education

This also is the story of M.T.I. Schools of Atlanta where every member of the staff is dedicated to affording all people another chance to train, and to qualify themselves in a highly technical and competitive world.

M.T.I. Schools proudly take a place in the business community, and the educational structure of this city, and we join with you in rendering respect to the occasion commemorated at this time.

M.T.I. SCHOOLS

ATLANTA TECH.
School Of Welding

WALTER C. WILLIAMS
Director

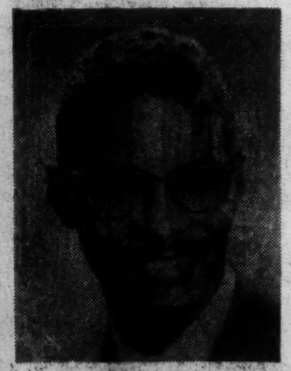
Distinguished Negro American Since Emancipation Proclamation

DORIE MILLER

Died At Pearl Harbor

HERO OF PEARL HARBOR — Dorie Miller received the Navy Cross on May 27, 1942, from Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet. Miller was given this high honor for his heroism during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. While the battle raged in its greatest fury, Miller carried his wounded captain to safety from the bullet spattered bridge of his battleship. Still under constant fire, Miller returned to man a machine gun for the rest of the engagement. Dorie Miller was one of a long line of Negro defenders of our nation, who have been given temporary recogniton as heroes but have been omitted from the history books used to teach each new generation concerning the glorious tradition of our country.

Arthur A. Chapin, Labor Consultant



ARTHUR A. CHAPIN

Minority Groups Consultant to the Department and the Secretary of Labor

W.C. Handy, "Father Of Blues," Set High Mark

William Christopher Handy was born in Florence, Alabama, November 16, 1873, the son and grandson of Methodist Episcopal ministers. While living in Memphis, Tennessee, he organized a band for which he arranged all the orchestrations. In 1909 he made use of the saxophone. The story of the first "Blue" song to be written is an interesting one. It places the date of the new name in the domain of ragtime as that of 1909-10. Musical America reported:

"In 1090 the fight for the Memphis mayoralty was three-cornered, the corners being Messrs. Williams, Talbert and E. H. Crump. There were also three leading Negro bands: Eckford's Bynum's, and Handy's. As a matter of course the services of these three were engaged for the duration to demonstrate to the public the executive ability of their respective employers; through Jim Mulcahy, a ward leader, before whose saloon the Handy forces ha dotten serenaded, his candidate turned out to be Mr. Crump. This was a matter of moment, involving the organization of sub-bands in order to cover all possible territory, and Handy was spurred to creative effort, which he happened to exercise through the aid, not of remembered tunes, but of that blues form which had, without analysis, somehow imbedded itself in his thoughts. His band opened fire at the corner of Main and Madison with a piece (named, of course, "Mr. Crump'), of such vivacity that it caused dancing in the streets and an outbreak of public whistling. With such a song, and none like it forthcoming from Eckford's or Bynum's, the popular choice (Crump and Handy) was a foregone conclusion; the one became Mayor, the other locally famous, the sought-after for all celebrations, the writer of manuscripts of his one lion - child for the belles between numbers at the dances, the magnificently tipped accordingly by their beaux; the proprietor of a whole chain of bands, sending out nearly ninety men to this quarter and that of a sigle night." Thus did a new form win immediate recognition for itself and its instigator and a political conflict at the same time.

MUSIC BECOMES RAGE

In 1912, when W. C. Handy found it difficult to market his wares, he disposed of his copyright to the Bennett Company that had George Norton write words to fit the melody. The Pace and Handy compositions, lyrics by Harry H. Pace and music by William C. Handy, became the rage and the partners decided to migrate to New York. Before 1916, the 'Memphis Blues" had been followed by many others in like vein, and they soon became favorites on phonograph records. White musicians visited the Pace and Handy Publishing house in New York, listened to the "St. Louis Beale Street, The Harlem, Golden Brown, and Loveless Love Blues," and departed to imitate the wailing, moaning, "careless rapture" or badman sentiment of Handy' output. Primarily a lament over the loss of a lover, the structural form of the it to say that the blues architecture is admirably adapted to the impromptu song and versification alike. Just as the stanza had three lines instead of the two or four normal to simple verse, so the voice would sing (always in two-four time L2 instead of the normal 8 or 16 bars to the strain, each like being complete in 4 bars of the air. As each line usually expressed a thought which, with a period after it, would stfil make sense, so the air with the last syllable of each line would return to the keynote or the tonic third or fifth ,so that the whole presented a period of 3 semi - independent phrases (separated, as will be shown, by noticeable intervals) instead of one sustained flight — with successive bizarre effects of internal finality and of final incompleteness.

"Regularly in folk-blues the last syllable of each line thus coincides, not only wth the key-note or another element of the tonic major triad, but with the first beat, third bar, or its corresponding four bars of music, leaving seven quick beats or three slow ones (according to time signature) before the melody proper resumes its motion."

Handy's Blues, and Anthology, received wide notice by reviewers. Edward Burlingame Hill, writing in The Christian Sicence Monitor, spoke of the book as "material for close study of the Blues" . . . A practical and stimulating collection." Sigmund Spaeth in The Bookman, described the work as one that "provides a variety of amusement and edification for the reader or performer, with no great demands, in general, upon his musical sense or ability." It covers the entire field of this type folk secular music and includes excerpts from the piano concerto "Rhapsody in Blue" or George Gershwin."

Lieutenant John Niles in his book, Singing Soldiers, gives an example of what he calls "The Deep-Sea Blues." It is a most amusing song extemporized by illiterate Negro Soldiers who were sent from the Mississippi bottom to Hoboken, where they were put to work on the docks. One day, what they thought was the warehouse floated away. In Bordeaux they sang, "Everybody in Hoboken town, Everybody an' Me — Hopped upon a warehouse that was swinging around, An' went to sea. Oh, all day I'se a looking for trees, Lookin's for sand, Lookin' for land—"Cause I've got dose awful weepin,' sleepin' — Got dose awful sailing', wailin' — Got dose awful deep -sea blues."

There is now in vogue a low type song of sentimentality called the "Torch song" practiced by the Nudists of the musical world, in which the whining voice complains of unrequited love. These songs probably are taken from the "Blues," But they are in no sense a development or an improvement. Gilbert Selds pithily says in The New Republic, "None of these approaches in words or music the high level of the early blues — especially the work of Mr. Handy .... Apart from being a goo dcomposer, Handy was in part recording and in part giving the essence of a simple emotion in terms which are well nigh universal."

William Christopher Handy died March 28, 1958 at the age of 84 in New York City after ailing with blindness several years. Mayor Tucker of St. Louis proclaimed April 10, 1958 as Handy Day. Twenty-five bands from as many schools consisting of 1,200 secondary pupils played the St. Louis Blues and the Board of Education closed schools in St. Louis a half-day. A 20 - foot photograph of Handy was displayed n the City Hall with other elaborate tributes to Handy who contributed so much to the City of St. Louis. Ex-President Harry Truman secured a rare collection of Handy's published songs for his great library at Independence, Missiouri These are facets of American cultural history whose deep roots sink into the African background. They have flowered and flourished in America in spite of the efforts of so-called American sociolgists white and Negro who have sought in vain to discredit any inheritance among American colored people from Africa!

Lutie A. Lytle, Pioneer Lawyer

LUTIE A. LYTLE

Pioneer Negro Woman Lawyer

By CHARLES S. BROWN

The subject of this sketch is among the pioneer Negro women lawyers. She was graduated from the Law Department of Central Tennessee College, which was founded in Nashville in 1865. The law department was founded in 1879. Meharry Medical School is the only school of this college still in existence.

Miss Lytle was born in Topeka, Kansas, in 1871, the daughter of J. R. Lytle, a prominent barber of that city. She attended the public schools of that city, graduating from high school. After her graduation she worked as a compositor for a newspaper where she came into contact with many persons who broadened her perspective. Leaving the newspaper work in 1892, she went to Chattanooga where she taught school two years earning enough money to pay her

TAX REVISION PROPOSALS

Senator Humphrey (D., Minn.) says that he will try to have the Administration's tax cut and tax-revision proposals taken up separately instead of as a package — a move which he said has drawn "favorable response" from President Kennedy.

There have been calls from both sides of the partisan aisle for the Administration to divorce its proposed $13,600,000 tax cut from the proposed tax revisions that would brin gthe Government an estimated $3,400,000 a year.

Clifton R. Wharton, Ambassador To Norway

CLIFTON R. WHARTON

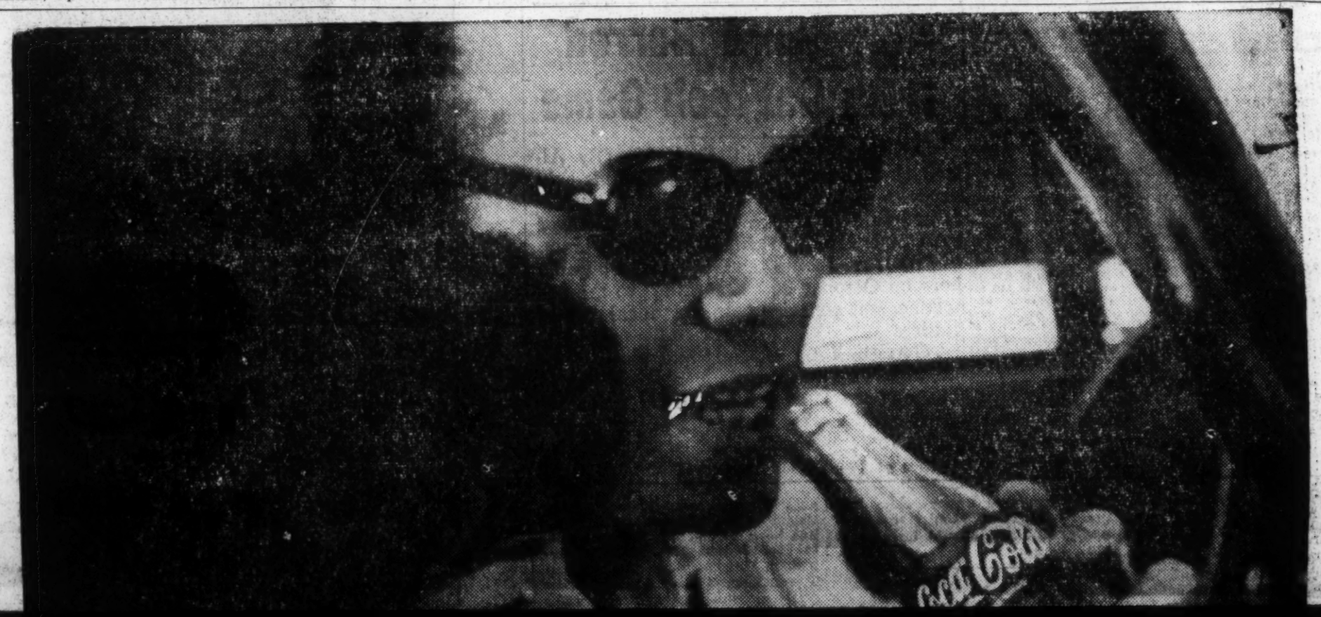
U.S. Ambassador to Norway

Clifton R. Wharton was sworn in on March 9, 1961 as United States Ambassador to Norway. He succeeds Miss Frances Willis. Secretary of State Dean Rusk and the Ambassador of Norway, His Excellency Paul Koht, attended the ceremony. Ambassador Wharton expects to leave for Norway on March 31.

Ambassador Wharton was born at Baltimore, Maryland, on May 11, 1899. He attended Boston University where he received his LL. B. in 1920. He was admitted to the Bar of the State of Massachusetts in the same year and began the practice of law in Boston. He received his LL.M. from Boston University in 1923. He was appointed a law clerk in the Department of State in 1924.

In 1925 the Ambassador entered the Foreign Service and was assigned as Third Secretary in Monrovia. He was transferred to Las Palmas in 1930 and from 1936 to 1941 had three temporary assignments to Monrovia. In 1942 he was assigned to Tananarive as Consul. He was named American Maritime Delegate in Ponta Delgada in 1945 and in 1946 was appointed Consul in the same city.

The Ambassador was transferred to Lisbon as First Secretary and Consul in 1949 and became Consul General there in the following year. Three years later he was named Consul General at Marseille. In 1958 Ambassador Wharton was appointed United States Minister to Rumania. He retained that post until his present appointment. In 1959 he was promoted to Career Minister.



line of Negro defenders of our nation, who have been given temporary recogniton as heroes but have been omitted from the history books used to teach each new generation concerning the glorious tradition of our country.

Arthur A. Chapin, Labor Consultant

ARTHUR A. CHAPIN

Minority Groups Consultant to the Department and the Secretary of Labor

Mr. Chapin was appointed Minority Groups Consultant to the Department and the Secretary of Labor February 20, 1961.

Mr. Chapin attended the public schools in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where he was born; and Temple and Rutgers Universities. He served from 1947 to 1958 as Assistant to the President of the New Jersey State CIO Council, specializing in drafting state legislation dealing with civil rights, housing, un-employment compensation, minimum wage, migrant labor, etc. His previous positions were Assistant to the late Sydney Hillman of the National CIO, did organizing work for the CIO and various international unions. During these years with the New Jersey CIO he served as trustee for the New Jersey Hospital Service Plan, Governor's Committee on Housing, and Special State Minimum Wage Panel for Restaurant Employees.

Prior to his appointment by the Secretary of Labor he served as the assistant to the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

As Minority Groups Consultant he advises the Secretary on Civil Rights matters affecting the Department of Labor and coordinates programs for the Department in an effort to promote equal job opportunities and is responsible for the Department's attention being directed to specific problems as they relate to employment of minority groups.

Mr. Chapin is married and father of four children.

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The Folk-Blues as Music: 46 Blues, an Anthology by William C. Handy, with an introduction by Abbe Niles, The composer describes the structure of his music. He says:

"The structural peculiarities of the blues tunes may be the result of those of the stanza, more likely the reverse is the case but suffice man, described the work as one that "provides a variety of amusement and edification for the reader or performer, with no great demands, in general, upon his musical sense emotion in terms which are well nigh universal."

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GEORGIA SAVINGS BANK & TRUST CO.

74 PEACHTREE STREET

Congratulations to the Negro of Atlanta on the progress they have made.

Throughout our 63 years of life, it has been our privilege to assist the colored population of Atlanta to acquire and maintain homes through loans made to them on such home property.

Our continued good wishes go with you.

3½% On Savings Deposits

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Enjoy that refreshing new feeling with ice-cold Coke!

Stop for the refreshment with the lively-going taste—get the kind of sparkle that gets straight to your thirst, goes right with your taste for living. Bright, bracing—ice-cold Coca-Cola! Only Coke gives you that **Refreshing New Feeling.**

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THE ATLANTA COCA-COLA BOTTLING COMPANY

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SPORTS

SUNDAY, SEPEMBER 30, 1934 THE ATLANTA DAILY WORLD, ATLANTA, GA. PAGE FIVE

Introducing "100 Percent Wrong" Club

Who Will Be The Wrongest Guy?

Top row (left to right) C. R. Higginbotham, Shelton Coles, Jimmy Perry, Hubert Jackson, W. A. Hamilton, Eric Roberts, and Leroy Carter. Bottom Row (left to right) A. T. Hollingsworth, Michael Turrentine, J. C. Chunn, Lucius Jones, Joel Smith, and Bacharach Smith.

By RIC ROBERTS

WELL, good people, there they are. I mean, here we are. You are looking at the ATLANTA WORLD'S 100 PER CENT WRONG CLUB. Those guys up there above this article are going to pick you the winners of every major Negro game this year. That is very nice, don't you think? See, all you have to now is buy a Friday issue of the WORLD beginning this week and all the games will be tabled off and predicted for you.... even the scores!

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A group of intelligent guys like those up there ought to be able to do it. Look at those brows, and that intellectual gleam in Hubert Jackson's eye.

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Willis Ward Barred from Ga. Tech Game

ANN ARBOR, Mich., Sept. 30.–(By Alfred H. Bailey for ANP)–Because his skin happens to be black, Willis Ward, nation-famed colored track star and great end of the University of Michigan's football team, will be barred from the Georgia Tech game here on October 20, according to the announcement contained in the local white dailies.

Georgia Tech officials and players objected to playing against a Negro, it was said, and the University of Michigan, anxious to play the team from Georgia, gave [illegible] to them [illegible]

(This is a reprint from 1934 edition of The World)

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TV IN [illegible]

next October, according to Harry Engel, American TV expert who has been named television advisor to the Uganda Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism. The nationwide [illegible]

Atlanta Daily World Is First

Negro Press Dates To Pre-Civil War Era

By STANLEY S. SCOTT

The Negro press in America, which has a combined circulation of more than two-million copies and numbers 200 weeklies and two dailies, has a history dating back to pre-Civil War days.

This year marks the 133rd anniversary of the Negro press. The function of the Negro press down through the years has been primarily to give the Negro dignity and respect and the will to fight for first class citizenship and full opportunity for growth and development.

The Negro press, sometimes accused of being flavored but always militant and in the forefront of the fight for fulfillment of minority aspirations, has more than justified its existence as worthwhile service institution to the community. It has often been stated with good reason that there will always be a place for the Negro press, if, only for the purpose of recording in print things about the Negro that the white press censors.

The first Negro newspaper to emerge on the American scene was Freedom's Journal, published in New York in 1827 by Samuel E. Cornish, pastor of the African Presbyterian Church and John Russwurm, a Bowdoin graduate and the first Negro in the United States to receive a college degree.

The North Star, established in 1847 by Frederick Douglass in Rochester, New York, was the most famous of the early papers. In 1870, there were 10 Negro newspapers; twenty years later there were 154. All of these papers grew out of the vile attacks on Negro Americans and served as a historical record of racial injustices.

The Negro press in America has a proud legacy of having hammered away at racial indignations and has continued to serve as a critic of discrimination, in bold black headlines, whenever it has been uncovered.

FIRST NEGRO DAILY

The first Negro daily newspaper in the United States was the New Orleans Tribune, printed in both French and English, which ran as a daily for one year in 1865, then reverted to a weekly.

However, the founding of the Atlanta Daily World in August, 1928, and its later daily newspaper run on March 13, 1932 marked the advent of America's first daily newspaper in America in the twentieth century and the only Negro daily publication since 1865. The World was later joined by the Chicago Defender as a daily paper in 1955.

The Atlanta Daily World was founded by the late W. A. Scott II, and was published as a weekly until the spring of 1930 when it became a semi - weekly.

The World has since grown to a 20,000 circulation in the Atlanta metropolitan area, with a total circulation of more than 50,000, which

W. A. SCOTT II

includes the Memphis World, Birmingham World, Chattanooga Observer, Florida Spur, Alabama Tribune, Columbus World, Southwest Georgian, and also weekly editions of the World to Augusta, Ga., Macon, Ga., Brunswick, Ga., and a national edition that makes its way to other sections of the southeast.

OTHER LEADERS

Among the other publications that have carried on the editorial protest against racial discrimination in the armed forces and in war jobs, and in the denouncement of race riots, civil rights abuse, we must mention the Pittsburgh Courier, Afro-American, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Chicago Defender, The Crisis, Cleveland Call-Post, Louisville Defender, Amsterdam News, and numerous others that have served to help keep the spark of freedom burning.

Among Negro magazines, Ebony, Jet, and Our World made marked circulation successes after 1945.

This Negro press from "across the tracks," that has a national news agency in the Associated Negro Press, and the National Negro Publishers Association which is composed of dedicated publishers, and makes no bones about its policy of protest, has maintained the vigil at democracy's door steps. The solid importance of the agency lies not in its hardhitting editorial attacks alone, but in the fact that it provides employment and a vast platform for Negro leadership, serves as a coordinator for any mass action the race is impelled to take and is a most fundamental instrument of public education.

Negro newspapers are honest, faithful and indeed biased to the Negro's cause. In fact, the logic of their very existence compels them to be such organs. They have an influence in American life. The Negro press looks out on the world as one community and mankind its citizens.

The Negro press strives to remind us that as men everywhere seek freedom, there must be a growing realization that as long as men are not free everywhere, men are not free anywhere; therefore it seeks to impress upon the Negro people the importance of wanting and seeking equality, and participation in making and administering of the laws under which they must live on all levels.

Not only has the Negro press concerned itself with the problems of Negroes in America, but also with the problems of minorities everywhere.

SHAMROCK CROP LOST

DUBLIN — St. Patrick's Day in America has a bleak outlook, because the severe winter has wiped out most of Ireland's shamrock crop.

Growers are afraid that foreign markets may grab their markets with the shamrock.

One American pilot said each year they fly out a ton of shamrock, but this year the suppliers cannot supply.

SEIBERLING TIRES

SEIBERLING NYTEX TRIPLE-GUARANTEE
Should a Seiberling NYTEX tire fail to deliver mileage as guaranteed under the terms of this offer, the undersigned dealer will allow credit toward a new tire based on the undelivered percentage of guaranteed mileage pro-rated against purchase price. All first class Seiberling passenger tires are guaranteed for original tread life, without time limit, against manufacturing defects and normal road hazards except repairable punctures. Replacement prorated on tread wear at current prices.

GUARANTEED TO WEAR
20,000 MILES!

Wrongest Guy?

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TV IN '63

KAMPALA — (ANP)—A nationwide television network is expected to be in operation in Uganda by next October, according to Harry Engel, American TV expert who has been named television advisor to the Uganda Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism. The nextwork is to consist of six stations, with the first covering the Kampala-Entebee-Jinja-Mansaka area. Cost of the project is estimated to be about $700,000.

100 YEARS

of PROGRESS

January 3, 1963, is the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, a document originated in an attempt to strengthen all men . . .

PAPA SUNSHINE

has served this community for nearly 40 years and hereby pledge that in the future, as in the past, we will continue to strive for the rights of men.

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SEIBERLING TIRES

SEIBERLING NYTEX TRIPLE-GUARANTEE
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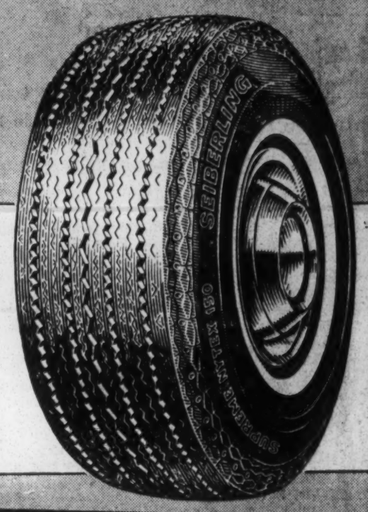

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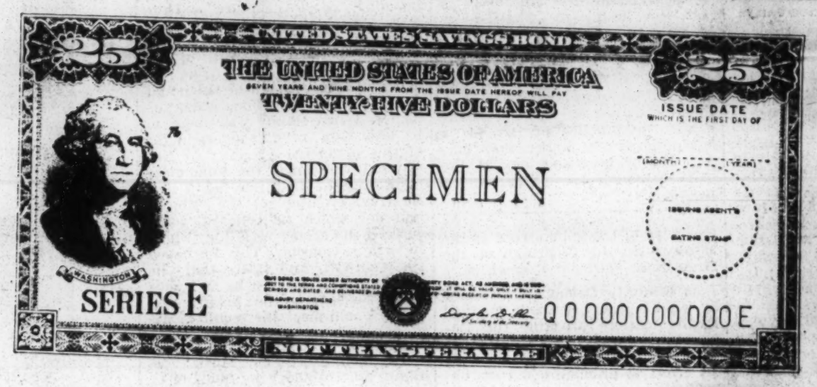
President
Bradford tire Co.



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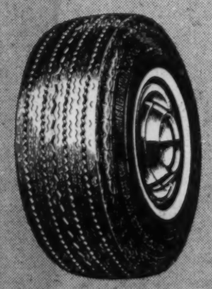
SAFETY WHITEWALL TUBELESS TIRES

$25 PER TIRE
7.50.14 Whitewall plus tax and your old tire.



IF YOU WEAR OUT THE FIRST ONE . . . . . WE'LL HELP PAY FOR THE NEXT ONE!

*GUARANTEED AGAINST ROAD HAZARDS UNTIL WORN SMOOTH!

BUDGET TERMS AVAILABLE

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BRADFORD TIRE COMPANY

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269 LUCKIE STREET

"Our Treadmark is the Trademark of Quality"

Pine Bluff Commercial

W.E.B. DuBois

9/1/63

William Edward Burghardt DuBois was born in New England five years after the Emancipation Proclamation.

He was also raised there, which may explain the austere sense of righteousness that dominated his thought and finally turned it into bitter rebellion. To be more specific, W. E. B. DuBois was a product of the state of Massachusetts, the home of William Lloyd Garrison's cold and absolute abolitionism.

The ancestry of Dr. DuBois became his creed and then his obsession.

He wrote his doctoral thesis on "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States," a study that became the first volume published in the Harvard Historical Studies series.

He lavished his brilliance as an historian, teacher, sociologist and writer on one subject. A list of his books reveals unbroken interest: "The Souls of Black Folk," "Darkwater," "Dark Princess," "The Encyclopedia of the Negro," "The Gift of the Black Folk."

His talent was as recognized as his bitterness was deplored. Writing in 1907, Henry James said: "How can everything have so gone that the only Southern book of any distinction published for many a year is 'The Souls of Black Folk.' "

In his autobiography, Dr. DuBois described his ancestry as "a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but, thank God, no 'Anglo-Saxon.' "

He scorned Booker T. Washington's advice that the Negro concentrate on vocational education.

Instead, Professor DuBois dreamed of a scholarly education for the "talented tenth" of the Negro population. He helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to advance his own ideas and the scope of the Negro American's ambitions.

But as disappointment and defeat embittered him, he drew further away from the mainstream of American thought. He found himself an extremist among Negro leaders. In 1948, he resigned for the second and final time from the NAACP after a series of quarrels with its leadership.

He drifted toward communist front groups and finally left the United States to settle in Ghana, where he joined the Communist Party two years ago at the age of 93.

So W. E. B. DuBois was lost from the American community years before his death this week. And he was lost to disillusion and resentment long before he fell for communism.

His drift away from the Negro American community was a loss that defaced but never entirely obliterated his promise and intellect.

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He died in Ghana on the eve of this week's March In Washington.

The confluence of those two events marks a watershed in the procession of spokesmen for the Negro American. The difference between the man who died the night of August 27th and the men who led the march of August 28th is enough to constitute a Great Divide in the history of the Negro American.

The 200,000 revolutionaries who moved darkly toward the Lincoln Memorial Wednesday listened quietly to talk of the American Dream.

They flaunted the American Bill of Rights at those who said they should not have petitioned the government for a redress of grievances.

Their leaders were welcomed by the President of the United States.

They sang what some critics say is the only indigenous American music, the Negro spiritual.

They did not march In cadence from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial; they walked.

They waved at the television cameras, not unlike audiences come to watch Queen for a Day.

Amidst the mass-produced signs, a number reminiscent of hometown boosters club sprouted ("New Castle, Penna. NAACP Chapter").

The march combined a number of American institutions, including the July 4th picnic, the outdoor revival and the Sunday walk.

Some of the women wore hats that looked as though they might have come from cartoons satirizing the American clubwoman.

Their leaders exhorted the revolutionaries to keep quiet and stay orderly. The 200,000 revolutionaries kept quiet, stayed orderly, sang the Battle Hymn of the Republic, and then went home.

W. E. B. DuBois is dead.

Thoughts

Countries are well cultivated, not as they are fertile but as they are free.

Montesquieu

I fould rather sit on a pumpkin, and have it all to myself, than to be crowded on a velvet cushion.

Thoreau

Negro History

Liberal? Conservative? What Happening In U.S?

Atl. Daily Sun., 4-14-64

By GEORGE M. COLEMAN

The oily tongued bleats, that declare white supremacy is still the main ideal of the United States, continues with lip service as strongly as ever, but the growth of "The Party of Lincoln in the South," and public communication between colored people and an avowed segregationist, shows that the Negro has arrived as an important people in the nation, and one to be consulted, respected and accepted.

Twenty two years ago the so-called separate but equal doctrine was not even challenged .... Negroes grew up expecting to live out their lives as second class citizens, while paying taxes equally, and dying on the battlefields of the wars of a nation which pushed them back, even in its federal courts.

Today, a name that has aroused the ire of Negroes since the early part of the century, has been publicly linked with a convention of Negro teachers, and a Talmadge, whose name has helped hold back the tide for equality so successfully, has been given a standing ovation by the very people he is actively engaged to oppose from his seat in Washington.

Why?

Today, a name connected with political foolishness that told white southerners one man could stand in the doorway of a school house, and keep the United States, with all its armies from sending a Negro inside, has received 25 per cent of the vote in a Northern city, where people like Governor Wallace were not supposed to even be welcome.

Why?

A liberal president is both dead and alive .... A southerner sits in the White House, pushing civil rights .... A western conservative is depending upon states where segregation of the kind which does not thrive in his own community is king, to gain him nomination to lead the "Party of Lincoln," .... And another man, with a family reputation for liberalism, is having difficulty in catching up in popularity in a nation putting itself upon the map in favor of human rights.

And in Atlanta people will be busy trying to evaluate the Talmadge story from the GTEA declaration that all factions should be heard, to the logical explanation by a NAACP leader that those who did not have to attend the speech probably were not present.

Negro ~~Southern~~ History

STRANGE EVENTS

Certainly the strange series of events our country has witnessed in recent months makes one wonder if liberalism has run its gauntlet, and is steadily trying to move the clock backwards to a more conservative view ... While conservatism, bombarded by illogical bigotry, racial segregation loses, and a general bad reputation is leaning over backwards to a more liberal point.

And if this is true, then the reaction of Negro teachers could have nothing to do with either of these, although their actions have bolstered the cause of segregationists who apparently have desires for high, greener pastures, and seek to change their reputations so as to gain the vote of the people they got into office by condemning.

Common sense tells one that Negro teachers from small Georgia areas, where Negro political, and economic strength is nothing like that in Atlanta, were sent to the convention for a purpose ... That they would have to report back to their communities on the complete convention, and thereby could not snub the Talmadge speech, as could teachers from big city areas, where the segregationist has lost most of the control.

And this aided the Talmadge audience, where a Negro policeman noticed that few cars arriving at Municipal Auditorium had Fulton license plates.

ODD PICTURE

What an odd picture .... The young Negro senator fulfills another engagement when the controversy arises .... The elder statesman, expected to remain quiet stands at the meeting and introduces Talmadge...

And if this whole unusual picture can be summed up, it would go something like this ...

The white liberal stood against slavery .... He asked that the Negro be treated better, but few visioned a black man standing as a complete equal .... One in Washington, stating to the world that "I have a dream." .... A Negro union leader reaching fame many of them could not achieve, and some publicly shouting the ideal of "I'm the greatest."

Humane treatment, yes .... But who is ready to accept the Negro as a complete equal, socially, professionally, etc?....

And on this scene walks a Goldwater, following the leadership of a Kennedy with an open declaration for complete equality ...

And then the other side of the picture .... Frustrated Southerners; winning congressional seats ..

And yet never gaining real fame because their way of life has been a bitter pill which has even damaged the reputation of their country .... Many of them, seeing the rise of the Negro vote, want a slice of it, and evenutally the presidency if liberal factions can be brought to their fold....

A change where two extremities could be altering their courses, and bent upon disproving the old adage that "never the twain will meet."

Or you can do like many a human being now a days, and just say that everybody's nuts.

Southerners and Schools

I - The Defiant Ones in Virginia

II - The "New Negroes" in Alabama

III - The Segregationists Go North

IV - Atlanta Is Different

V - New Orleans Knows Better

VI - Nashville—First Steps Firmly Taken

VII - Deliberate, Yes—Speed, No

by Helen Fuller

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Southerners and Schools

I—The Defiant Ones in Virginia

THE STATE that has borne the brunt of the "massive resistance" campaign against the Supreme Court is preparing to retreat. Gov. J. Lindsay Almond and Attorney General Albertis Harrison have sent word to the six other states of the old Confederacy which have made no move to comply with the 1954 school desegregation decision to count Virginia out. Watch out for falling rocks and know that Virginia has gone to prepare a safer place for you, the message said.

These other six "massive resisters" will be in no hurry to accept the invitation. In time they will follow as they have done so often in the past, but there is no reason to rush. Defiance of the Nine Men is as popular as ever. Most white people in the Deep South firmly believe as their political leaders and newspapers, with few exceptions, have told them unceasingly for four years that:

The Supreme Court decision on the schools was unconstitutional;

The federal government is interfering illegally with the right of the states to run their own schools;

Desegregation is not inevitable. If they resist long enough and hard enough, the Court will change its stand.

And most of them also believe it would be preferable to shut down schools rather than desegregate them—at least for a while.

Having created this solid body of opinion, the Deep South politicians will follow it until forced to do otherwise. And it will be months or, for most of the other six states, years before the federal courts will rule on the constitutionality of their resistance statutes and thus create pressures to change course.

In Virginia, however, the final blow to "massive resistance" is expected to fall at any moment (possibly before this article appears in print) in the form of a court ruling declaring unconstitutional the laws which closed nine schools in three cities last September to prevent desegregation. The state itself has asked the Virginia Supreme Court to review these laws. And in a separate federal court action a group of Norfolk white parents are suing state and local officials for depriving their children of the equal treatment to which they are entitled under the 14th Amendment: their children are locked out of school while Negro and white children in other Norfolk schools attend classes as usual.

If, as most lawyers anticipate, these cases establish that the state cannot legally close one of its public schools without closing them all, "massive resistance" will soon become an ugly phrase. For Virginia officials have learned in four short months what trouble too much resistance can bring.

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"Massive resistance" in Virginia did not come about by popular demand. Outside of the Black Belt area—south of the James River—the general disposition after the initial shock of the 1954 Court opinion was to prepare to accommodate to it. This was Governor Stanley's first reaction. And the influential *Richmond News-Leader's* first editorial after the decision said in effect "we must find a way to adjust to it . . . if the Court gives us 10 years, we can do it."

But in midsummer 1954 things changed. Black Belt Virginia—which has only one-sixth of the people (half Negro) but supplied all four leading candidates for Governor in 1956 and dominates the legislature—decided to fight. A delegation of several hundred from the Southside called on the Governor. A mass meeting at Petersburg, with all Congressmen and delegates from the area present, declared defiance and set to work circulating every county board of supervisors in the state: "If you don't want Negroes in your schools, write the Governor." Sixty-one county boards did. Senator Byrd, who until then had been silent, declared himself on the side of the resisters, whereupon *News-Leader* Editor James Kilpatrick marched to the head of the procession, which he has been leading ever since, writing editorials which keep the Black Belt inflamed and which read like memoranda of instruction to the Governor and the legislature, loaning

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HELEN FULLER, *a Southerner by birth and education, has recently completed a survey trip through the Southern states.*

THE SOUTH: 1954-1958

STATES DESEGREGATING AS ORDERED:

Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

STATES DIVIDED OR DELAYING:

Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas.

STATES RESISTING:

Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia.

fire-eating editorial writers to other editors when segregationist sentiment needs refueling in their territory, and exhuming the discredited Doctrine of Interposition upon which the "massive resistance" laws were based.

But though "massive resistance" was not of popular origin, the mass of Virginians willingly followed where Kilpatrick and the Byrd men led. Even when it appeared that schools would be closed as a result, most people remained passive. Last spring and summer in the three towns where shutdowns were scheduled for September, efforts to organize parent protests failed miserably. A few weeks later, when children were actually shut out of school, many of those same parents were ready to join local Save-the-Schools Committees, but the general public in the rest of the state still remains relatively unconcerned. "People don't get riled up until it hits right at home," those who have been hit explain.

Since September, however, there has been an important shift. Although it still is not respectable to advocate desegregation, it has become acceptable to stand for public education (Virginians understand the unspoken implication: "even if we have to let in a few nigras"). This is largely because influential state organizations which were neutral have now come to the defense of the schools. At its state meeting in November the Congress of white PTA's refused to support massive resistance and voted for local option (555-553). The Virginia Educational Association (white teachers and administrators) called on the legislature to promise that the public schools would stay open. The State League of Women Voters did the same.

Courageous individual clergymen are getting more support from clerical hierarchies. All Episcopal vestries in Virginia in October read from their pulpits a pastoral letter from the House of Bishops stating the Christian objection to segregation. (But only one vestry complied with the church's request that all of them pass concurring resolutions of support.) In almost every vestry, however, there are now teen-agers who have attended the non-segregated youth camps the Virginia Diocese has sponsored for the past five summers who do support the House of Bishops view.

The Baptist General Association of Virginia meeting in November refused Governor Almond a vote of confidence for his handling of the race question, and gave one instead to the president of the Southern Baptist Conference, the defeated "moderate," Rep. Brooks Hays. And even the staid Virginia Council of Churches tries to act as a deterrent force on massive resistance extremists—mindful that politicians say the only force the Byrd machine fears is the clergy.

A succession of daily papers, led by the Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* and the *Roanoke Times*, have rejected massive resistance as a futile approach. And the *Richmond News-Leader* and *Times-Dispatch* have now joined them.

But much more disturbing to those who hold out for defiance of the Court are the signs that industry is not happy with what is happening to the schools.

When Save-the-Schools Committees from 15 communities gathered in Richmond on December 6, 1958, to form a state-wide organization, one of those present identified himself as the vice president of a new General Electric plant in Central Virginia (annual payroll: $5 million). He was there to see what could be done to keep the schools in his area open. If they closed he expected to lose at least one-fourth of his key employees—most of whom come from outside the state and could not be replaced under the circumstances.

Sperry-Rand in Charlottesville has already experienced what GE dreads. And Melpar, Inc., the largest employer in Northern Virginia, reports that it was having trouble holding electronics engineers and technicians even before closing threatened because of low standards in the schools.

But happy or not to be in Virginia those firms are there, and they are paying taxes, which Virginia badly needs. Norfolk banker Harry O. Nicholls broke sadder news to the Governor's Advisory Council on the Virginia Economy at a recent meeting. (Economic development was second only to continued school segregation in Almond's 1956 platform.) Mr. Nicholls reported that not a single new industry had settled in Virginia this year, although new industrial investment in North Carolina—whose token but "good faith" start toward desegregation has received court approval—totalled $250 million in 1958.

THE ELECTION returns in 1958 contained more food for thought.

Early on the morning after November 4, Governor Almond called sleepy-eyed reporters into a downstairs room of the Capitol to hear his version of the outcome. It was "a great tribute to Senator Byrd" and "a mandate of the people to continue 'massive resistance' to the Supreme Court's decision on the schools." (Only half a million of Virginia's 3.6 million people had voted, but

that was normal in the state with the smallest average voter turnout in the country.)

Senator Byrd had been unopposed for reelection until three days before the filing deadline, when a lady doctor announced as an independent because "somebody should oppose the man who plans to close the public schools." The fact that 120,000 Virginians, almost one-third of the total, had voted for Dr. Louise Wensel (whose name many of them saw for the first time on their ballots) the Governor explained away by pointing to a Negro precinct which had gone "two votes for Senator Byrd and 274 votes for *the woman*." (Even if every Negro in the state of Virginia with a paid-up poll tax had turned out for Dr. Wensel, that would have accounted for fewer than 50,000 votes.)

WHAT was interesting was the increase in the anti-Byrd vote—in Negro and white precincts alike—where "massive resistance" had closed or threatened to close the schools. Between the 1952 and 1958 Senatorial elections the anti-Byrd vote had increased from 17 percent to 34 percent in Charlottesville; from 29 to 40 percent in Norfolk; from 25 to 48 percent in the 10th District of Northern Virginia, where Arlington and Alexandria schools are scheduled to close next; and even rose .6 percent in Warren County (Front Royal), next door to Senator Byrd's apple empire along the Blue Ridge Mountains.

This was a long way from signalling the end of the regime that has ruled Virginia for 40-odd years. But the returns carried a warning, as the Governor acknowledged to the assembled reporters: "The trouble is that many people, more or less dedicated to constitutional principles, are not willing to make a sacrifice. They finally say, 'Well, we have fought as long as we can. Now let's turn around and run the other way'." Clearly some people who had been all for "constitutional principles" before their children lost their schools were now ready to run the other way. But many more in the same situation were not yet concerned enough to walk to the polls.

One reason was the emergency system of private classes that is operating in Charlottesville, Norfolk and Front Royal. The mothers who had been expected to revolt after Johnny had been underfoot all day for a week or so actually have not suffered too much from that. Most of the displaced children are either attending the makeshift part-time classes in such places as the Daughters of the Confederacy Museum (Front Royal), the First Baptist Sunday School or somebody's pine-panelled rumpus room, or have been entered in regular schools elsewhere.

But there are other frustrations. Mothers are bored with chauffeuring: four nine-year-olds on one block in Charlottesville go to classes in four different parts of town.

One parent whose basement is being used for a Fifth

Prodigal father

Grade says he didn't expect it to be so long—his light bills are killing him.

Many Norfolk parents are pinched to pay the private school tuition; others suffer to see their children being drawn into jobs which they almost certainly would not give up to return to high school now if it reopened.

Regular teachers in the emergency classes in Charlottesville are upset by the lack of contact with one another. Substitute teachers who are filling in want to get back to their own families.

High school juniors and seniors worry about getting into college—or having to stay in school an extra year to get a diploma. Naturally few recreation rooms have science lab equipment, and the lowered level of instruction generally must be obvious even to the student who prefers the emergency school because there is no law that says you have to go if you don't want to.

Towns, as well as parents and children and teachers, are affected. The traditional cleavage between those who value education and those who do not deepens, since those who are most opposed to education are also the most opposed to desegregation. Church congregations take sides for and against ministers with opinions on separation of the races. Members have been dropping out of Christ Episcopal Church in Charlottesville since it became the first church in town to open its doors to the segregated emergency classes. And Front Royal Baptists talked loudly of running the Reverends Stagg and

Fox out of town for opposing the closing of the high school.

Norfolk and Charlottesville have certain built-in stabilizers that help absorb such shocks. White people there are accustomed to seeing Negroes on the buses and in the libraries, in some graduate schools and nursing in hospitals. As cosmopolitan centers they have regular contact with people who do not practice segregation. Norfolk enjoys the benevolent effect of a constructive newspaper and Charlottesville that of Mr. Jefferson's University.

But Front Royal—and towns like it all across the South—have little experience of anything but the segregated way and few institutions to help them adjust to new ways. When the federal court ordered the Warren County white school to admit 17 Negroes, therefore, the shock waves gathered volume as they spread.

About 200 Negro families live in Front Royal (pop. 8,115). One-hundred-fifty of their breadwinners work in the big American Viscose plant which employs about 2,000 from the town. The plant is almost 100-percent organized by the Textile Workers' Union, AFL-CIO, and since 1948 the Negroes have met and voted with the white members, although they usually sit on the side or in the balcony. They used the union social hall for their parties, and the union voted special funds every year to buy pigs for Negro 4-H boys to raise and to pay $24-per-month for the last 10 years to sponsor a Negro religious program on the radio. Two years ago the union threatened to withdraw its contribution from the local Little League baseball team unless it agreed to let the Negroes play. Once the local included a Negro member in a union dinner and seated him next to a leading doctor who had never sat down to table with a Negro before. "We were making progress," the business agent, Chuck Leadman, says.

The union had been making social progress too. From being the object of bricks and scorn when they began to organize Viscose in 1940, union officers have advanced to election to the city council and the hospital board, and were now consulted by plant officials as equals.

It was embarrassing, therefore, when 17 Negro students, supported by the union's Negro members, filed suit for admission to the white high school in Front Royal.

When Leadman learned about the suit from the papers, he and some others drove to Richmond to explain to NAACP attorney Oliver Hill that he should call it off, and when Hill politely refused they went home sizzling. After all they had done for the Negroes! And what risks they had run of antagonizing their new friends in the community! By the time they returned, Leadman was saying: "We don't intend to let the colored man come in and kick us around. We are now ready to fight them as hard as we worked for them before. . . . I have broke with them because I am convinced they have not earned the right to support. . . . What we have to do to stave off integration we will do it. . . . If the colored want to travel this road, they can travel it alone."

Then on September 12 the Governor ordered Warren County High closed. Opinion on whether it was better to follow state or federal law on desegregating the schools had been about 50-50 in Front Royal up until then, good reporters say. But that began to change. Billy Armstrong, the local Byrd organization leader, passed the word that if Warren County didn't "stick with the team" there might be reprisals: maybe the legislature would overlook Warren on some appropriations.

Visitors came to town from the White Citizens Councils and the Defenders of State Sovereignty and street-corner groups began to talk learnedly of "mongrelization" and "communization"—and to accuse the few ministers who questioned closing the school of both.

The volume went higher when Jack Hamilton came to town. After Almond closed the Front Royal school, *News-Leader* Editor Kilpatrick suggested to the *Northern Virginia Daily,* which serves the area, that the local paper could use more editorial punch. To provide it he would let them have the son of his managing editor, a fiery, young arch-segregationist with a Patrick Henry style. That same week Jack Hamilton took over and began, as one resident describes it, "to really whip it up."

The voice of the moderates was scarcely audible in Warren County after his Baptist congregation threatened to fire Reverend Stagg for questioning massive resistance. And it fell completely silent after the local manager of the Viscose plant tentatively suggested they petition the state to return control of the high school to the town and met only hostility.

After that things moved fast. Eager to show that the union stood with the community against its Negro members, TWU leaders put through a $1-a-week wage check-off to pay for private classes for the locked out white students (amounting to $1,600-$1,700 per week, 50 percent of the total budget). Leadman suggests that Senator Byrd may have been of some help in arranging through the head office of Viscose in Philadelphia for the company to perform this unusual service.

Subscribers and advertisers expressed their disapproval of editorials in the weekly *Warren Sentinel* condemning the school closing by cancelling subscriptions and ads (the largest department store later found that this was not popular with its charge account customers who also value schools and put its ads back in the paper.)

Front Royal slowly froze into a policy of non-recognition of its Negro citizens. And today no white worker in the Viscose plant will speak to a Negro, and the company is being urged to bar Negroes from the cafeteria and canteen they have always shared. It is understood, however, Leadman says, that "nobody is going to get clobbered." The 150 Negroes in the plant are standing

together—except for one who took the floor in union meeting to say he was tricked into signing the petition for admission of the Negro students to Warren High. Not many of the others come to the union hall any more.

There is talk of an economic boycott by the whites against any merchant who employs a Negro. The stated goal: to run them out of town.

Meanwhile the county is rushing work on the new Negro high school that is going up to have it ready for next fall—in case the Negroes are still there.

And the Negroes say they are not about to go.

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Facing up to all these difficulties "massive resistance" has brought, the leaders in Richmond have resolved in the future to model themselves more after Gen. "Foxy Joe" Johnston—who slowed Sherman's march through Georgia to a walk by skillful defensive drives which spared his troops—than after Gen. John Bell Hood—who lost the battle for Atlanta by persisting in "senseless" attacks along Peachtree Creek until his entire force was spent. If they can't prevent desegregation forever, perhaps they can delay it at least a lifetime by litigation.

Virginia's leaders are currently thanking the Supreme Court for showing them what they believe is a way to do that. They see in the Court's sustaining of the Alabama Pupil Placement Plan a way to preserve *most* of their all-white schools for years, while shifting to the local communities the onus of countenancing what desegregation proves necessary to keep the federal law away from the door.

The Alabama Plan, which Governor Almond expects to recommend to a special session of the legislature when the present resistance laws are finally overthrown, is far more sophisticated than the patently absurd Doctrine of Interposition on which "massive resistance" is based. Instead of declaring war on the Court as Virginia did, Alabama proceeded to repeal every section of her constitution and statutes referring to segregation and enacted a new law to perpetuate segregation in the schools which contained no mention of race or color whatever. Under it, local school boards were simply empowered to assign students to schools according to a long list of criteria including health, suitability, adequacy, home environment and possible effects of the student's admission—but not race. Needless to say, no Negro has been assigned to a white school since the Placement Law has been in force. But there is nothing unconstitutional *on the face of it,* as the Supreme Court said on November 24.

With embellishments, it is this plan on which Virginia intends to make her next stand. One important addition Governor Almond contemplates is some kind of state tuition grant system to provide those who prefer to attend segregated private schools the money with which to do so. To increase the chances for court approval, the grants would be available to any student, white or colored, but there is little reason to believe that such an obvious subterfuge will get by for long. The scheme has immediate attractions, however. It would be an important sop to the Black Belt legislators who will kick and scream that the pupil placement plan is bending the knee to the Court. ("I'm afraid," says one legislator who wants to keep the schools open, "that if a vote were held in the Assembly today, it would eliminate public education. But Almond is a smart man and he may be able to feel his way through this thing and convince the Assembly his approach is the only way out.") It would also help conceal the fact that if Virginia administered the placement law in good faith, she would in reality be taking the path of token compliance for which her officials vilify North Carolina and Tennessee every day.

To further show his serious intention that private segregated schools are meant to be the main attraction and the slightly desegregated public schools only a side show to please the courts, the Governor will most likely request authority to sell unused schools as surplus to provide buildings for private schools, and to repeal compulsory public school attendance laws so as to provide pupils for the private schools.

☆

It is fitting that Virginia, which pioneered in "massive resistance," should lead the search for a way out of the constitutional impasse that doctrine has produced. Watching her progress should give some clue as to when the Deep South will finally surrender—as it must eventually—on the *principle* of public school segregation. The *practice* of desegregation, of course, will be farther in the future.

FROM THE *Richmond News-Leader*

1955

"In May of 1954, that inept fraternity of politicians and professors known as the United States Supreme Court chose to throw away the established law. These nine men repudiated the Constitution, spit upon the tenth amendment, and rewrote the fundamental law of this land to suit their own gauzy concepts of sociology. If it be said now that the South is flaunting the law, let it be said to the high court, *you taught us how.*"

1958

"This newspaper has concluded, in the light of recent events, that new defenses are urgently needed. If Virginia is to avoid defeat—if we are to be spared the awful tragedy of violence and race hatred that would result from integrated public schools to which there was no workable alternative—then we must prepare ourselves for speedy abandonment of a legal position that cannot be held much longer."

The "New Negroes" in Alabama

"IT'S JUST a question of who gets tired first, our side or the niggers. And it won't bother us a bit to spend the next generation in court," the lawyer said.

The "New Negroes"—cast in the mold of Martin Luther King—one meets in all the cities of the Deep South are no less resolute in their own cause.

It is strength matched against strength, with the Negro gathering confidence and determination by the day. And nowhere, everyone agrees, will the test be longer or more exhaustive than in Birmingham.

At the moment the contest there looks very one-sided. Everything is working for those who would pay any price to preserve segregation in the schools. Birmingham's largely industrial population (40 percent Negro), low in income and low in education, would face the possible closing of public schools—for a time—with greater equanimity than other cities of the region. A young city, founded only in 1870, Birmingham lacks deep cultural roots to steady it in times of change. And perhaps as a result, in the last 10 years the city has permitted the police free use of extra-legal methods against those who show any tolerance for integration.

Mail tampering by the police led to a federal conviction in 1955. Private interracial gatherings are customarily broken up by squad car officers with no warrants for search or arrest. Acts of violence go unpunished. The white press has reported 22 bombings and four cases of arson against Negro homes or churches in Greater Birmingham since 1947. Not a single arrest occurred, however, until last summer when Negroes caught two white men near a dynamiting and beat them up; the police arrested the two later in the hospital.

Compared with their peers in New Orleans or Atlanta, the "power structure" of Birmingham—known since Populist days in Alabama as the "Big Mules"—are lacking in financial courage and imagination. More interested in economy (they fought building a new city hall for years after the old one was condemned as a fire trap) than in growth (no new industry employing more than 1,000 workers has come to Birmingham since the war), they fail to see what sacrificing schools for segregation could cost the city.

The two daily papers are totally unreconstructed.

There are no effective voices of moderation. Those trade union leaders who have tried to talk reasonably about the Supreme Court position on the schools have found themselves in trouble when they came up for reelection. The state president of the Alabama AFL-CIO rode out such a storm (among other things he was accused of sneaking union funds to the NAACP), but race-baiting has become the accepted lethal weapon in factional union politics. White unionists had a large share a year ago in electing as city commissioner of police and education the most violent racist in Alabama politics, Eugene "Bull" Conner. Hayes Aircraft workers wrote Walter Reuther threatening to pull out of the UAW unless he stopped attacking segregation. And few Negroes attend union meetings any more.

The only faint sounds of respect for the Supreme Court ruling on segregation come from the clergy. The two manifestoes issued by the overwhelming majority of Atlanta ministers in support of compliance with the law respecting public schools evidently have pricked the consciences of some in Birmingham. A significant number of clergymen have condemned the bombings from the pulpit; a smaller handful make no secret of their belief that segregation is sinful. But a Birmingham manifesto on the order of the Atlanta declaration does not appear possible.

The men who dominate the Birmingham Ministerial Association are pastors of the oldest and biggest churches who have negotiated with businessmen in the building of their $3-$4 million plants for so long that they have come to think like them. And courage has not been synonymous with the Association. Last spring when there was an attempted bombing of the Beth-El Jewish Temple, the Ministerial Association met in special session to issue a strong condemnation. Two months later when a second attempt was made to blow up the Bethel Negro Baptist Church, presided over by Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth who had led the move to abolish segregation on buses, the Association had nothing to say. (When a meeting to protest was requested, it was refused on the ground that some members disliked Shuttlesworth personally.)

On the white side of the fence in Birmingham everything is running smoothly for the segregationists who are moving merrily along toward 1960, heating up race hatred to help carry Alabama for an Orval Faubus States' Rights ticket.

But in the longer run they have the likes of F. L. Shuttlesworth to deal with.

☆

White people in Birmingham who are inclined to sympathize with Negro aspirations for equal treatment generally do not include the Rev. Frank Shuttlesworth, pastor of the Bethel Baptist Church, in their expressions of good will. He "stirs the others up," they complain, "gives them ideas." Which is true. But except for Shuttlesworth the day of some token recognition of race equality in Birmingham would be much farther off than it is today. His critics can't cry "outside agitator" or "Northern influence," for Frank Shuttlesworth has rarely set foot outside of Alabama in all his 37 years.

Born in Montgomery, the slight, soft-spoken but extremely self-confident young preacher grew up on the outskirts of Birmingham where his stepfather worked in the mines at Oxmoor. After graduating from Rosedale High School, he married almost immediately, got a clerical job on the Air Force base at Mobile and started raising a family. In Mobile, Shuttlesworth began taking night courses at a Baptist seminary five miles away at Pritchett. That made him want to go back to school so much that in 1947 he quit his government job and moved his wife and three children to Selma, Alabama, where he entered Selma University, another Baptist institution. He did odd jobs at night and his wife worked, too. He stood first in his class. The next year he began preaching at a rural church 10 miles from Selma, and a few months later another little church at Potter's Station "called" him to be their pastor, too.

When the Shuttlesworths moved to Montgomery the next fall, in 1949, so that Frank could attend a college —Alabama State—which could award him a certificate to teach, he commuted the 50 miles back to Selma each weekend to tend his two rural flocks. And when the big Selma First Baptist Church lost its pastor the next spring, it was Shuttlesworth they called to replace him. He moved his family into the parsonage and went back to school.

When he received his A.B. at Selma University, he started commuting to Montgomery to complete the work for his teaching certificate, and after he got it he taught happily in Dallas County, an intransigent island of Confederate philosophy, for two years ("That was before I got into civil rights.")

In March, 1953, the Bethel Baptist Church called Reverend Shuttlesworth to North Birmingham where he did get into such things. In 1955, he took a hand in a long-standing effort to get Negro officers appointed to the city police force. Reverend Shuttlesworth persuaded 77 other Negro ministers to sign a petition, and he began knocking on doors at City Hall to find out why the delay on what every public administration study of Birmingham had recommended. "That was when I found out that the Southern white man can smile like he means 'yes' when he means 'hell, no'." City officials had actually promised to put Negro police on in 10 days when Emmet Till was killed. "I knew then there was just going to be a fight."

In recognition of what he had done on the police matter, the Birmingham chapter of NAACP invited Reverend Shuttlesworth to make the Emancipation Day speech on January 1, 1956. His talk on the three P's—Patience, Persistence and Perspective—made a big hit. He joined the NAACP then and as membership chairman had helped to build the local group to more than 3,000 when in June an Alabama circuit judge enjoined the NAACP from further activity in the state. "Nobody can explain how we felt that day they outlawed us, except it was like the day President Roosevelt died. Everybody went around asking everyone else, 'What are we going to do now?' "

"A few days later I happened by Arthur Shores' (local counsel to the NAACP) office on some other business and found a number of them sitting there asking each other what the NAACP could do. 'Gentlemen', I said, 'it is time the masses got in this struggle. . . . I have decided to stake my all on the altar and call a mass meeting.' I did, and that day we organized to attack segregation in Birmingham."

Shuttlesworth visited Montgomery where the bus boycott was on. And when the Supreme Court in December ruled that segregated seating on the Montgomery buses was illegal, he decided that it was time to move in Birmingham. On December 20 his people petitioned the city to rescind the segregation rules; otherwise, they warned, Negroes would "ride the buses unsegregated." On Christmas night, the Bethel Church parsonage was destroyed by a bomb; Shuttlesworth, his wife and children and a guest were slightly injured. But the next morning, as planned, Negroes seated themselves in the "white" (front) sections of buses and 22 were arrested. Shuttlesworth himself sat in the front seats of two buses and reported to the police that he had done so, but was not arrested for violating the segregation laws; he was, however, given a ticket for driving his car without a license. The following day he called off the massive non-violent defiance: "We have accomplished our purpose in getting these people arrested" and so requiring a legal test of the segregation laws.

(During the two years since the Christmas bombing the Shuttlesworth home and the Bethel Church have been under constant guard. Not by the police—they have never offered protection although detectives sit in Shuttlesworth's congregation every Sunday—but by vol-

unteers on regular shifts. One is always on duty in a shack back of the new parsonage that was built across the street from the church. Another guard keeps watch over the church from a high porch that has been added to a house across the way. When Shuttlesworth has to leave town overnight, someone stays in his home in his stead.)

An effort to test segregation in the waiting rooms of the railroad station soon after proved harder. Two Negroes, husband and wife, seated themselves in a room marked "Interstate and White Passengers" in the Terminal Station, and were arrested and jailed for daring to do so. When they brought suit in US District Court to test their rights, however, the police court charge against them was withdrawn in time to permit Federal Judge Seybourn Lynne to dismiss their petition because it had become "hypothetical."

That September Shuttlesworth took two of his children and two others to a white school to enter them on opening day. He was beaten by a mob outside the building, and the children were turned away. But suit was filed to test the constitutionality of the Pupil Placement Law which Alabama had passed in 1957 as her answer to the Supreme Court on desegregation. That suit was lost last November 24 when the Court refused to find the Placement Law unconstitutional *on its face.* But the next order of business on Shuttlesworth's personal calendar is to find another way to reopen the question of the law's legality.

Shuttlesworth had planned to press ahead on desegregating the public parks in 1958 too. A suit was to have been filed on November 18, but as it happened that day Shuttlesworth was in jail and his lawyers were busy. He and 17 other Negroes had been arrested in "white" seats in the buses again to test a new segregation ordinance.

These excursions are not without plan. Shuttlesworth believes that there must be attack along with resistance. It is not enough, he says, to refuse peace on the white man's terms; Negroes must take the initiative. "They should *ask* for the repeal of segregation laws even if they are not ready to file suits." And they should not pause between attacks. Timing is all important. And it is better to be ahead than behind. "Eisenhower always catches the bull by the tail rather than the horns and so gets tail results."

At first there were those among the Negroes who thought Shuttlesworth was too bold. The older preachers always had found it more comfortable to stir the fire with a long-handled poker. But there is no "vocal" opposition to his strategy now. The Negro ministry in Birmingham, like the teaching profession, is becoming younger. (Between one-third and one-half of the ministers could now be called "young.") They and the whole Negro community have felt delight in finding "that the Southern white man is not nearly the bugabear they thought he was" and in seeing Shuttlesworth give "Bull" Conner as good as he is given. And since January, 1957, the movement in Birmingham has gained status from alliance with other cities in what is called the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Martin Luther King, Shuttlesworth, C. K. Steele of Tallahassee and T. J. Jemison of Baton Rouge founded the new organization somewhat to the annoyance of the NAACP. The group has repeatedly denied that any rivalry exists, but Shuttlesworth does not shy away from expressing their difference in approach. He speaks with deep sincerity of the debt owed to the NAACP for preparing the ground for what is happening in the South today. The experience of Southern Negroes in the war, the Supreme Court decision on the schools, and the work of the NAACP produced the "New Negroes," and the NAACP should not be rated least of the three, he emphasizes. Shuttlesworth honors its work so much that he intends to take out a life membership when he gets the money. But the NAACP, in his view, "hasn't revised its policies to keep up with modern trends." Any organization that is "more class than mass" can not be truly effective now. "It is only through the masses, spiritually organized and committed to non-violence, that you are going to get the devotion and fervor it takes to go ahead. . . . It takes masses to meet massive resistance." The NAACP will probably be needed again "to put on the brakes," but there is no occasion to apply the brakes now, Shuttlesworth points out, "when the car isn't even moving."

The burden now must rest on the Southern Negro. There are liberal whites who would like to help, "but it is too dangerous for them. The bombings prove that." The federal government could help end segregation sooner, Reverend Shuttlesworth adds, but if it doesn't use its powers more forcefully than it is doing now, whether the Civil Rights Act has a "Section 3 or a Section 10, won't make any difference." He scorns the Civil Rights Commission for compromising with the State of Alabama on the matter of subpoenaing registration records. Compromise is no good, he says: "Where did the Missouri Compromise and the Wilmot Proviso lead but to the Civil War?"

Frank Shuttlesworth does not try to conceal his pride in his new-found gift of leadership. He frankly takes credit for firing the minds and imaginations of Birmingham Negroes to claim their rights. And he considers it a personal triumph that after 2½ years and 33 mass meetings his following is not discouraged. They come as often as they are called together, and they give whenever they are asked.

The main thing, he says, is to keep on keeping on. "The Alabama situation is like a rock you know is hard. You keep pounding and chiselling and it probably won't break with the stroke you expect, but it will fly wide open with one you didn't."

The Segregationists Go North

THE STATES of the Deep South are shifting their strategy of "massive resistance" from defense to attack. They will lose their leader, Virginia's Governor Almond, on January 19 (Robert E. Lee's birthday) if the courts, as expected, on that day declare void the laws Virginia passed to evade the 1954 decision desegregating the public schools. But the six remaining Confederate states which have refused to take even one step toward compliance with the 1954 Court order are resolved not to go Virginia's way without much more of a struggle. There is plenty of fight left in the Eastlands, the Russells, the Talmadges and the young fire-eating Governors of Alabama and Georgia. And they are now about to take the battle into enemy territory. A second battle of Gettysburg is about to begin, this one to be fought with the techniques of psychological warfare, aimed at the public outside the South, the Congress and conservative leaders in both major political parties. Object: to win sympathy for the segregationist view behind the enemy lines, support for curbing the powers of the Supreme Court by law, and agreement to nullify the New Reconstruction of 1954 as the Compromise of 1877 nullified Reconstruction before.

The first task—making common cause with new allies outside their region—the New Confederates approach with great zest, for most of them sincerely believe that down inside most people outside the South feel toward the Negro about the way Southerners do. The trouble, they feel, is that the average person above the Mason-Dixon Line doesn't understand how fair and kind—how separate but equal—the South is willing to be. The misunderstanding comes, they further believe, largely because of the "paper curtain" which the Northern press has placed around the South; "all they print is the gory stories." "Lay your case before the American people," Senator Eastland recently assured the convention of the Mississippi Farm Bureau Federation in Jackson, "and you will be surprised to find how similar their opinions are to those of your own." And so the massive resisters have decided to tell the rest of America "just the honest story," "with no Bilbo business."

This Southern campaign to convert the North, East and West will not be of the order of magnitude of a Billy Graham Crusade, but it is well-organized and well-financed. Some states have already allocated public funds to propaganda bureaus which are pouring out pamphlets and "fact sheets" on the shortcomings of the Negro and the Supreme Court. Over the Great Seal of the State of Louisiana, the Joint State Legislative Committee, headed by Sen. W. M. Rainach, who speaks for the Louisiana White Citizens Councils in the legislature and is a leading candidate for Governor next year, has printed as a full-page advertisement in *The New York Herald-Tribune* a message addressed "To the People of New York City" on "The Position of the South on Race Relations" (See p. 11). The Committee subsequently "distributed several thousand tear sheets of the ad to key officials, publications and organizations throughout the United States," Senator Rainach says. "And after running out of all the tear sheets except a handful, we reprinted the ad in mail sheet form and distributed several thousand of these sheets also."

Senator Eastland is urging that the other defiant states go and do likewise. Citing the *Herald-Tribune* ad as an example of the wise use of public funds, Eastland told the Farm Bureau convention that "the Southern people have got to lay their case before the nation, and we must use our tax money to get the job done."

There are leaders in all six bitter-end states who agree. Out of Alabama has come a new "Putnam Letter Committee," headed by James E. Simpson, leading Birmingham Dixiecrat and lawyer for some of the biggest of Alabama's "Big Mules." The Committee's purpose is to publicize a beguiling "Dear Mr. President" letter, signed by Carleton Putnam, a Northerner who has spent many years as an airlines executive in the South. The "Putnam Letter," has already been published as a large ad in *The New York Times* and is to be placed in newspapers all over the country. Arguing that the Court decision in the school case is personal opinion, not law, and that equal protection under law is not a right in the United States but a social privilege, the Letter declares:

> Neither the North, nor the court, has any holy mandate inherent in the trend of the times or the progress of liberalism to reform society in the South. In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in

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To The People of New York City

The Position of the South on Race Relations

Recent tragic events in the integrated schools of Washington, D. C., Kansas City, Little Rock, and your own New York City, suggest that an accurate presentation of the views of Southern people on the race question might receive sympathetic consideration in the North and might even contribute to the solution of a problem in which we are now all concerned.

A PROBLEM UNIQUE WITHIN OUR NATION

Here in the United States, we are witnessing an unprecedented attempt by certain white and Negro leaders to force the Negro people of our country to abandon their own culture and mores, lose themselves physically and culturally within other races, and commit racial suicide.

Meanwhile, outside of the United States, every dynamic racial group in the world pridefully promotes its own culture. In view of their examples, should we not look twice before we leap?

In looking, we do not propose here to review the influences behind the "integration" movement. (For detailed analysis of a major influence we recommend that you review "Subversion in Racial Unrest," a documented study recently released by this Committee). Rather, let us here consider the logic of the movement and its ultimate effect on a country that we all love and cherish.

THE AMERICAN MAJORITY: A BLEND OF HOMOGENEOUS PEOPLES

You may ask: Doesn't this great country of ours represent a melting pot of different races? From a scientific standpoint, the answer is an unequivocal – NO!

The vast majority of this nation represents a blending of like peoples of common European ancestry, rather than a mixing of divergent races. But the energy and vitality which made America a great nation arose neither from racial self-idolatry nor racial suicide – it was an outgrowth of a passionate love of individual liberty, balanced by a sense of justice and individual responsibility which makes this liberty possible. On such a foundation, a new nation was created, capable of winning and retaining the love and loyalty of peoples of different races, different cultures and different religions.

WHAT ABOUT THE AMERICAN NEGRO?

We in the South think of our colored friends as Negro Americans, rather than as American Negroes. The normally cordial relationships between Southern white and colored people are regulated by a set of conventions or customs, the product of years of experiment and experience in adjusting to a bi-racial society.

RACIAL PATTERNS--A COMMUNITY MATTER

These customs vary widely from state to state and indeed from community to community. Until May 17, 1954 each community in the South was a laboratory in which many of these customs were being constantly examined and revised to meet changing conditions. Each community adapted itself to the problems which confronted it.

It is significant that all of the communities in the South and, indeed, many of the communities in the North, agreed that separation of the races in the fields of elementary and secondary education was essential.

THE SOLUTION NORTH AND SOUTH

This method of adjustment, which has been loosely referred to as "Segregation", enabled both the Negro and white people in the South to overcome the devastating effects of the War Between the States and pile up a record of progress second to none in history.

We believe it will, in practice, enable our Northern friends to adjust themselves to the more than one-half of the Negroes in this country who will live in the North by 1980.

A DANGEROUS PARALLEL

Now we are told that this is all wrong – that each community must conform to one unvarying racial pattern – complete integration – prescribed and enforced by a central governmental authority. But, the disastrous results of this policy are causing Americans to ask themselves: **Is forced racial integration the answer?**

At one time the belief was prevalent that all must attend the same church to prosper in the next world, as well as in this one. Many futile attempts of powerful groups in Europe to force their religious views on others only succeeded in dividing the continent into hostile camps. Ghastly wars and senseless massacres occurred in the conflicts over the rights of mankind to individuality, **this time in the field of religion.**

Today peoples of different religions may attend different churches without "degradation" or "psychological injury" to their personalities. Indeed, no one questions the right of a great religion to prohibit nonmembers from participating in certain of its rituals or partaking of its sacraments. **"Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other!"**

THE BEACON OF THE FUTURE

The trend to differentiation, racial and religious, represents a natural law, as well as a basic human right. Any attempt to force a rigid conformity in such matters of human relations must inevitably result in a repetition of the deadly European pattern of religious conflict.

Upon the establishment of workable race relations hinges the very fate of our great country. In the Talmud is a saying to the effect that **time may, in some situations, resolve problems which cannot be solved by human intelligence at the moment. Now is the hour for Americans of all races to heed the wisdom of this counsel.**

The Joint Legislative Committee

State of Louisiana

Baton Rouge

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the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word "association" here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please, and the right not to associate with whom you please.)

The Putnam Committee raises funds privately for its promotion. But Florida legislator William H. Reedy shares Eastland's view that such projects are public business. He proposes a program of Southern aid to federal education on the Southern view, to be supported by appropriations of $1 million per year from each state participating. "The South must sell its ideas the way Hollywood producers sell starlets," Reedy says. And the Conference of Southern Governors has invited him to its next meeting to discuss details.

(Georgia's Sen. Richard Russell is for educating the rest of the country to Southern problems, too, but he would let those on the receiving end pay for the privilege. He promises us a bill this year to provide federal aid to Southern Negroes who wish to move to states with smaller Negro populations in order "to give each state an equal share of the race problem.")

THE FUNDS the South is willing to invest in enlightenment of the North are supposed to yield dividends this very year in the form of aid toward passage of the Smith bill to curb the Supreme Court.

First introduced in 1955, HR 3—which would repeal the long-standing doctrine of federal preemption and place primary jurisdiction in the state courts unless specifically withheld by Congress—passed the House last year by a large majority of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans (241-155). In the end-of-session confusion the Senate defeated it by only one vote. Rep. Howard Smith (D, Va.) has reintroduced HR 3 in the new Congress and because of his position as chairman of the powerful Rules Committee should be able to push it through the House again, even though the measure has lost supporters because of Republican casualties in the November election. For the same reason the new Senate should be more opposed to passage of HR 3 than the old, but the foes of the Court are also vastly more determined.

The Smith bill of itself is an important Southern objective, as a symbol of antagonism to the Court's leadership in forcing the segregation issue in the most direct way since Reconstruction days. But even should passage fail again, a close hard-fought decision would be worth the price of the propaganda effort required to produce it. A lengthy battle over the court curbing measure in advance of consideration of new civil rights enforcement legislation—which Southerners could easily manage with their command of traffic through their committee chairmanships—would contribute to their larger objective: preventing the Congress from adding the force of its approval to the position of the Court on desegregating public schools "with all deliberate speed."

At all costs the massive resisters must prevent reenforcements from reaching the Judiciary, which stands today as the lone leader in the New Reconstruction. The murmurs of encouragement to the courts which have risen faintly from the Department of Justice and the ill-calculated relief offered by the President in the Little Rock affair hardly qualify as major assists. Congress, in effect, has remained neutral. And it is imperative for those who defy the Court to keep it that way. Lyndon Johnson helped a lot by taming the new Senate a few hours after it walked into his cage, and so leaving the filibuster in good working condition. But a hard-fought, even if finally losing battle to punish the court for its recent conduct would offer invaluable opportunities to make sure that Congress does not suddenly decide to get behind the Supreme Court. In the midst of debate and backstage maneuvers there is always room for wheeling and dealing. When the vote is close, trades can sometimes be made which change other close votes on other days. In such a situation the South's polished professionals would surprise everyone if they walked out of the cloakrooms without a stack of IOU's payable when federal enforcement of school desegregation became the question before the house.

If the states which shout "Never!" can prevent the 86th Congress from passing legislation supporting the Court, they will be free to attempt the next huge step in their plan for total escape from the toils of the New Reconstruction: Persuade the reformers to give up. Historically, this is not so far-fetched as it sounds. The ephemeral historic importance "of such earlier landmarks as the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the Dred Scott decision of 1857, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and 1875, the Fourteenth Amendment of 1867, or, for that matter, the Volstead Act of 1919—all of which were in some degree nullified by events or public sentiment—should remind us," Vann Woodward, the leading historian of the American Reconstruction period remarks. " . . . how precarious are the fortunes of American statesmanship when it operates against the mass opposition of a significant section of the country."

"Reconstruction," Professor Woodward observes,

> affords the most extreme example in our history of an all-out effort by the majority to impose its will upon a recalcitrant and unwilling minority region. . . . In spite of the relative weakness and helplessness of the resistant South, in spite of the determined idealism of the Northern reformers . . . the fact is that the great experiment ended in disillusionment and default. The gains made on paper were never fully implemented in practice, or they were eroded away by compromise, concession and "interpretation." Apathy and indifference replaced the original idealism of the reformers. It was the will of the defeated, discredited and, for a time, helpless South that prevailed in the end.

Atlanta Is Different

THE MANNER in which the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals and a special Federal District Court in Norfolk chose to celebrate Robert E. Lee's birthday this year (January 19) has changed things for the South.

The "little bit of integration" which will surely result from the orders outlawing the Virginia brand of "massive resistance" to the 1954 Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools will make compliance easier in the states where that has been the course. North Carolina and Tennessee will be relieved of jeers from their neighbors about their faithlessness to the white man's cause. (Only a few weeks ago former Governor Tuck of Virginia was expressing public sympathy for the poor people of North Carolina whose leaders lacked the gumption to stand up to the Supreme Court as Senator Byrd and Governor Almond were doing.) And additional towns and cities in those states will be willing to try "token" integration if Norfolk and Charlottesville and Alexandria are trying it too.

Farther south, also, this can happen. The considerable sentiment for integrating a "pilot school" to test limited "voluntary" desegregation which already existed in Miami, Florida, is strengthened. Gov. Leroy Collins has warned that the state's pupil assignment law won't stand up in the courts forever if it is used to bar Negroes from white schools completely. "We must be prepared to accept some desegregation, somewhere, sometime," says the Governor who has visions of representing the moderate South on a national Democratic ticket. And the cosmopolitan community of Miami, led by men who know that racial tensions can be bad for business, may decide to make the sacrifice. What has happened in Virginia should make that decision easier to swallow for the majority of Miamians who oppose integration but want a peaceful, prosperous community.

But the January 19 Virginia court decisions will not temper defiance in the other five Confederate states which have refused, along with the Old Dominion, to take one voluntary step to obey the Supreme Court. Too many political lives are now staked on keeping schools segregated. The new young Governors Georgia and Alabama inaugurated this month won out in contests during which extravagant promises were made. (Georgia's Ernest Vandiver even pledged to use state troopers and guardsmen to keep the schools segregated after his opponent seemed to be causing trouble with the charge that Vandiver was "soft on segregation"; Vandiver, he said, had permitted Negroes and whites to be served barbecue in the same line at a political rally in Thomason.)

This year's campaign for Governor of Louisiana, with the leader of the White Citizens' Councils, State Sen. W. M. Rainach, as the man to beat, will be in the same groove. And both Senators Sparkman (Ala.) and Russell (Ga.) know what could happen to them in 1960 if they display the slightest doubt that it is better to close the schools than desegregate them. (Former Gov. Marvin Griffin, who did so much to egg on Orval Faubus, is searching for grounds on which to challenge Russell.)

It is politically necessary for defiance to go on in the Deep South. But the January 19 decisions in Virginia leave only one way open—a hard way. The laws passed since 1954 to give Southern Governors the power to close individual schools rather than desegregate them when ordered are now useless. To close one school without closing all is to deny some children their right to equal protection under the 14th Amendment, the federal Court has ruled. All that is left to try is the far more difficult expedient of creating a "private" segregated system of schools to take the place of the public ones. In the case of Virginia the Court has ruled that the state must maintain unsegregated public schools (how adequately supported is another matter), but it also grants the right of a state to make tuition grants to pupils who prefer to attend other schools (including segregated ones) provided that the funds for those grants are appropriated especially for this purpose and not taken from public school monies.

Georgia's new Governor was ready with bills to put such a system in operation—complete with tax deduction privileges for those who contribute to private education—the day the Virginia opinion was announced. (A team of Georgia lawyers had been conferring with officials in Richmond beforehand.) The "private" school tuition grant is undoubtedly to be the South's new second line of defense now that the battle of Richmond is lost.

For states like Mississippi, South Carolina and Ala-

bama there is no particular hurry in preparing the new position. Thanks to the restraint of the NAACP, hard-core black belt areas are not the object of early suits to force school desegregation. White leaders there have plenty of time to plug away at the larger tasks of building sympathy for their point of view on race matters in the North, East and West, blocking support for the Supreme Court school opinion in Congress, and preparing the ground for a strong states rights third-party effort in 1960 (see *NR*, January 26, 1959).

But it is much later in Georgia and Louisiana, where federal court orders to admit Negroes to white schools in Atlanta and New Orleans are expected before the new term begins next September. In both places the emergency could be met with comparative ease by rescinding laws restricting state support to segregated schools and allowing the two cities to decide for themselves whether to shut their schools or take in a few Negroes. But in both places, although the opposition would not be inconsiderable, the likelihood is that the schools would remain in operation if there were a referendum on the question of desegregated schools or no public schools. And for that reason there is no inclination in the capitals of either state to take the local option way out. No other Georgia or Louisiana city, town or hamlet would vote as Atlanta and New Orleans might today. But one small instance of integration, the politicians have learned, lets the steam out of the whole issue—not with a whoosh, but by slow leak. (Just look at North Carolina and Tennessee!)

For practical reasons, therefore, Deep South politicians cannot back down before 1960. For such equally practical reasons as money, buildings, teachers and taxpayers suits it is hard to imagine anything like a workable system of segregated private schools ready for operation in Atlanta and New Orleans by the time the courts have ordered them to cease operating segregated public schools. And the practical result can only be that more than 100,000 children (1/3 Negroes) in Atlanta and 86,000 (more than 1/2 Negroes) in New Orleans may find themselves without schools next year, as Virginia children have this year. That is, unless the cities affected can force the states to cut them free from the laws which require defiance to the bitter end.

ATLANTA is the first Southern city to become greatly exercised about the possible loss of its schools far ahead of the time it might occur. Virginia, remember, was not concerned until after the fact. But though the decision of the Federal District Court in *Calhoun v Latimer, et al,* the case testing segregation in Atlanta public schools, will come late next summer at the earliest, the subject of the schools was already the number-one news story in Atlanta last November.

The reasons are several. Most important is the fact that Atlanta has—and has had for 22 years—a mayor with remarkable foresight. Bill Hartsfield has made Atlanta the leading city of the region—replacing Richmond, the recognized Southern capital for so long—by anticipating what roads, schools, parks, airports and other facilities were required to make it so and arousing in its citizens the same pride he feels in the city. He can see ahead now to what Atlanta would be like if its schools were shut down, and he does not intend to have his fifth —and probably final—term as mayor end on a sour note, if there is any way to prevent it. He has taken pride too in the fact that race relations are admittedly better in Atlanta than elsewhere in the Deep South. Rural Georgians who have moved to Atlanta and industrial jobs in recent years, however, resent the mayor's insistence on fair play for the Negro and expressed their hostility in his last re-election. Hartsfield won his 1957 primary by only 3,000 votes. Many times that number of Negro votes were cast—and Hartsfield was solid in Negro wards. Some human gratitude may underlie his concern that Atlanta consider the school question coolly.

A good chance to start the city thinking early came when a local lawyer, Morton Rolleston, Jr., ventured the opinion last November that Atlanta should be preparing to sell her school buildings to private parties in line with state plans to prevent desegregation. Months in advance of the time he had expected an open move to abolish the schools, the mayor was ready with a prompt and pithy answer. Closing the schools was unthinkable, he said, and Atlantans should have a chance to vote on whether they wanted public schools (desegregated) or no public schools.

The mayor's blast at Rolleston set off bursts of fire in his support. His years of good government have built up reservoirs of public confidence. So it was not the job it would have been in most cities to organize the manifestoes of support for Hartsfield's position which quickly came from 311 ministers and rabbis, 419 Atlanta doctors, two-thirds of the Emory University faculty, Agnes Scott professors, the local chapter of the Scientific Research Society of America and Parent-Teacher Associations all over the city.

Few communities have so effective a group of public-minded professionals to rally them in time of need. In almost daily touch with one another in their regular businesses of the law, journalism, merchandising, advertising, banking, social work, the ministry and education, their lines of communication extend to Negro leaders of the city as well as City Hall. "You hear a lot about the closing of the lines of communication between the races since 1954," one Negro leader says, "but it isn't true here. Even if the schools were closed I don't think the existing channels for bringing white and Negro leaders together when needed would be broken. Some superficial ones would be. We might not be meeting with the church ladies so often to discuss race relations, but with the experienced and sophisticated whites we have

moved into a deeper level of communication that would last."

Atlanta opinion makers, now alerting the city to the danger to the schools while there is still time to protest, have far more positive forces to work with than a similar group — if it existed — would have in any other Southern city. In Editor Ralph McGill and the *Atlanta Constitution* the city has a constructive voice almost unique in the South. McGill's front-page editorials after May, 1954, were the first to warn where massive resistance would lead. They are still about the wisest, most illuminating writing one can read in the South—and the most comforting to the much-abused Southern moderates who, McGill says, will rise again. ("They have learned the difference between frustration and defeat.")

The city of Atlanta, like the state, has an uncommon interest and pride in its educational system. Since the early days of this century when public education was exceedingly meager, progress has been great in Georgia. Fifty-three percent of the total state budget now goes for schools. This amounts to three times as much for schools as Georgia's total budget 15 years ago, and local expenditures are on top of that. State money pays only one-third of Atlanta's school bill; the balance is financed from local taxes. So large an investment is not tossed away lightly.

The fact that Atlanta is a hub city, with thousands of branch offices and a daily flood of visitors from other states with non-Southern ways gives it metropolitan values. ("People are always coming through Atlanta on the way to some other place. But you have to deliberately set out to go to Birmingham and Nashville and Memphis.") Atlanta, under Mayor Hartsfield, has courted the outsiders—for their trade—even when this has meant some bending of local custom. (Georgia laws forbid the sale of mixed drinks in public places, but Atlanta's better hotels serve cocktails without subterfuge. The "woolhat" boys in the legislature make a big to-do about it every year or so, but Mayor Hartsfield says how can you expect Big City people to bring their conventions to Atlanta unless it acts like the regional capital it is?)

As a university center for more than 50 years, Atlanta has a large pool of high-quality Negro leadership. These educated men and women create a different, more acceptable image of the Negro than white people in most other Southern cities see. A Negro professor of history was elected over a white candidate to the Atlanta City Democratic Committee not long ago. Due to the pioneering of men like A. T. Walden, who began the practice of law in the city 40 years ago when Negroes were not even welcome in the courtrooms, strong interracial business contacts exist. Negro executives of the Citizens' Trust Company, working with fellow members of the Federal Reserve System in leading white banks like the Fulton National and First National, have negotiated financing for millions of dollars worth of Negro housing. Atlanta Life and Southeastern Fidelity, two large Negro insurance companies, have helped obtain more such mortgages through their contacts with white companies in the same fields.

All of these forces are working to save the public schools by persuading the legislature to cut Fulton County free from state laws which prevent compliance with the Supreme Court. But the strongest potential force in the community has not chosen to make itself felt. The so-called "power structure"—the name commonly applied to the ruling business groups by the knowing ones in every Southern city—has not had the urge to assert its political power on behalf of the schools. The Mayor has called more than one meeting of the financial giants —Georgia Power, Coca-Cola, Rich's Department Store, Ford and General Motors branch managers, and the bankers and insurance mortgagers—to try to arouse them to head off the crisis in the schools, but though agreeing about the damage that closing the schools would do, they claim that their former political influence with the state government has evaporated.

True, they say, they once had enormous power over elected officials through the legal retainers and campaign contributions they conferred. But that was when Georgia's Governors in the 'thirties had to run the state on a budget of $30 million. Today's Governor has access to well over $300 million per year, generated by sales taxes and the new prosperity of the region, and is not dependent upon the "power structure" as his predecessors were. But it is also true that when its influence was at its height the "power structure" was reluctant to test it in the field of race relations.

Nevertheless, the present campaign to rally the city to the support of the schools has produced impressive results. By good publicity techniques, for example, a routine speech to the PTA of Spring Street Elementary School was turned into the kickoff of a sizable "Save Our Schools" movement. Two days after Hartsfield's initial attack on the "sell the schools" proposal, Fulton County Representative M. M. ("Muggsy") Smith, a beloved Georgia Tech football star 30 years ago and a Presbyterian deacon ever since, told an audience which overflowed the school auditorium why he agreed with the mayor and would fight for local option in the legislature. His words were on every radio and television station an hour later, and hundreds of "We *Want* Public Schools" stickers were ready for the audience to paste on their cars that night. The next morning, mothers from neighborhoods all over Atlanta gathered downtown to plan rallies in their schools similar to Spring Street's. Someone had been alert enough to have pamphlet reprints of "Muggsy" Smith's speech of the night before ready by 10 a.m. for the ladies to take home and distribute.

The spark has spread in Atlanta. The Fulton County grand jury called on the Chamber of Commerce to set

up a bi-racial commission to ease the tensions which are likely to grow as time for the school segregation decision approaches. The Chamber says it is not the proper body to do so. But a dozen civic groups have now joined to create such an interracial citizens' committee in the near future.

Concern for Atlanta's schools, however, stops at the Fulton County line. The war between Atlanta and the state of Georgia assures the city of little sympathy or consideration at the Capitol. Under the Georgia County Unit System, Fulton County with its 571,600 people has no more power in state affairs than Troup County, with a population of 54,700.

Since 1917, votes cast in each of Georgia's 159 counties are counted under a system which gives the average voter outside of Fulton County 11.5 times as much voting power as a resident of Fulton. And as more Georgians move from the rural areas to the city the inequality becomes even greater. (In 1920 Fulton County contained 8 percent of the total population of Georgia but wielded only 1.5 percent of the voting power; in 1948 Fulton had 14.6 percent of the population, but still only 1.5 percent of the voting power.)

Governor Vandiver and Senators Russell (his uncle by marriage) and Talmadge (his associate in business) can afford to ignore Atlanta's wishes and preserve the segregation issue for 1960, and it seems that this is what they intend to do.

New Orleans Knows Better

WITH THE SURRENDER of Virginia, the present-day war against the Supreme Court is actually over, but word of this, as in Andy Jackson's day, may not reach Louisiana until after a second Battle of New Orleans has been needlessly fought. Those Louisiana leaders who see a third-party states' rights bolt in 1960 as the final desperate way left to nullify the 1954 decision desegregating the schools need the drama of a pitched battle if they are to win the Governorship this year, and through it control of the state Democratic Party machinery before the 1960 convention.

Lawyers on both sides of *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board*, the New Orleans public school desegregation case under appeal for three years, anticipate that a final ruling will come before the next September term. If, as there is every reason to expect, Federal Judge Skelly Wright then orders the New Orleans School Board to admit some Negroes to some white schools, the way will be open for the extremist White Citizens' Councils to make school segregation the central issue in the Governorship election in December. What happened when this occurred in Alabama and Georgia in 1958 will most likely recur in Louisiana in 1959. The other candidates, taunted by the spokesman of the WCC, will outpromise each other on the lengths to which they will go to preserve segregation, and Louisiana will wind up with a Governor committed in advance to closing the public schools, as the new Governors of Georgia and Alabama are today.

New Orleans would be the first to suffer and, if allowed to choose for herself, would probably, like Atlanta (see *NR*, Feb. 2, 1959), accept some Negroes into the white school system rather than relinquish public schools entirely. But like Atlanta, New Orleans is at the mercy of the Governor and the legislature. Although Louisiana has no discriminatory County Unit System like Georgia's, Orleans Parish is definitely a minority voice in state government (with 600,000 people out of 2.7 million, who cast 165,000 out of the 617,000 votes for President in 1956). It is only one of three separate and nearly equal parts: "the North, the South and The City —New Orleans," as Harnett Kane explained so well in *Louisiana Hayride* some years ago:

> The South is the Louisiana of earlier stories, though altered somewhat by economic trends: the land of the swamps and the bayous, of liquid French and semi-liquid topography, an area of alluvial enriched soil that "grows where you stick your finger in it." Its people are fishermen, trappers, sugar and rice workers; and plantation owners are still powerful figures.
>
> The North is another land, another people, the red hills and the red necks. The soil is dry, hard, thin, the kind over which a man may break his back and yet not make a living. Its population are small farmers, country store-keepers, small town clerks. They are so-called Anglo-Saxons with little mixture of race.
>
> The South is tolerant, easy-going, Catholic. The North is tight-lipped, grim-eyed, Puritan, Protestant. Between the "hard-shelled Baptist country" and the "soft-shelled crab land" are barriers of economics, of race, of creed. In each want . . . is differently accepted. In the North it has brought cankering hatred; it has meant lynchings of Negroes, membership in organizations of dissent, anti-Papism, anti-liquor, anti many things. In the South it has meant volatile debate, perhaps; but that has ended in quiet if regretful assumption of the burden, with a shrug and an "Eh, bien!" South Louisianans have seldom tortured the blacks or one another. They have been inclined to orthodoxy in politics and have often accepted New Orleans and what it stood for, to them, while the North coldly rejected the scarlet witch.
>
> A rule to herself, then, remains New Orleans. . . . No Atlanta, no city of Southern go-getters, she is still the place of good food, good times, good manner of living; still the place wicked (mechante is the proper word) and happy in her wickedness. She draws much of the wealth from the rest of the state and from her trade territory in adjoining states. In her business area center the financial resources of the lower valley of the Father of the Waters, and the control of these resources. The South has distrusted the North, the North has hated the South; speaking strictly, of course, of Louisiana. Both, however, have feared New Orleans.

And they fear New Orleans today, with good reason, as a chink in the wall of "states' rights" defiance of the Supreme Court. "New Orleans should have been the leader in peaceful integration in the South," a Jesuit leader in the city for 20 years explained to me on a quiet Sunday afternoon.

> We have had a steady mixing of races and cultures since the first French settlers came. Our Catholic culture is Latin, not Irish, a difference in terms of tolerance. People from all over the world who swarm through here teach us cosmopolitan ways, and our daily trade contacts with Latin America are as close as those with Houston and Mobile.
>
> New Orleans has never had tight residential restrictions. No Negro section of town was more than four blocks from a white one, until new suburbs were built up after the war (private builders following the public housing pattern now build them all-Negro or all-white). And New Orleans Catholics are accustomed to sitting beside Negroes in church. (There are 14 Negro Catholic parishes in the city but there is lots of mixing of races for Sunday Mass. The present Archbishop has insisted on no segregation in services and gets it, at the great St. Louis Cathedral as elsewhere.)

Certainly there is a tendency in New Orleans to go along with non-Southern ways. The community has given in, slowly but finally, on every one of the federal court decisions which have been chipping away at segregation in the city for years: admitting Negroes to the golf links, the public library (which had Negro branches but did not admit colored to the Central Library), the new New Orleans branch of Louisiana State University, to all seats in the public buses, and finally and most recently, to all the recreation facilities of the city. "When change does come, nothing happens."

Naturally this is exasperating to the WCC, which has sunk a lot of time and money in its missionary work among the heathen New Orleaneans. "What's the matter with you white people?" the chairman of a suburban WCC group in Gentilly asked the audience at a meeting last autumn. "Aren't you interested in the preservation of the white race? To me the whiteness God put in me is the supreme thing in me." WCC membership in New Orleans, he went on to say, "is very low" (falling from an estimated high of 30,000 a year ago), and the lack of concern people showed when the buses were desegregated last Memorial Day "very surprising." (The WCC had advertised the race violence that would surely occur if "white" and "colored" signs were removed from street cars and buses and had alerted listeners to its regular Sunday night telecasts to report all incidents to the Council. Ten days after the buses were peaceably integrated the program announcer sadly remarked that he would report on trouble on the buses as soon as someone sent in an account of some.)

THE TV program helps draw crowds for WCC mass meetings and informs people of which "moderates" are entitled to anonymous telephone calls the next week. Its listening audience is large, but tucked in among the true believers are probably a few superficial amusement seekers. The night I caught the show, after a rousing chorus or two of "Dixie" Dr. William Lee Erwin, dentist-chairman of the New Orleans Council, rose beneath a banner proclaiming "Remember Little Rock" to give us the "Segregation News" roundup. Flash: "Nixon Girls Transferred to All-White D.C. School"; "Earl Warren Portrait Barred from Federal Court House in Los Angeles as Controversial"; "Eastland Says Only Five More Votes Needed to Curb Supreme Court." Not as rousing as the show I heard about where Erwin held in his hand a book used in the New Orleans public schools which "preached integration" and quoted volume and page. (The mad chase to check the reference revealed that the volume was a text in the field of education and the page made favorable reference to the "integrated curriculum.") Enough to keep you coming back for more. But not quite enough to inspire New Orleaneans whose ancestors observed the motto "Understand and Live" to go out and look for trouble on the buses.

But in another way the WCC has been very effective in New Orleans. Few "moderate" voices today are raised in support of upholding the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court. There were a number soon after the 1954 decision. But then several ministers were fired and more were warned to hold their tongues. The legislature took care of the educators by including in its massive resistance package one bill providing for dismissal of any school employee advocating integration or expressing an opinion about it. The New Orleans Chamber of Commerce fired its press agent for signing a petition in support of LSU professors who defended the Court. And a campaign of harassment by anonymous phone calls began. The result is stillness in New Orleans.

THERE is no organized effort—as in Atlanta—to encourage people to think in advance of what the loss of the public schools would mean to them and to make their views known. To be sure, only half as many parents are concerned: almost 50 percent of New Orleans children are in private schools. But there is no organized defense of the schools by Protestant clergy or professional men and women, and most Negro leaders in New Orleans seem more interested in their personal political organizations than in matters of principle. The press—an anemic force in New Orleans life—gives its readers no hint that there is cause for concern about the future of the schools.

Even the conduct of the Roman Catholic Church has been influenced by unrelenting WCC warfare against "moderation" in any form. The strong constructive influence for Christian brotherhood exercised by Arch-

bishop Rummel in the 20 years of his office has flagged in the last three years, seemingly because of division on the race question within the Church. Repeatedly, in pastoral letters quoting Papal Encyclicals, the Archbishop has dubbed segregation "a mortal sin," and in 1956 he announced that parochial schools would soon be desegregated. The plan was to begin with the lowest grades—as in Nashville—and gradually work upward. Parochial schools are so crowded that the number of Negroes admitted would have been small and could have been selective. But before the plan could go into effect, an Association of Catholic Laymen publicly took issue with the Archbishop. Its leader was the moving force behind the statewide WCC, Deep Delta Boss Leander Perez. Quoting the Pope's Encyclical back at the Archbishop, the association said it could find no specific statement that segregation is immoral. The Archbishop ordered the association's members to disband or be excommunicated. They disbanded their organization. But in a newspaper ad, signed by 90 men who contribute generously to paying the Archbishop's bills, they challenged his authority and appealed to the Pope. (The Pope, of course, has never acknowledged their letter, but the challenge stands.)

The Orleans Parish parochial schools remain segregated—although Catholic schools in the majority of Southern cities are not. And so the diocese has missed the opportunity to serve as a powerful example of peaceful compliance with the law. (The Church schools themselves, however, teach the immorality of race discrimination, according to the pastoral letters, and a New Orleans college teacher says, "I can see the difference in the attitudes in my social problems course between sophomores from the public high schools and the Catholic highs.")

Only the "power structure" of New Orleans business and finance appears to be beyond reach of the WCC. They have no congregations or clients to consult or fear, and their main preoccupation is to keep New Orleans the flourishing center of a growing state. The forward-looking "reform" Mayor, deLesseps S. Morrison, whom they have kept in office for 13 years, looks coldly on anything that might sully the image of the modern progressive city he has helped create. The mayor, the chief of police, and the superintendent of schools are determined that there will be no mob rule in New Orleans. (The police have been professionalized under Mayor Morrison: the assistant chief says in cases of violence his force is trained to crack skulls, no matter what color.) And past experience indicates that coordination between city officials and the judiciary is such that they will succeed in keeping the peace—when and if desegregation of the schools is ordered.

Judge Skelly Wright—the man who will decide the school case—has an excellent sense of timing. He chose the evening before the long Memorial Day weekend, when the city would be on holiday, to order the end of segregation on New Orleans buses. And before he acted, motormen had special instructions on what to do and 75 plainclothesmen on 24-hour duty had been assigned to ride the buses or trail them in cars in case of trouble. When regular riders boarded the following Monday, "mixed" seating was a *fait accompli*. (The WCC leader in the legislature, Sen. W. M. Rainach, could not stir interest in a "seatmate bill," requiring the first occupant of a seat to give his permission for another to join him. Today older Negroes usually sit in the back where they always did; older white women up front sometimes get up and stand when Negroes sit beside them; but most younger people of both races pay little attention to each other as they jostle about in between.)

It will be hard for the WCC to make New Orleans into another Little Rock. Their candidate, W. M. Rainach, head of the State Joint Legislative Committee, is not likely to be swept into Baton Rouge as easily as Faubus won his third term in Arkansas. Louisiana has something approximating a two-party system in its traditional bi-factionalism (Long and Anti-Long), and there will be plenty of competition for the job Governor Earl Long must relinquish under the state's one-term law. Among those who show strong interest in running are Mayor Morrison, former Governors Jimmie ("You Are My Sunshine") Davis and Robert F. Kennon, the present Secretary of State Wade Martin, State Auditor Bill Dodd, Superintendent of Schools Shelby Jackson, Highway Chief Richardson and Congressman Otto Passman. Most of these men are members of the new United Democrats of Louisiana, established to head off any bolt from the national party this year, and conceivably through it they could agree on one man—or at most two—to take on Rainach in the first primary. Past history, however, argues against this. The Long faction would never allow their old foe, Morrison, to represent them on the ticket. And within the Long faction there are dozens who aspire to succeed the Governor. It would not be to Long's interest to pick any one over the others since he will need all their support to get the top job back for himself four years from now.

In a field of more than three, Perez believes his man has a good chance to get into a run-off. Certainly, as the UDOL knows, there is danger he could be right. A private poll recently made by a group respected for accuracy indicates that if Faubus were running for President on a states' rights third-party ticket today, he would carry Louisiana. (Only 28 percent of those polled in Orleans Parish would vote for him, but 59 percent of North Louisiana would.) The proper manager might be able to translate that Faubus popular sentiment into a Rainach victory, and Perez's followers say that he is the man who can do it.

Firmly in alliance, behind the scenes, with the "best people" who head the WWCs in North Louisiana, Perez has been undisputed boss of Plaquemines and St. Bernard

parishes in the Deep Delta since the early 40's (an early ally of Huey Long, he is still using and improving upon the Kingfish's methods). No one in Louisiana politics denies Perez's power to do as he will with the votes of this rich region of offshore oil and minerals, fur and fishing. Charges of voting irregularities are commonplace. In Plaquemines parish, the voting "registrar" keeps no office hours; he seeks out the citizens he chooses to have register and passes by those he does not favor. Those who appear to vote need show no receipts to do so and are not checked off any list to prevent enthusiastic reappearances at the polls.

Local, state and federal officials have repeatedly confessed their impotence to deal with Plaquemines' carefree ways; the US Department of Justice has investigated the area after almost every election for 20 years, and nobody has gone to jail yet. (In 1944, when "reform" Governor Sam Jones named a replacement as sheriff of Plaquemines displeasing to Perez, it took 600 soldiers of the State Guard to break through the road blockade, complete with flaming gasoline, which stood in the new man's path into the parish. Last year Perez's spiritual leader, Archbishop Rummel, met with the same kind of respect for superior authority when he named a Negro priest to the Bend Mission in Perez territory. The parishioners barred the priest; the Archbishop closed the church; the church stayed closed until a white priest was sent as a replacement.)

Accusations recur that Perez has used his position as Attorney-General of Plaquemines to obtain off-shore oil and mineral concessions for himself and his friends, but no one has ever produced the evidence. Obviously money is not one of Perez's problems, however, and if his supply of local funds runs dry, he doubtless can tap old friends —offshore oil and otherwise—from the Byrd-for-President Committee, which he helped organize in 1944, and the Dixiecrat Party, of which he was a prime mover in 1948. Senator Eastland of Mississippi, a close friend, has been known to help out in times past with information from his Internal Security Subcommittee on Perez's opponents. Certainly Perez's and Rainach's friend and neighbor, Orval Faubus, can be counted on to drop over for a few personal appearances.

Whatever the outcome, the kind of campaign the WCC will wage for Governor in 1959 will mean money in the bank for the Faubus-for-President ticket in Louisiana in 1960—and less freedom of action for whoever is Governor when the school crisis comes in New Orleans.

THE SOUTH: 1954-1959

States Desegregating as Ordered:

Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

States Divided or Delaying:

Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

States Resisting:

Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina.

Nashville—First Steps Firmly Taken

IN THE CAPITOLS of the Deep South not many cheers go up at mention of the names Kefauver, Gore and Clement. These three "Golden Boys" of Tennessee politics—who as national rivals regard each other with mutual suspicion—are held in equal disregard for refusing to defy the Supreme Court and, what is worse, proving it possible for Southern politicians to turn their backs on massive resistance without having the voters turn their backs on them.

Aside from Lyndon Johnson who as Majority Leader was excused by his Southern colleagues from taking a regional stand, Kefauver and Gore were the only two Southern Senators who did not sign the 1956 Southern Manifesto against the Court decision desegregating public schools. And Governor Clement that same year called out the state police and the National Guard to prevent mobs from interfering with desegregation at Clinton, Tennessee, and the next year encouraged the Mayor of Nashville to take strong measures against hoodlums who sought to prevent Negroes from entering Nashville schools. Nevertheless Senator Gore won reelection in 1958 by a 3-2 margin over an opponent who tried to make the Southern Manifesto the issue. Senator Kefauver seems in a strong position to withstand a similar assault in 1960. And Governor Clement succeeded, narrowly, in picking his successor, under Tennessee's one-term law, in last summer's primary. ("All the other candidates were running against me," Mr. Clement says.)

This is not the kind of news that Deep South "eternal defiance" leaders like to have get around. Nor is there any more cheer for them in reports of what is happening where the law is being obeyed.

You don't meet many people in Nashville who fail to remind the visitor that this is the "Athens of the South," and they show you a model of the Parthenon, left over from the 1898 Centennial celebration of the state's admission to the Union, to prove it. More tangible evidence is the comparative ease with which Nashville has begun desegregation of her public schools. And now that the fury of September, 1957, is fading from memory, there is a good deal of pride that this is so.

Thirty-four Negro first- and second- graders are now attending five Nashville schools which were all-white two years ago. Eleven of them entered the first grade last year in spite of riots, led by John Kasper and his followers outside several of the schools and dynamiting of one (the Hattie Cotton School in East Nashville). Twice as many Negro parents were willing for their children to pioneer in mixed classes this year, and at least three times as many are expected to apply for transfer to the white schools next term.

Parents, teachers, pupils and administrators report Nashville's experience to date a success. Which shows the wisdom of those who picked Nashville for an early legal test. Nashvilleans have been exposed to more enlightenment and Christian tolerance than most other Southerners. There are 10 colleges and universities—Negro and white—in the city. Baptists, Methodists and the Churches of Christ make their regional headquarters and publish most of the South's church and Sunday school literature there.

Negro and white colleges in Nashville maintain an exchange library service; Negroes attend graduate courses at Vanderbilt, Peabody, Scarritt, Maryville and the University of Tennessee School of Social Work; white students go to Fisk University and Meharry Medical College. Parochial schools are desegregated. Both races can belong to the local League of Women Voters, AAUW, Academy of Medicine, American Nurses Association and National Association of Social Workers. Whites have served with Negroes on the boards of local colleges and settlements for a generation. And Nashville is one of the few Southern cities with housing and eating facilities for interracial meetings—various campuses have had them for 10 years or more.

The city has lifted race barriers on the municipal golf courses and at the public library and the railroad station without incident. And more recently, before pending suits could come to trial, the transit system was quietly integrated. Ads for Pepsodent and Wildroot were simply pasted over the signs on the insides of buses which had read "colored this end" and "white this end."

But "up to the time the school decision came, only women and do-gooders had thought much about integration," one of the leading do-gooders says, "When it grew clear that we couldn't avoid the issue any longer

without jeopardizing the schools, however, some of the really substantial men in the community became concerned." (The Nashville Community Relations Conference had conducted a campaign to get these men into action: "We sat around a table one day and parcelled out the names of 200 of our leading men, 15 apiece. Then we called on them and explained why they should help get the school board to make plans for carrying out the orders of the Court.")

When the important men in the community took over, there was a series of meetings with school officials where board members were given the assurance that "so long as they acted in good faith a number of fairly substantial people would back them up." And when Superintendent of Schools Bass devised a plan he believed would work and would be acceptable to the federal court, they did. Bass, who has since retired, comes from a rural county in northwest Tennessee where white supremacy views prevail; he himself strongly disapproves of integration. But he is first of all a dedicated school man. He integrated the school system's teacher committees when it became clear that white and Negro teachers would benefit from interchange. And when it was definite that Nashville could not have schools and segregation, he developed a plan to desegregate one grade at a time and fought for it. (After he had dispersed a howling white mob with a passionate speech on opening day in 1957, Mr. Bass remarked that "If ever a crowd needed education it is that one.")

The fact that the young federal judge who made the decision on the Nashville school case, Judge William E. Miller, is so highly respected strengthened the hand of Mr. Bass and his supporters. The fact that the sensible people were getting sound guidance from the *Nashville Tennessean* helped too. And the work which Negro leaders in PTA and other groups did to prepare parents for the differences they would face in the desegregated schools greatly eased tensions. But the reason that Nashville did not become another Little Rock was that her elected officials were not Faubuses.

When the opening day crisis came in Nashville, Governor Clement had already had his trial by fire. On a late summer morning the previous year he had called a meeting on the verandah of the Governor's mansion to discuss the urgent matter of the rioting at Clinton set off by John Kasper and White Citizens Council visitors from Alabama and elsewhere. Should he or should he not answer the plea of the mayor of Clinton for state troops to bring the mob under control? To do so obviously involved the political risk of seeming to go to the aid of the federal courts against the local segregationists. Present that morning were his wife, his father, several members of his cabinet, the adjutant general, the chief of highway police and his preacher. The Governor asked his preacher, the pastor of the McKendree Methodist Church, where Clement has taught a men's Sunday School class for years, to lead them in prayer; then he asked each one to give his advice. Before the meeting broke up Clement had ordered 50 highway patrolmen and a division of the Guard into Clinton. But the Governor took the precaution to order that no state troops were to set foot on school grounds. No child was to be escorted to school. This left him with a persuasive defense to use in the next campaign—as he did. He had been acting solely to preserve the peace—not to enforce integration. And he restored law and order in Clinton.

Some point out that Governor Clement, barred from running for reelection, was free of any immediate campaign inhibitions—and that what he did effectively advanced his position on the national stage where his ambition now centers. He explains that his respect for law and order—growing out of his training as a lawyer, as an agent for the FBI, and in the Christian religion—allowed him no choice. But whatever the reasons, his immediate, forceful action established a precedent for his friend, Mayor Ben West, to follow when the peace was threatened in Nashville.

When the 1957-58 school year opened on September 9, Mayor West was in the East, presiding over a meeting of the American Municipal Association of which he was president. A lawyer, with a liberal record in the State Senate, Ben West has been reelected mayor for 8 years. When he left home, there was not much thought of serious trouble. True, John Kasper was back in Nashville after serving time in prison for his performance at Clinton. And for two months he and Fred Stroud, an ousted Presbyterian minister who had set up a church of his own, had held almost nightly meetings agitating the least literate white parents to boycott the schools. But the police were not prepared for what happened that Monday morning.

Mobs gathered at most of the schools where Negro children were entering the first grade. Rocks and insults were hurled. Cars raced through the streets bearing KKK signs and Confederate flags. The police responded in feeble confusion. That night the Kasper crowd gathered on the capitol steps for a pep meeting, and a little after midnight a charge of dynamite went off in the Hattie Cotton School where one Negro child had enrolled the morning before.

Mayor West flew home at once, and by the next morning police had orders to crack down. When the mobs appeared at the schools again police stood in the doors to bar their way. Known agitators were taken into court, and the Mayor sought injunctions against the ringleaders. Judge Miller issued temporary—and later permanent—restraining orders against Kasper and nine others, forbidding them to interfere with school desegregation. And the worst was over.

"As it worked out," one reporter relates, "the dynamit-

ing was to the advantage of the city. It happened at night when no one was hurt, and it woke people up. Most of Nashville just didn't want to face up to what the Supreme Court had said, either for it or against it. And it took the lawlessness to solidify the lawful element."

The "lawful element" and Mayor West have been in firm control in the 16 months since. (Although there are Tennessee liberals who place West in the class with the admirable Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, cynics in the Negro community suggest that their growing political power may have something to do with the excellent service. The flight of whites to the suburbs has been so massive that today about 30 percent of Nashville proper is Negro and more than half of the 30,000 Negroes eligible are registered to vote. Two Negroes have served on the City Council since before 1954 and there is now a Negro member of the school board.) When Jackie Robinson came to Nashville recently to address an NAACP rally, for example, the Mayor gave him a police escort to and from the airport and the keys to the city.

In the schools there is every sign of intelligent professional planning. A mental health specialist who is giving close attention to the desegregated schools told me he is impressed by the degree of protection the Negro children receive. "Every teacher and principal seems to be operating quietly but with extreme care to see that the Negro children get a strictly fair deal." And mothers in the Negro PTAs also report that from what their children say the principals and teachers are making a real effort.

No one with whom I talked in Nashville, Negro or white, questioned that the first grade was the place to begin—if there had to be a small beginning. (Few Negro leaders, however, believe that there was any need to do less than desegregate the whole school system at one time: "The city could have stood the shock.") Sex questions don't complicate matters in the lower grades, white parents say in explaining their preference. There isn't the problem of different levels of preparation that complicates things later on, and prejudices haven't had time to incubate in first-grade minds, others say.

The first-grade class I visited without prearrangement two days before Valentine Day seemed to bear out the latter. In fact it looked more like a shot from an NAACP documentary than the real thing. How had the mixing of races worked out, I asked the perfect Central Casting Model of a first-grade teacher? Why, just fine. No trouble at all. Some of the other teachers had asked how she was going to seat them and she worried about that but decided to let the children sit wherever they chose, just as she always had. They mixed up naturally. Did the whites and coloreds treat each other any differently, now that they had been together awhile? Well, come in and see. The children were having their mid-day rest, each on his own cot. Tacked all around the wall were paper sacks, each with a name printed on it, which had hung there all week. Everybody had made valentines and delivered them to those they liked. "Go bring your sacks, children, and show our visitors your gifts." Nobody had been short-changed.

One Negro boy, whose family income bracket had permitted him two years of kindergarten — above the reach of most in this school — is the accepted leader. That day he had brought the family encyclopedia to answer some questions that had come up the day before about butterflies.

The classes with Negro pupils play apart from the others so there is little opportunity for older children to create incidents with the little ones. And the few Negro children in Nashville who have experienced contact with white classmates, by all reports, are unshaken by it thus far. But this is not true of the parents.

A young Negro social worker, employed by the Junior-League-financed Mental Health Center, has interviewed the families of most of the first-year Negro children. The parents, she says, felt that the children were not aware of any special tension or excitement. The first days at school were so novel, so overwhelming, that the mob turmoil had made no special impression. The children adjusted. But some of the parents couldn't. Two of the mothers whose children entered the desegregated schools had to have doctor's care; one still does. Some mothers were too frightened by the crowds on opening day to take their children to the new school three blocks away and instead went back to the all-Negro school 15 blocks distant. (The young lady who conducted the study—and is bringing it up to date at present—is an interesting study herself. Educated in the Nashville public schools and the state Negro college, she became excited about mental health work when she held a clerical job in the Los Angeles Mental Health Department for a short time. Family reasons took her back to Nashville, and the Tennessee University School of Social Work accepted her as the only Negro in the class of '54. She works in the Mental Health Center now on an equal professional basis, with white as well as Negro cases she does not feel restricted in her friendships or have the desire to look outside the South for a job. When her youngest child starts school next year, she is not sure whether she will go to the nearby white school or the more distant one where her brother is enrolled: "I will have to find out more to know whether the white school is a better one.")

The experience with the "stair-step" plan of desegregation in Nashville is good so far as it goes. But it doesn't go very far. All except 34 of the 1,300 Negro children still attend all-Negro schools. The great majority will remain there because of residence even when desegregation extends to all grades. And that will be made more certain by improving schools in Negro neigh-

borhoods (the city has built four new Negro schools in the last five years and made additions to two others) and further segregating Negro housing (two $20,000-$30,000 all-Negro developments have gone up in the suburbs, and federal Urban Renewal projects are resettling displaced families in all-Negro areas.)

But far more are eligible for hitherto white schools—which would be more convenient—than are entering them. 126 Negroes were eligible by residence to enter the all-white schools in 1957 when only 19 did. And eight of the 19 dropped out, most of them in the first three ugly days, leaving only 11 to finish the term. The Nashville branch of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a small interracial group of Martin Luther King's followers, made a study to find out what happened to the other 115. "CORE members reported the first-grade approach made it hard if not impossible for many families to take advantage of integration," they state.

> Mothers with babies or pre-school children usually depend on an older child to escort the 6-year-old to and from school. Sending the children to different schools would require the mother to accompany the first-grader. She would then have to leave the very youngest at home alone, or else hire a baby-sitter twice a day. The problem is tougher when both parents have jobs.
>
> Aside from the practicalities, some 6-year-olds quite naturally wanted to go to school with their older brothers and sisters. More than one parent said, "If I could send all my children to the neighborhood school, they would go—but not the first-grader, alone."

Some specific answers parents gave when questioned were:

> 1. "I have an older child in the Negro school and my first-grader needs his protection."
> 2. "I am not well, so I am keeping my child out of school the first week."
> 3. "The child is not well enough to go and register."
> 4. "We are planning to move to another community within Nashville."
> 5. "I don't want to make my child a guinea pig."
> 6. "When these folks get off the school grounds and quit threatening on the telephone, I'll send my child to the integrated school."

An NAACP leader estimates that at least 50 of the families who did not choose to transfer to the white schools were restrained by the fact that the older children in the family had to continue in their former schools. Others say the violence and threats of Kasper's followers were the greatest deterrents. And they point to the increasing number of transfers this year and to the fact that only two of the group entering in 1958 have dropped out—and one had expected in advance to move to Ohio during the term. Some emphasize the fact that school district lines were redrawn shortly before the first Negroes were admitted (to bring the number eligible down to the paltry 126, the critics say) and many parents were confused about where their children were entitled to go (school officials are accused of making no effort to clear up the confusion).

White segregationists see in the small proportion of eligible Negroes who have transferred to the white schools proof that Negroes want segregation as much as they do. NAACP spokesmen, and most other Negro leaders as well, say it merely proves that less than full desegregation won't work. NAACP lawyers have attached a brief to this effect to an appeal challenging the present Nashville desegregation plan now pending in federal District Court.

Not even the Federation for Constitutional Government, Nashville's more sedate version of the White Citizens Councils, really feels it worthwhile, however, to agitate for anything less than "stair-step" desegregation anymore.

But Nashville is not Tennessee. And the rest of the state traditionally reserves the right to disagree with "Athens." Tennessee, as V. O. Key explained in his definitive work *Southern Politics*, "is a narrow ribbon of real estate stretching from North Carolina to the Mississippi."

> From Bristol in the far northeast to Memphis in the southwest about equals the distance from Hartford, Connecticut, to Cleveland, Ohio. Tennessee's far western counties are but northward projections of Mississippi; its eastern mountain counties share both the topography and the spirit of western North Carolina and southwestern Virginia. Between West Tennessee and East Tennessee lies Middle Tennessee, a fertile bowl, sometimes called locally the "dimple of the universe," whose principal city is Nashville.

And the diversity in geography has produced a distinct difference in political behavior, going back to the Civil War. "The dispute over slavery and secession," Key says, "forged Tennessee partisan alignments into a form that has persisted to this day."

> Slavery was both unprofitable and unpleasing to the people of the mountains of East Tennessee. The plantation system never flourished in the hills and the small farmer who tilled his own land could take no stock in the theory of slavery as a divinely ordained institution. Even less was he disposed to defend the slave property of his planter neighbor to the west.
>
> In 1861 East Tennessee had few slaves and was unionist; West and Middle Tennessee held slaves and Confederate sentiments. . . . Twice—in February and June, 1861—they voted against secession, but the slave interests of West and Middle Tennessee took the state out of the union. . . .
>
> Today East Tennessee harbors many Republicans while Middle and West Tennessee are Democratic strongholds.

All these differences will stand out again when the other three big cities of the state face the decision con-

cerning the schools which Nashville has had to make. Knoxville, on the eastern border (capital of TVA territory, university center, with an enlightened city government backed by a sizable labor and Negro vote) will probably accede with reasonably good grace to a court order to desegregate when it comes (perhaps next fall).

Memphis, in the extreme southwest, next door to Mississippi, will find it much harder to accommodate. But the fact that there are few mixed neighborhoods in the city and Memphis' large middle class places a high value on the public school system should help soften the blow. (The city's colleges and the *Memphis Press-Scimitar* would also have a benign influence.)

Chattanooga, on the Alabama-Georgia border, will take any desegregation order far harder. A town of the very rich and the very poor, Chattanooga has a minute middle class and a large Ku Klux Klan. Many of the latter are "Georgia commuters" who work in Chattanooga but live across the state line and look to Talmadge and Atlanta and not to Nashville for direction. And the racist feelings ingrained in them from that source are encouraged daily by the destructive *Chattanooga Free Press*. (The opposition *Chattanooga Times*, owned by the *New York Times* Ochs family, which has urged toleration of the Supreme Court school decision, lost 10,000 subscribers last year.)

WITH ALMOST no local organization Albert Gore's strongly segregationist opponent for the Senate, former Governor Prentice Cooper, swamped Gore in Chattanooga in 1958. In that same primary, promising the voters to put up the kind of battle to preserve segregation they seemed to want, attorney Ralph Kelley was elected to represent Chattanooga in the state legislature. And since the General Assembly convened in January he has introduced bills to change the school laws written in Governor Clement's term to make it far more difficult for other school boards to go even as far as Nashville has gone toward compliance.

Support for the Kelley bills is reported to be growing, and the Governor, Buford Ellington, who was elected last year by less than 9,000 votes over a violent segregationist, Andrew "Tip" Taylor, says "If the bills reach my desk, I'm probably obligated to sign them because of campaign promises." However, his friends believe Ellington will change his mind when he hears from the attorney-general. Lawyers for the state who have studied the proposed laws fear that "if the Kelley bills are enacted, the courts may look at all our school bills and declare them all part of a package to maintain segregation in defiance of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and throw them all out." In that case, all would be confusion —a confusion welcome to the "Tip" Taylors of Tennessee who badly need an issue on which to oppose Kefauver's re-election in 1960 and Clement's aspirations to that seat or to return to the governor's chair in 1962.

Deliberate, Yes—Speed, No

THIS YEAR the balance will tip against "massive resistance" to the Supreme Court's 1954 order to desegregate public schools. In late 1958, four and a half years after the decision, four of the 11 states of the old Confederacy were complying with it—in their fashion. Seven remained defiant. The division became six to five after the courts opened Virginia's school doors in December. And next fall, when Dade County admits Negroes to a Miami, Florida, elementary school, the balance will shift to seven to four — with compliers leading.

But don't expect more such quick capitulations. The Deep South states, from South Carolina to the Mississippi, have dug in for the duration. Most of the men elected to high office in those states last year won because they promised to keep Negroes out of the schools. Such sure-fire vote-getting issues are rare, and they intend to keep this one hot as long as they can. Segregationist leaders with a more objective view see bigger things to be gained by delaying the final surrender: a chance in 1960 to try a long-shot plan to nullify the decision of 1954; and time for the North, East and West to experience the effects of the mass migration of Negroes which, without much notice, has already nationalized the race question.

To them, the delay is more important than the cost. If it is necessary to close all the public schools to prevent desegregation they are willing to do it, and most of their constituents would back them up—for a while. It is impossible to tell how long most people would be content to do without public schools. But probably not as long as Herman Talmadge, who says "Forever." The leaders seem sure that they could organize and begin to operate private schools, supported by state tuition grants to pupils, before the parents' patience expired, and the successful Front Royal boycott of the desegregated Warren County High School has strengthened their confidence. But a preliminary study of the economic consequences of liquidating public education, made by University of Virginia Professor Lorin Thompson, shows that this would be a slightly larger job than most enthusiasts for the substitute system yet confess:

> A few facts taken from the annual reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and other state reports show the magnitude of the problem in quantitative terms. First of all the total value of all school property in Virginia in 1957 was reported to be $576 million. Of this amount $524 million represented sites and buildings, $42 million furniture and equipment and just under $10 million represented school buses. . . . The total net debt owed by the city and county school boards is in excess of $200 million and current annual expenditures are more than $200 million. . . . It is sheer speculation as to what proportion of the value each community might recover from the sale of its surplus school building sites, furniture and equipment. One thing is certain, the bond holders would have in excess of $200 million owed them and would require immediate settlement. . . . If school buildings were sold to private school groups the financial underwriting necessary for the acquisition of property now valued at approximately $600 million would be a most substantial undertaking. Long established private schools have not found it easy to borrow money for new facilities. . . .

This, of course, is but one of the many complications that would arise, and unquestionably, even with the best of luck, the private school plan would mean a gigantic educational loss to the state. With great effort, however, determined men might make such a substitute limp along well enough to mollify public distress for a few years—long enough for the last-ditch segregationists to try two desperate gambles.

Ever since Rutherford B. Hayes won the election of 1876 over Samuel J. Tilden in the Electoral College (185-184), minority political blocs have dreamed of being the balance of power in another such coup. Loyal Dixiecrats have dreamed of it since 1944. By holding out

their combined electoral votes in a tight Presidential contest, States Rights Southerners picture themselves deciding the contest and naming their price, as their Confederate granddaddies did, when by the Compromise of 1877 they elected Hayes and committed him to freeing the South from the 14th Amendment.

This vision now haunts even such pragmatists as Herman Talmadge. "It's the only way we can fight back, build a counter-force to match the NAAPC [sic], and let the parties choose between us," he says earnestly. "And until the South can do that, we won't get anywhere." How many electoral votes would it take? "Well, it is theoretically possible that Georgia's 32 votes alone could be decisive—if the election was close enough, but we might get together as many as 75 to 80." (The votes of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana total 150). Who would organize it? "Those young Governors of Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina are the ones to do it. Georgia has a law setting the electors free to vote as they please, regardless of party—it was put on the books while I was Governor. So has Alabama. And I think Arkansas has, or is getting one. Mississippi would go along with us, I think."

Then in the unusual event that Nixon and Stevenson —or any other pair of nominees—had run and failed to get a majority of the electoral votes, not including the 75-80 votes the Talmadge-Faubus contingent was holding out, the segregationists would be sitting in the catbird seat. What would your terms be then, I asked Talmadge? "I would run it like an old-fashioned Jewish fire sale—take bids." Whichever party agreed in advance to the Compromise of 1961, freeing the South a second time from observance of the 14th Amendment, would win the Presidency in 1960.

If it turns out that the American electorate does not cooperate, the bitter-enders will need to buy more time. For then they will have to fall back on their final contention that the rest of the country does not really want to practice racial equality any more than does the South. Senator Russell's proposed bill to speed the process of dispersing the Negro population more evenly over the US by federal subsidies to Southern Negroes who volunteer to move to areas where fewer Negroes live has been taken by many as a cynical joke. But he and hundreds—if not thousands—of other Southern opinion makers sincerely believe that ignorance more than anything else accounts for the Northern position on segregation. And they wait impatiently for the rest of white America to wake up to what they are sure will be the disillusionment of living at close quarters with the Negro.

White segregationist leaders think the demographic facts are working for them. They cite a recent study of Negro migration made at Princeton University: "There were more Negroes in the North in 1950 than in all the Confederacy at the time of the Civil War. . . .

> The trend is clearly seen when the five Southern and the five Northern states with the largest Negro populations are contrasted. In 1910, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia had a Negro population of 4.5 million; in 1960, 4.6 million.
>
> In 1910 Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania together had only 566,000 Negroes; in 1950, 3.2 million. These five Northern states absorbed half the national increase in 40 years, while the five Southern states absorbed little more than a thirtieth of the increase.
>
> In recent years this trend has been accelerating. In the decade between 1940 and 1950, the Negro population declined slightly in the five Southern states while the five Northern states absorbed 54 percent of the national increase. California, Florida and Texas absorbed an additional 22 percent.

Because of this massive migration North and West from the rural South "the stereotype of the Negro as a toiling sharecropper is becoming as antiquated as that of the slaves in the cotton fields," the Princeton study points out. "A new stereotype is evolving, though, and it is that of the lowest tenth living in squalor and disorganization in teeming slums . . . the problems of social and economic retardation that were products of the life in the rural South have been transferred to the metropolitan areas of the North."

Segregationist strategists count on the transfer of this burden to produce new allies in Congress against extending federal guarantees of civil rights. If it takes a while for white Northerners to learn where their self-interest lies, the Southern segregationists are willing to wait—and suffer an under-educated generation of children as the price.

IN THE seven states of the old Confederacy which have chosen the course of token accession to the authority of the Supreme Court the interest of the leaders is in making social change as painless—and as slight—as possible. They consider grandiose schemes to prevent the inevitable a waste of everybody's time. But they are no less resolved than the Talmadges to stick to the old way of doing things wherever they can. And as time goes on, Southern ingenuity will no doubt produce some interesting maneuvers for evading the Supreme Court's intent in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (May 17, 1954).

These states are giving immediate priority to setting up a court-proof plan for subsidizing private schools with public money. All of them have black-belt areas which would revolt against any state administration which failed to provide such an alternative to desegregated public schools. But in any case more private schools are needed as safety valves in the long transition period ahead. Many localities are quietly doing what James F.

Byrnes advised five years ago. Fearing the verdict his former colleagues of the Supreme Court were about to hand down, Mr. Byrnes told his fellow South Carolinians that "to meet this situation we are forced to do now what we should have been doing for the past 50 years." Making "separate" facilities for Negroes "equal" was what he had in mind. (South Carolina the previous year had reported current expenditures per white pupil double those for Negroes—$195.50 and $98.14 respectively. And that ratio prevailed generally throughout the South.)

The states have not kept separate records on educational spending for the two races since 1954, but almost everywhere one travels across the South there are new Negro school buildings under construction or recently completed. School boards and taxpayers view this as one of the most practical ways to limit desegregation. Negro children may choose to stay in a Negro school rather than transfer to a white school if the former is more modern and attractive than the latter, they believe. In Charlottesville, Virginia, this was reported to be the case. And Front Royal expects it to prove true when a new Negro school opens there next fall.

Where there are no new buildings to attract Negro children to the schools where whites wish them to go, gerrymandering is accomplishing much the same purpose. In most communities a little judicious fiddling with the boundary lines of school districts produces the desired black-and-white pattern. Most Southern cities had taken this step well in advance of 1954. Others are adjusting district boundaries to follow the color line.

In older communities where whites and Negroes live mixed in together by custom dating back to slave days more drastic remedies are required. Officials in these places laughingly explain that they have a long way to go to catch up with the North in segregating housing. And a good deal of catching up is being done. White banks which never granted credit for Negro housing before are financing middle-class Negro developments in the suburbs—new and modern, but segregated. The Federal Urban Renewal Program is transplanting more Negroes from mixed downtown areas to segregated projects on the outskirts. As Southerners grasp the central fact in the recent report of the Commission on Race and Housing, signed by such men as Henry Luce and Elliott Bell—that housing policy currently dominates the whole issue of segregation in the US—they will act on it to construct a more solid foundation for segregation. But in the process, many Negro families will move from unspeakable squalor into homes from which children can more easily make the transition to desegregated schools when the time comes.

All this suggests for the future a very "deliberate" rate of speed toward desegregation. And if the task of bringing about compliance with the law respecting the schools remains—as it is now—the concern of only one of the three branches of the federal government, it will indeed be a slow process. The Judiciary, lacking the active support of the Legislative and Executive departments, is necessarily limited in power. It must proceed case by case, school district by school district, to determine where good faith compliance is not forthcoming.

It may take years to define the tests of good faith with respect to the Alabama Pupil Placement Law, which now becomes central to the litigation over the schools. Because the Court ruled that law was constitutional on its face, other states have adopted similar statutes as an escape route from the 1954 order. Judgment on the constitutionality of these measures will hinge on how they are generally applied, not on any one case. And if it takes as long to determine "good faith" in the case of admission of Negroes to schools as it has in their admission to duty as jurors, it will be quite a while. *Neal v. Delaware*, establishing the rights of Negroes as jurors, was decided by the Supreme Court in 1880, and cases arising from that decision are still coming through the courts.

There is little reason either to believe that desegregation will gather momentum as it goes. Fisk University sociologist Dr. Herman Long writes that:

> positive policies toward desegregation do not easily and naturally diffuse from one area to another. The established ways of doing things, custom and habit, tend to create resistances which segment the changed situations and cause them to stand relatively independent of each other.

He comments as an aside that desegregation has not "diffused" even from the golf course where he has played for several years to the rest of the all-white park which surrounds it.

There are those who see "diffusion" as a greater force than Dr. Long does. But few who have studied recent events in the South share commentator Chet Huntley's view that segregation would disappear more rapidly if the NAACP ceased its legal attacks on the institution. It is hard to find a single significant example of voluntary desegregation which has occurred without legal action or threat of it. And if "deliberate speed" is construed as less than the next hundred years, "diffusion" won't produce change in time for that deadline.

But there are other forces that may speed things up in the South. Congress could—and may—decide to give its moral support to the position taken by the Supreme Court. (Sen. Paul Douglas' proposed Civil Rights Act of 1959, embodying Section III as deleted from the Civil Rights Law passed last year, is not likely to receive favorable consideration. But some compromise between the President's and Sen. Lyndon Johnson's much more modest proposals can probably be passed if Senator John-

son puts his mind to it.) Or another President two years from now could decide to exercise the authority of his office in that direction. Either or both could vastly change the outlook—and could have at any time since May, 1954.

Even if the courts are left to enforce the 14th Amendment virtually alone, however, there will be changes in the South which can make that task less unbearable. The mass migration of Negroes in the past 10 years has been within the South as well as outside it, and always to the city. The number of Negro farmers in the South declined 17.1 percent in the four years from 1950 to 1954, until by 1954 there were only 160,000 farms operated by Negro sharecroppers in the South. And as they move to the city, rural Southern Negroes begin to vote. As the Negro vote climbs in city after city, the interest of elected officials in enforcing civil rights grows, as Atlanta, Knoxville, Nashville and New Orleans demonstrate.

Negro leaders in these and most other cities of the South are aware that the vote is the ultimate power and are giving increasing priority to registration and voter education through the churches as well as through the NAACP and fraternal organizations. One of the first activities Martin Luther King inaugurated when he was called to his church in Montgomery was a weekly meeting to instruct church members in the techniques of registration and voting.

Today the Southern Regional Council estimates there are 1.2 million Negroes on the voting rolls in the 11 Southern states. This represents a steady growth of suffrage since white primaries were outlawed in 1944. And if Negro voting increases proportionately with Negro migration from the farms to Southern cities, pressure on elected officials to get on with desegregation will mount substantially.

University of Alabama political scientist Donald Strong reminds us, however, that the recent rate of growth in the Negro vote may not continue. He wonders whether "we have not perhaps reached a temporary plateau in the move toward re-enfranchisement of the Southern Negro."

> In its unvarnished form, the proposition is that in most areas of the South, a Negro with political consciousness, who really wants to vote, can overcome the relatively mild obstacles in his way. Similarly, in the rural black belt the obstacles are so formidable and the number of politically-conscious Negroes so relatively few that it is hard to foresee a substantial increase in registration in the near future.

Strong says that part of the problem of increasing the number of voters is that of overcoming indifference to politics on the part of many. "If all extra-legal obstacles to Negro voting could suddenly be swept away, Negroes would not rush to the polls," he states. It was not, after all, until 36 years after women had been given the vote, in 1916, that they voted in substantially the same numbers as men. He draws another analogy with various immigrant groups, and says only when these had produced their own lawyers and prosperous merchants were they able to command a respectful hearing in politics. "Negroes, too, must develop a corps of middle-class leaders with substantial education and economic independence of whites. . . . Despite the progress of the past decade, it is probable that the second million votes will come harder."

Yet, it is certain that the migration from the country to the city will mean better schools for the Negro and more income too as a rule—which will contribute toward developing more competent leadership for the continuing test of strength which will go on for years.

But the Southern Negro is only one aspect of a vast change in prospect. "The South is no longer the Economic Problem Number One of the Nation," Walter Prescott Webb, the Texas historian whose book, *Divided We Stand*, inspired Franklin Roosevelt's Southern Economic Committee in depression days, pointed out in an address last year comparing 1950 with 1930. "In many ways," Professor Webb says, "it looks like the Number One economic opportunity."

> The South today has a latent industrial trinity that may be as potent in the future as coke and coal, limestone and iron have been in the past. The South has a complete monopoly on one of these, more than half of the second, and about one-half of the third. This trinity is hydrocarbons, sulphur and water which exist together along the Gulf Coast. They are the basis of the petrochemical industry which is already concentrated in that area and growing at such a rate that no one can calculate its future. The North has no sulphur and less than five percent of the hydrocarbons. In this new chemical trinity it has nothing but water . . . industry is coming from all corners . . . to all parts of the South, promising to make the Gulf Coast a golden crescent. Not only is industry coming, but people are coming too. . . . The South that formerly exported its talent and imported its capital is now importing talent and exporting capital. . . . The New England textile factories are moving to Virginia and the Carolinas. To Dallas came airplane factories and all their trained personnel, whole trainloads. The petrochemical companies line the Gulf Coast. The depletion of the Mesabi Range may transfer much of the steel industry to the South to use the baser ore, and to receive that which will come up from South America.

Twenty thousand new corporations were formed in the South in 1957. And the percentage of income derived from manufacturing in the South that year increased by five percent, compared to three percent for

the country as a whole.

All of this points to more urbanization. (The region is now about half urban and half rural). The South which has never had a city of a million should have half a dozen in less than 10 years. In that same span every good-sized town will be tied in with hundreds of others through the new federal highway network which will give the South almost 250,000 miles of new roads, 40,000 miles of superhighways, bringing tourists and new ways of looking at things. "The bright lights of the highway cloverleafs will shine on the Ku Klux Klan before they can get five miles away from a cross-burning. And anyway the new roads will give the Kluxers so many places to go they won't be bothering people out of idleness," one Southern optimist observes.

In the next decade the South will rapidly take on the look of the rest of the country. And when it accepts the fact that it is bound by the same laws, it can join the rest of the country in searching for answers to race problems.

about The New Republic . . .

A nationally-known scholar and professor of political science at an Eastern university was recently heard to say:

"It has not been generally recognized as yet, but The New Republic is enjoying a veritable renaissance. Having had one period of glory some years back, it is now entering its second golden age."

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AUG 12 1963
AUG 12 1963

The State Senate

Senate Chamber
Atlanta

August 9, 1963

Mr. Randolph Blackwell
Voters Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Enclosed you will find a picture of the Senator that you requested.

If we can be of any further service in this project, do not hesitate to call upon us.

With kind personal regards, I remain

Yours truly,

Lillian Foston

(Mrs.) Lillian Foston

/f

Enclosure

2 copies of the newsletter sent 9/24/63 JS

August 9, 1963

Mrs. Ruth B. Bryant
1211 S. Western Parkway
Louisville 11, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Bryant:

Mr. Branton has referred your letter to me. In this regard, I can say we are in the process of preparing some material that we can make available to you and that we feel will be of some help.

The Voter Education Project is now more than a year old, operating in eleven states. We have naturally developed some attitudes about what makes for success in this kind of work. These attitudes will be included in the material mentioned.

You may expect to hear from us soon.

Very truly yours,

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

cc: Mrs. Robert W. Dockery
1117 S. Western Parkway
Louisville 11, Kentucky

Please keep up -

Memo from **JEAN T. LEVINE**

RTB

Pls. see attached note from WAB (on original letter) & return when you have finished

JL

20 copies of the newsletter

August 6, 1963

Mrs. Ruth B. Bryant
1211 S. Western Parkway
Louisville 11, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Bryant:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 31 in which you express interest in conducting a voter registration drive in Louisville, Kentucky. I wish to commend you for your interest in registration activities and hope that we can be of some assistance to you.

Unfortunately, we adopted a policy decision at the beginning of the Voter Education Project which precludes any VEP activity in the state of Kentucky; however, it may be possible that we can supply you with certain materials, and offer some other assistance in lieu of any financial grant.

I am asking our Field Director, Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, to send you some information and materials regarding a voter registration campaign.

Kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mrs. Robert W. Dackery
1117 S. Western Parkway

Please in being up

Rec'd 8/2/63

1211 So. Western Parkway
Louisville 11, Kentucky
July 31, 1964.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. nw.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

RTD: Please send more material W.D.

Dear Mr. Branton,

The enclosed press clippings will give you some background on the organization that I am working with.

We are taking the initiative in organizing ~~every~~ Negro women's civic, religious, etc. club in the city in voter registration. There have been voter registration drives here - but they have been connected with politics in some way. Our's is not. We plan to work to get people registered, and then set up workshops dealing with voter education, how to operate the machines, split tickets, etc.

Atlanta I recently attended the Race Relations Institute, of Fisk, I had looked forward to the seminar on Voter Registration in the Deep South by Rev. Andrew Young. However he did not appear and when Mr. Long found that he was not coming it was too late to get a substitute.

My friends the Bradins are out of town, therefore I am writing you for the following information:

1. Information on how to effectively set up a voter registration campaign.

2. Would the Council help in anyway with the expenses connected with this type of campaign.

(over)

I am leaving for the West coast on Sunday, and will be away for three weeks. So send any correspondence to Mrs. Robert W. Dockery 1117 So. Western parkway, Louisville, Ky.

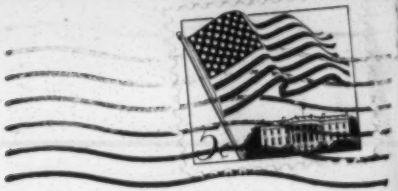
We are anxious to get started with the structuring of this campaign as soon as possible.

Sincerely,
Ruth B. Bryant,
(Mrs. Rascoe C. Bryant, Jr)

P.S. Bea + Mac were over with their children last night. I told them that I was writing to you. They said to tell you all hello.!

R. Bryant
1211 So. Western Pkway
Louisville 11, Ky

LOUISVILLE, KY.
4:00 PM
1 AUG
1963



Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

c/o Mr. Wiley Branton

September 12, 1963

Ms. Louise Thomas
Director of Public Relations
Doubleday and Company, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York

Dear Ms. Thomas:

I am enclosing a copy of our August newsletter which contains on page 2 a statement by Mr. Branton on a book which you recently published.

We are interested in doing what we can to promote the widest possible distribution of the book. If Mr. Branton's statement will help you in any way in promoting the book, please feel free to use all or part of it at your discretion.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Encl.

*(I have the clipping for mailing list)

"The American Dream Must Come True"!

OCT 11 1963

WBB

WUSA

WOMEN UNITED FOR SOCIAL ACTION

2409 W. MADISON STREET LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

OFFICERS
Mrs. Roscoe C. Bryant, Jr., Chm.
Mrs. Sophia D. Smith, Co-chm.
Miss Gladys J. Evans, Sec.
Mrs. Addie W. Duff, Treas.

STEERING COMMITTEE
(Co-ordinators)
Mrs. Roscoe C. Bryant, Jr.
Mrs. Robert W. Dockery
Miss Gladys J. Evans
Mrs. Lucy P. Larke
Mrs. Ralph C. Morris
Mrs. Marie Perdue

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SPEAKER'S BUREAU
Mrs. Alicia McAlpin, Chm.
Mrs. Geneva H. Bell, Co-chm.

VOTER REGISTRATION
Miss Gladys J. Evans, Chm.
Mrs. Catherine Guest, Co-chm.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT
Mrs. Lucille Phillips, Chm.
Mrs. Mate Herndon, Co-chm.

October 9, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton,
Kind Sir;

Our chairman, Mrs. Bryant shared your newsletter with me. We both found it very interesting and certainly necessary.

I was instructed to return this clipping* so that we could have one available for the members to enjoy.

Thanks again for this first issue. We know your project will be successful.

Respectfully,
Gladys J. Evans, Sec.

October 30, 1963

Mr. Gregory E. Shinert, Director
Virginia Equal Job Opportunity Bureau
17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Shinert:

Mr. Branton has asked that I reply to your inquiry of October 17.

We regret to inform you that the August issue of the VEP newsletter was the last one published. We hope to get publication of the newsletter onto a regular monthly schedule as soon as possible. Another issue of the newsletter is now in preparation, and should be in the mail within the next two weeks. We have added your name to our mailing list, and you will receive all future copies.

We do not have a VEP staff person in Richmond, however, our Field Director, Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, will doubtless be in Richmond in the near future, and we feel sure he will want to call upon you at that time.

According to our project reports from Virginia, and some discussions I have had with Mr. Blackwell, the peculiarities of Virginia poll tax requirements are a major hindrance to voter registration there. It is my understanding that poll tax represents a greater registration problem in Virginia than it does in any other of the poll tax states, primarily because the cumulative provisions of the Virginia poll tax make it more expensive than in any other poll tax state.

It is my general impression that political discrimination against non-aristocrats as well as against non-whites has operated more effectively in Virginia than it has in any other southern state.

1- newsletter

A couple of years ago, I had occasion to converse with a political scientist who taught in one of Virginia's institutions of higher learning, and he expressed to me considerable satisfaction with the discriminatory effect of the blank application registration procedure which was in effect in Virginia at that time. His attitude was that the "better people" were thereby secured in their political dominence in a manner that other less fortunate states well could emulate. I was particularly interested to note that this gentleman's attitude made no real distinction between non-aristocratic whites and non-whites in the matter of political discrimination. I cannot, of course, say to what extent this person's attitudes mirrored among the Virginia people, but I have an idea, based on random and very sketchy observations, that his views are rather widespread among the dominant political groups in Virginia.

I would suppose that the recent alteration of the registration application indicates that Virginia is moving, however slowly and fumblingly, toward a more broadly based political system. As is the case in most other parts of the country, it appears that if this movement makes any real headway, it will be because Negroes provide the initiative and the leadership.

We greatly appreciate the interest you have expressed in our activities, and we hope that you will not fail to call upon us if we can be of any assistance to you.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

J. M. Reisinger

VIRGINIA EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY BUREAU

17 EAST CARY STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

A PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL
CONSULTING SERVICE FOR
VIRGINIA BUSINESSMEN

AREA CODE 703
MI 8-7348

GREGORY E. SHINERT
DIRECTOR

October 17, 1963

OCT 21 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
VEP Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Branton:

Very pleased to receive Vol. 1 #1 VEP NEWSLETTER, August 1963. Although my primary work is in employment, I have an avocational interest in voter education--registration and voting.

rotation mailing

At present, I am not on your mailing list--but would like to be. If there is any charge, please bill me.

Might I request back copies of September and October issues?

If you have a VEP staff person in Richmond, I would appreciate having the opportunity of meeting him. Perhaps there might be some small way I can be of assistance.

Do you see any particular or unique problem in Virginia regarding registration--and education of people to vote? We understand that our Governor and General Assembly plan to repeal our poll tax law--for federal elections--but keep a very complicated state poll tax law, which is intended to restrict and hamper people in their ability to register and vote. In effect, it keeps large numbers of both Negro and white from registering and voting--so I am told.

Wishing you every success, and pledging all possible cooperation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

G. E. Shinert

Gregory E. Shinert
Director

GES/ea

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
HOWARD E. SPRAGG, TREASURER

DIVISION OF CHURCH EXTENSION
PURD E. DEITZ, GENERAL SECRETARY
287 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

EDWARD M. BROWN, CONSULTANT ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS
~~ROOM 683, 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA~~
499 Emory Circle, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

WAB✓
RTB✓
JS✓
dMV

NOV 13 1963

November 11, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Friend:

I had occasion recently to see the first Newsletter for the Voter Education Project. My congratulations on this timely and much needed publication to keep workers in the field of human relations informed about your project. I recently sent on a copy to Dr. Ray Gibbons of our Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ in New York City, suggesting that he might get in touch with you concerning projects which his organization could support in the south.

I would like to subscribe the Newsletter, and if there is a subscription cost, please bill me accordingly.

This letter brings you my cordial best wishes in your work.

Sincerely yours,

Edward M. Brown

Edward M. Brown

EMB:isd

Feb. 7, 1964

TOTAL ---- ~~906~~ 908

FOUR LINES- 164

Stencil lists mailed
2/10/64

11-1-63

RTB:

I talked to the representative of Elliot Industries yesterday, and he quoted the following rates to me:

$70 per 1000 - completed. That means cutting the stencils, inking them, indexing them, etc.

The rate for plates that will require four lines, $4 per thousand.

I counted the no. we have on the mailing list so far, and the count is as follows:

~~757~~ - Total 908

~~161~~ 164 - with 4 lines.

The attached correspondence from Elliot will tell you anything else you wat bo know. As far as I know, the list is ready to be sent in to them. All that is left now is the Post Office transaction.

JS

ELLIOTT INDUSTRIES INCORPORATED
143 ALBANY STREET · CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS · TROWBRIDGE 6-2020

NOV 1 1963

PLEASE REPLY TO:
1273 SPRING STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 9, GEORGIA
873-3428

October 31, 1963

Voter Education Project
Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell,
Field Director
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

In reference to your letter of October 29, the prices for cutting stencils is scheduled on the enclosed literature.

If this is not definitive enough, please call me.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Gene Newton

Gene Newton,
Sales Representative

GN:jmc

Encl:

Prices for ELLIOTT Stencil Typing Service

Effective Date March 27, 1961

Available Type Styles

Type Style	Characters per inch	Availability
Pica Elite	10 12	All Stencil sizes — Note: 4 x 4 3/32 can only be indexed immediately above window when these type faces are used.
Pica Gothic	10	For 2 3/4 x 4 1/2 and 4 x 4 3/32 Stencils, in upper case only.
Elite Gothic	12	Upper case only. Limited availability. Consult local office for delivery quotation.

Package Price

Typing and inking less than 1,000 stencils in standard 2 x 4½ size • Also available in these sizes:

1½ x 3 • 2 x 4 3/32 • 4 x 4 3/32 • 2¾ x 4½

Price in Column I includes:

Stencil (any available color frame or window)
Typing up to 5 lines in window
1 line on frame
1 code in window or frame

Inking

Return shipping charges.

Price in Column II — Applies when customer supplies his own stencils.

Additional Services are available — prices shown in separate schedule.

Quantity	Cash in Advance Col. I	Cash in Advance Col. II	Invoiced Min. Order — $5.00 Col. I	Invoiced Min. Order — $5.00 Col. II
1-40	$ 4.50 (min.)	$ 4.00 (min.)	$ 5.00	$ 5.00
41-80	9.00	8.00	10.00	9.00
81-120	13.50	12.00	15.00	13.00
121-999	@.10 ea.	@.06 ea.	@.11 ea.	@.07 ea.

Base Price For typing and inking 1,000 or more standard stencils.

1,000-4,999	$40.00/M
5,000-24,999	37.50/M
25,000-49,999	35.00/M
50,000-Or Over	Obtain Quote from local branch.

Price includes:

1. Typing charges only.
2. Up to three lines of an address or similar data in the window.
3. One line of index information on the upper portion of the frame, which may consist of the name of a person or company or street or city or state or code, etc. If a person's name is used, it will be typed last name first unless otherwise specified.
4. Copy should be in English, readable for normal typing speed and in the form similar to the way it is to appear in the window. The Company reserves the right to refuse any copy.
5. Standard forms of address (Mr., Mrs., Rev., Dr., etc.) and special or professional titles (M.D., Pres., Secy., etc.) will be typed in the window and on the frame if requested and shown on copy and if they can be included on the same line as the name.
6. Standard abbreviations for names, titles, addresses, city and state will be used.
7. No punctuation will be used at the end of lines.
8. Type style may be specified from list of those available for the stencil size to be used. In the absence of such specification, the Company will select one at its own discretion.
9. A single frame and window color may be specified. In the absence of such specification, the Company will use stencils with white frames and blue centers.
10. Black Liquid Paste Ink will be used to process all stencils.
11. All typed stencils are delivered inked and ready to use.
12. An inking transcript will be furnished with each order.
13. The Company will recut stencils found to be inaccurate if error is fault of Company and not due to poor copy or incomplete specifications. Original copy and packing slip must accompany all such requests. All claims must be made within 30 days from receipt of stencils.
14. If stencils are supplied by customer, the Company reserves the right to refuse any which in its opinion are in poor condition and will not produce a quality impression.
15. Typing rates are subject to change without notice.
16. The Company guarantees the customer that while in its possession his list will not be used for any purpose other than the cutting of his stencils.

Additional Services Schedule of prices.

Each extra line on frame and/or in window	$ 4.00/M
Code words or numbers — window or frame	
Each location of each group of 1-5 characters	3.00/M
Each location of each group of 6-10 characters	4.00/M
Each location of each group of over 10 characters	5.00/M
Poor or difficult copy (handwritten, directory, fine print, indistinct carbon or photostat, etc.) NOTE: We cannot guarantee accuracy when using any handwritten, indistinct carbon or photostatic copy.	5.00/M
Foreign names or words	5.00/M
No abbreviations (Only where space permits) (NOTE: Form of address will always be abbreviated)	4.00/M
Changing frame colors	5.00/M
Editing Copy — Lists not in form similar to way they are to appear on stencil — selective cutting	6.00/Hr.
Alphabetizing	6.00/Hr.
Proofreading	6.00/Hr.

Different type style on frame and window — add 75% of Base Price

Inking of stencils typed by the customer: minimum order — cash in advance is $2.50; Invoiced, is $5.00.

1-499	.70/C
500-999	.60/C
1,000-4,999	5.00/M
5,000-Or Over	4.00/M

ELLIOTT INDUSTRIES INC.
143 ALBANY ST., CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

ADV. 31 Rev. 1

April 7, 1964

Mr. Arthur DeWitty
1106 East Tenth Street
Austin, Texas 78702

Dear Mr. DeWitty:

Thank you for calling our attention to the fact that the envelope you received from our office was empty. We inadvertently mailed the envelope without including the material we intended to send you.

Please forgive this oversight. We are enclosing herein the five copies of our Newsletter we intended to mail.

Very truly yours,

Janet Shortt
Office Secretary

Newsletter

Newsletters

APR 6 1964

BW
RTB ?

1106 East Tenth Street
Austin, Texas 78702
April 3, 1964

Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir or Madam:

I was mailed a letter from you March 31, 1964, except the letter was not enclosed. Only an envelop addressed to me.

Thank you very kindly.

Very truly yours,

Arthur DeWitty

Arthur DeWitty

:

bcg

April 27, 1964

Mr. Louis Leachman
Circulation Manager
The Charleston Inquirer
41 Cannon Street
Charleston, South Carolina 29403

Dear Mr. Leachman:

We are pleased that you have found our newsletter of help to you in your work. Please feel free to use any part of it that you find possible.

We are enclosing a back issue we feel will help you better understand our project.

Very truly yours,

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Encl: Newsletter

Newsletter

PHONE RA 3-2908

WILLIAM RILEY, Publisher

The Charleston Inquirer

"The Instrument As Well As The Recorder Of Progress"

41 CANNON STREET -:- CHARLESTON, S. C. 29403

April 13, 1964

RTB
Please reply
WB

The Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Room 206
Alanta, Ga.

APR 15 1964

Dear Sir:

I recently read your Newsletter for March, 1964. I would like to be placed on your mailing list to receive it. I would also like to have permission to publish in the Charleston Inquirer, Charleston's local Negro newspaper, any or all portions of such letters. We are a new and growing concern and will not be able to pay for the use of this material. Your kindest consideration will be highly appreciated. I remain,

Respectfully yours

Louis Leachman

Louis Leachman
CIRCULATION MANAGER

April 28, 1964

Ms. Barbara Collins
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Ms. Collins:

Thank you for your letter of April 27.

I am sending you today, under separate cover, the newsletters you requested. They should be arriving soon.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Very truly yours,

Janet Shortt
Office Secretary

/js

Newsletters

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

April 27, 1964

APR 28 1964

Publication Office
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

The College Program of the American Friends Service Committee is gathering orientation material for our summer projects this summer.

Please send as soon as possible 40 copies of the Voter Education Project Newsletter, Volume 1, March, 1964, Number 2 to: Richard Ramsay, College Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, N. C.
and bill us for the charges.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Barbara Collins

Barbara Collins
Office Secretary

/bc

MILESTONE IN GEORGIA

Less than a year has passed since Leroy Johnson, Atlanta lawyer, was elected to the Senate of the Georgia General Assembly, the first Negro to serve in the Legislature since 1907.

Mr. Johnson's election and quite year's service to his constituency is more than a Georgia political milestone. It is proof to Negro voters all over the South of the power of their vote in free elections.

It is also the fruits of Georgia's recentlliberation from the county unit system, which had for generations kept the state ~~in the hands~~ to small, backward rural communities, and which was overthrown last year by a Supreme Court decision. Last November, free from county unit shackles and the racist opinion of rural communities, urban Georgians, including influential numbers of Negro voters, went to the polls, and ---each voter's ballot being equal---elected a moderate governor and the state's first Negro in the Legislature, against a field including rabidly segregationsit candidates.

So, it happend that Mr. Johnson took office in the Senate in a reformed and elevated atmosphere. A year before, at the previous session of the General Assembly, cries of "nigger", "communism", "Our Way of Life", and "State Sovereignty" had rung through the chambers, as police arrested scores of Negro citizens who attempted to desegregate the galleries of their Legislature. Mr. Johnson was sworn in a mood of friendliest courtesy, dignity and even pride, while Negro constituents looked on from the integrated gallery. It is not recorded that one mention of the Negro problem, of segregation, or the sacredness of ancient discrimination has interrupted or clouded debates in House or Senate since Mr. Johnson's arrival in politics, with incontrovertible evidence of the power of the Negro vote in Georgia.

Senator Johnson's performance has been quite, able, and effective. One of the bills he introduced has already been signed into law.

An interating aspect of Negro exercise of the ballot last year in Georgia is the elevation of statesmanship not only in the Legislature, but political circles over the state. It is well known that one of Georgia's most extreme segregationists, a young politician, not only received Senator Johnson with unprededented civility, but invited him to his home for dinner. The senator also has visited U. S. Senator Talmadge, long-time political and segregationist "king" of the Georgia political machine, at his home in Lovejoy, suggesting that the Negro politicians advent to the capitol has vastly improved the manners of white leadership.

BLOWIN' IN THE WIND

Selma, Alabama: Bernard Lafayette, Bossie Reese, and their fellow workers continue to instruct and encourage Selma Negroes to register and vote in Dallas and Wilcox counties. In spite of the arrests, intimidations and beatings of their leaders, Dallas and Wilcox county Negroes courageously demand their rights as U. S. citizens at their county courthouses daily. Twenty or more appear at each courthouse on registration days, the first and third Mondays of each month.

Birmingham, Alabama: The young people of Birmingham and Jefferson County are conducting a registration drive that grew out of the demonstrations which terminated on May 12. It was organized by Andy Young, James Bevel, and Dorothy Cotton, of SCLC. The Negro community has supported the students fully. More than 2,000 now have been registered. The cooperation of Orzell Billingsley, Jr., and Mrs. Bernice Johnson made possible the filing of the Justice Department suit in Birmingham, asking that more than 2,000 named Negroes be ordered registered because of discrimination at the registrar's office.

Mobile, Alabama: C. M. Montgomery and Atty. Vernon Crawford, assisted by the strategy planning of Freeman Pollard, have begun a registration program in Mobile, called the Mobile County Voter Education Project. Enough enthusiasm was generated at a March meeting between Mobile leaders and VEP staff that 400 persons were registered even before the details of the VEP sponsorship had been worked out. Mr. Bishop, who is blind, registered 28 persons, we are informed. Think what a one-eyed man would have done!

Montgomery, Alabama: Rim E. Williams, project coordinator for the Montgomery County Voter Education Project, is completing an up-to-date list of the registered voters of the county. The registration drive will start shortly after August 15. The Barristers Club of Montgomery (all the Negro lawyers in town) initiated the project and helped form an executive committee of leadership from all the clubs in the county. The executive committee sets policy and makes available the resources of all the organizations. The project enjoys the support of Rufus Lewis of long registration distinction in the community.

Atlanta, Georgia: Jesse Hill, director of the Atlanta All Citizens Registration Committee reports more than 3,100 new registered voters in Fulton County since April. The Atlanta effort will continue for several months.

Mississippi: Bob Moses, Council of Federated Organizations director, reports that between 500 and 700 persons voted by affadavit in the state-wide primary on August 7 in Greenwood. In Holmes, Sunflower, and Hinds counties, more than 600 persons tried to vote under the Mississippi affadavit law, but were turned away from the polls.

SNCC man Charles McLaurin, Charles Cobb, and Curtis Hayes were arrested by Ruleville city police when they led a group of 40 citizens to the Ruleville Community Center to vote (some by affadavit and others by registration). The three were taken to the Sunflower County jail and tried that same evening in Mayor's Court in Indianola. According to Sunflower County Chief Deputy Sheriff Bradley, the three were convicted of "tryin' to commit a crime".

U. S. Senator James O. Eastland lives in Sunflower County when he is not in Washington trying to prevent the passage of legislation guaranteeing the right to vote. Senator Eastland insists there is no need for such legislation, particularly in his native Sunflower County.

Several hundred new registered voters voted for the first time in the Democratic primary. Those voting by affadavit had attempted to register, but had been turned down by the county registrars. They were convinced, despite the registrar's refusal to enter their names in the books, that they were as qualified as any person under the Mississippi "laws". Local policemen guarding the polls disagreed with them. "The answer is blowin' in the wind".

John O'Neal and Carl Johnson, SNCC field men, have reactivated the Council of Federated Organizations Hattisburg project. The Fifth Circuit Court ordered registrar Theron Lynd to purge himself of contempt by registering 43 named Negroes and by applying the Mississippi literacy test without discrimination. John and Carl will keep an eye on Theron, lest he slip back into his old bad habits. Meanwhile, they'll organize a concentrated registration drive in the Hattiesburg community. Mississippi is on the move.

Greensboro, North Carolina: American Friends Service Committee began a registration drive early in August. Mr. Carlton Mabee is directing the project with workers recruited from the ranks of Guilford College students. The emphasis of the program will be voter education, with registration a secondary benefit. The experience of this project should be of immense benefit to future registration efforts in Guilford County.

Kingstree, South Carolina: Williamsburg County leaders, Jonnie Dimery and Rev. S. A. Gadston, with the help of Congress of Racial Equality men Frank Robinson and E. Brown, seem to have moved the county registrars into a more reasonable posture. Registration is confined to one day a month, the first Monday. Last March, more than one hundred persons lined up at the registrar's office; only eleven were admitted

and only nine accepted. In April, more than 200 persons lined up; again, only eleven were admitted, and again only nine were accepted. In May, more than 100 again lined up, and again only nine were registered. But in June, 96 were admisted and pf tjese. 65 were accepted. It's difficult to say exactly what produced the change, but reports are that U. S. Justice Department representatives and the Attorney General of South Carolina found it advisable to consult with Williamsburg county officials.

Plaquemine, Louisiana: Congress of Racial Equality man Ronnie Moore reports that the CORE taks force summer project is conducting registration programs in Tangipahoa, St. Helena, East Baton Rouge, West Feliciana, East Feliciana and Pointe Coupe parishes. Though numerical results are expected to be small at first, the important fact is that Negroes are beginning to register in these hard-core segregation area. This in itself is a radical departure from the past.

Mr. Moore and his co-workers were able to save more than 500 Negroes from a purge of the registration rolls in Iberville parish by informing the boters of what they must do to remain on the rolls.

Charleston, South Carolina: Esau Jenkins, President of the Citizens Committee of Charleston County, announced the beginning of a registration drive July 15 Which will run through November 15. It was rpported by Mrs. Jean C. Townsend, Chariman of the Charleston County Registration board that 501 Negroes registered during the three registration days of August. She said, "I haven't seen anything like this". Mr. Jenkins and his co-workers have the kind of reputation in voter registration which inspires confidence that the program in Charleston will produce a decided change for the better in the registration picture there.

Macon, Georgia: The Bibb County Coordinating Committee, under the leadership of William Randall, recently completed a registration drive during which more than 3,000 new voters were added to the registrar's books. Mr. Randall's organization plans another drive early in the fall.

Alabama: Mrs. Bernice Johnson, of the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting, reports that 675 new voters were registered in nine Alabama counties during the registration days, July 1-5, 1963. This is only a partial total of the drive in more than twenty counties. Future issues will report the total results of this drive.

The NAACP reports the following increases in registration since April of this year: Tampa, Fla., 331; Jackson, Miss., 488; Memphis, Tenn., 4,226; Gainesville, Fla., 308; St. Petersburg, Fla., 902; Augusta, Ga., 195; Polk County, Fla., 626.

LOCAL WOMEN ANNOUNCE SUPPORT OF WHITE HOUSE RIGHTS PARLEY

A group of women representing various civic, business, fraternal, and religious organizations met at the home of Mrs. Robert W. Dockery, Sunday July 28, 1963. The purpose of this meeting was to formulate plans to unite Louisville's Negro women in support of President Kennedy's White House Conference on Civil Rights.

Highlighting the meeting was a report from Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson, General President of the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, A. M. E. Zion Church. Mrs. Jackson has attended four conferences since January 17, 1963. The first conference was held in Chicago, Illinois, on Religion and Race. In the early spring she attended the General Board of the National Council of Churches; later, the Summit Conference of Negro Women held in Capahosic, Virginia. Her most recent conference was the one held in the White House by an invitation from the President.

The President asked participants to aid him, upon their return home, in these areas:

1. Eliminating school dropouts by promoting a program designed to get all educable children back into school and to keep present enrollees in school;

2. Participating through their organizations and membership in the work of human relations committees in their communities, or where none exist, by securing the establishment of such committees;

3. Establishing leadership training for all women in intergroup cooperation;

4. Supporting, where conviction and program permit, all or part of the proposed legislative program on civil rights, especially the public accommodations section;

5. Opening their organizations to women of all races.

The group was so stimulated that discussions centered around these areas with deep concern and interest.

KEY WOMEN

The key women responsible for calling this meeting were: Mrs. Robert W. Dockery, Chairman, Women's Religious Resource Committee, a subsidiary of the Louisville Urban League; Mrs. Roscoe C. Bryant, Jr., Chairman of the Steering Committee and member of the Civic Group of Louisville's Human Relations Commission; Mrs. Sophia Smith, Co-chairman of the Steering Committee, and member of the State Cosmetology Association; Mrs. Lucy Larke, Secretary to the Executive Board, N. A. A. C. P. and Mrs. M. M. Purdue, representative of the Missionary Women's Alliance.

Some of the organizations represented by these women were:

Asbury A. M. E. Church, Federation of Women's Club, Christian Women Charity Club, Iota Phi Lamba Sorority, St. James Luthern Church, Nat'l Association of Real Estate Brokers, Y. W. C. A. Local, State, and National Cosmotologists, Brown Temple A. M. E. Zion Church First Congregational Methodist Church, Jefferson County Juvenile Court, Livingstone College, N. A. A. C. P., Louisville Urban League, St. Augustine Church, Stoner Memorial A. M. E. Zion Church, Zion Baptist Church Virginia Avenue Baptist Church, West Chestnut Street Baptist Church.

In closing, Mrs. Jackson admonished the group to "Knock on all Doors," and, to change FEAR into FAITH!

She went on to say, "the most vital issue today in these United States is Civil Rights." What effects one, affects all . . . . "We are all Brothers."

The committee has in its immediate plans the inclusion of additional organization which will encompass community interest groups from all geographic areas of the city.

Liston yester- a demonstration gathering support for nt Kennedy's civil rights program.

ing for or against ... and "... I believe the Federal Government has the power, I do not believe it has

Negro Women Plan Drive To Back Rights Program

A campaign to enroll Louisville Negro women in support of President John F. Kennedy's civil rights program has been organized.

Thirty-five women representing 26 business, civic, fraternal, and religious groups met yesterday at the home of Mrs. Robert W. Dockery, of 1117 S. Western Parkway, to hear a report on a White House conference on civil rights.

The report was made by Mrs. Abbie Clement Jackson, general president of the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the A.M.E. Zion Church. She attended the White House conference to which national leaders in the race-relations field were invited.

The women at yesterday's organization meeting named this steering committee: Mrs. Roscoe C. Bryant, Jr., chairman; Mrs. Sophia Smith, cochairman; Mrs. Lucy Larke, Mrs. M. M. Perdue, and Mrs. Dockery.

Another meeting will be held in two weeks.

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..942-2235

Stewart's

MRS. ABBIE CLEMENT JACKSON, addressed local civic leaders at the residence of Dr. & Mrs. Robert Dockery last Sunday evening. The Presidents Conference on Civil Rights for Women which was held recently in Washington, D. C. was the topic of the evening. Mrs. Jackson was among over 300 women throughout the United States who were invited by President Kennedy.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: JM
RTB

FROM: WAB

RE: VEP Newsletter

I have previously discussed with you the necessity for extreme caution with which we must examine all VEP Newsletters and you are, therefore, requested to submit the final manuscript to me for final approval prior to its being delivered to the printer. If it should develop that some changes need be made after I have approved a manuscript and I happen not to be in town then you are requested to get final approval on those changes from Leslie W. Dunbar.

WAB:jl

1 - newsletter
~~[illegible]~~

MAILING LIST (Partic. agencies)

26

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.
(Mr. James Farmer)
(Mr. Marvin Rich)
(Mr. James McCain)

10

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
(Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.)
(Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker)
(Rev. Andrew Young)
(Rev. Ralph Abernathy)

20

National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, N.Y.
(Mr. Whitney Young)

10

Southern Regional Office
National Urban League
250 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta-3, Ga.
(Mr. Heman M. Sweatt)

10

Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avae., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(Mr. Robert Thompson)

10

Jefferson County Voter Registration Campaign
1630 4th Ave. North
Birmingham, Alabama
(Mr. Arthur Shores)

25

American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Ppint, North Carolina
(Mr. B. Tartt Bell)

10

All Citizens Registration Committee of Northern Virginia
307 W. Fairfax Street
Falls Church, Va.
(Mr. E. B. Henderson, Chairman)

25

National Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People

20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.
(Mr. Roy Wilkins) (Dr. John Morsell)

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond St., N.W.
Atlanta 14, Ga.
(mr. James Forman) 25

Council of Federated Organizations
213 Fourth Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi
(Mr. Aaron Henry) 50

Madison County Committee for Registration and Voting "
234 Church Street, N.W.
Huntsville, Alabama
(Mrs. Mary Hurt) 10

Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters
416 West Park Avenue
Savannah, Ga.
(Mr. Hosea Williams) 75

All Citizens Registration Committee
P.O. Box 897
Atlanta, Georgia
(Mr. Jesse Hill, Chmn.) 75

MAILING LIST #2 (Intergroup Organizations and interested friends of VEP)

MR. HENRY CABIRAC
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

MS. CONNIE CURRY
U.S. National Student Association
41 Exchange Place, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
815 16th Street, N.W.
WEashington 6, D.C.
(Mr. Phil Weightman)

MAILING LIST (Governmental Departments Agencies & Commissions)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Civil Rights Division
Washington, D.C.
(The Hon. Burke Marshall)
(Mr. Jerry Heilbron)
(Mr. John Doar)

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D.C.
(Mr. Berl I. Bernhard)

No. newsletter (on mailing list)
10

MAILING LIST (State and City Councils on Human Relations)

Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations Mrs Eliza Randall
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Room 207
Atlanta 3, Ga.

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1230 Laurel St. - Mrs. Alice ~~Spartanburg~~, Dir.
Columbia, South Carolina

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2011 Grand Avenue Miss Katherine Jones, Dir.
Nashville 12, Tenn.
One each

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg. Hoolip Lee, Dir.
Richmond 19, Va.

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
c/o Dr. Rufus Atwood, Pres.
Kentucky State College
Louisville, Kentucky

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 E. Third St., Room 209 Harry S. Jones, Dir.
Charlotte, North Carolina

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 1224 Comer Building Norman Jimerson, Dir.
Birmingham, Alabama

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 West Capitol Nathaniel Greenwald, Dir.
Little Rock, Arkansas

TEXAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
8510 Ferris Street Mrs. James S. Crate, Ch.
Houston, Texas

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
3605 Fannin Street Mrs Geo. Dumbadd, Ex. Sec.
Houston, Texas

10 each

MAILING LIST No. 5 (News Media)

????????

Mr. Tom Wright
Managing Editor
WAB??? US News
11 E. 51st St.
New York 22, N.Y.

~~Mrs. Moses LeRoy~~
~~3322 Drew~~

1
Mr. John Huff
908 S. Cameron
Victoria, Texas

2
Mr. Arthur DeWitty
1106 East 10th
Austin, Texas

3
Rev. S. Y. Nixon
Box 1661
Longview, Texas

4
Mr. M. C. Jamison
802 Irvine Street
Yoakum, Texas

5
Mr. Calvin Lee
610 S. Jackson
Midland, Texas

6
Ms. Lillian Collier
Mumford, Texas

7
Ms. Chris Dixie
505 Scanlon Building
Houston, Texas

8
Mr. Asa Willis
Texline, Texas

[redacted]

9
Mrs. Moses LeRoy
3322 Drew
Houston, Texas

10
Rev. C. W. Black
1211 Wyoming
San Antonio, Texas

11
Mr. B. T. Bonner
1907 Whittier
Austin, Texas

12
Rev. A. D. Thomas
913 Clark Avenue
Lufkin, Texas

13
Mr. Willie Jerry Jones
1215 Avenue M
Huntsville, Texas

14
Mr. E. L. Williams
El Paso, Texas

15
Ms. Mary Wilson
6658 Avalon
Dallas, Texas

16
Latane Lambert
7046 Holly Hill Drive
Dallas, Texas

17
F. O. Maston
Sudan, Texas

18
Mr. Ed Taylor
Box 777, Dickenson
Houston, Texas

19
Mr. Willie Melton
Kendelton, Texas

20
Mr. G. J. Sutton
711 North Pine
San Antonio, Texas

[redacted]

21
Mrs. M. A. Hines
Corsicana, Texas

22
Mr. W. O. Davis
719 E. Pearl
Odessa, Texas

23
Mr. A. W. Hines
Corsicana, Texas

24
Mr. Herkey Bernard
3102 S. Valley View Lane
San Antonio, Texas

25
Mr. Oscar Mauzy
1601 National Bankers Life
Dallas, Texas

26
Dr. Evelyn Powers
403 Fisk Med. & Prof. Bldg.
Amarillo, Texas

27
Mrs. R. D. Randolph
2131 Welch
Houston, Texas

28
Mr. Walter Allston
Dale, South Carolina

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Mr. Cornelius Washington
Seabrook, S. C.

30
Mr.Herman Parker
Frogmore, S. C.

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Mr. Samuel Holmes
Daufuskie Island, S. C.

32
Rev. James Buncombe
Bluffton, S. C.

33
Mrs. Mabel H. Smith
Port Royal, S. C.

34
Mr.Johnnie L. White
Hilton Head, S. C.

35
Dr. Marion Brooks
2200 Evans Ave.
Fort Worth, Texas

36
Mr.W. J. Durham
2600 Flora
Dallas, Texas

37
Miss Jewell James
Denton, Texas

38
Mrs. Freida Mitchell
Sheldon, S. C.

39
Mrs. Oregon F. Dottery
801 Washington Street
Beaufort, S. C.

40
Miss Arimethea McKee
Burton, S. C.

41
Mr. Marvin Ladson
Frogmore, S. C.

42
Mr. & Mrs. Lonnie Green
Route #1, Box 13
Bluffton, S. C.

43
Rev. S. J. Price
Frogmore, S. C.

44
Mr. James Singleton
P. O. Box 176
Beaufort, S. C.

45
Mr. T. M. Shadowens
904 E. Rosedale St.
Fort Worth, Texas

46
Mr. Fred J. Finch
3318 Oakland
Dallas, Texas

47
Mr. Francis L. Williams
3323 Palm
Houston, Texas

48
Mr. & Mrs. James C. Fraser
Bluffton, S. C.

49
Mr. & Mrs. Ernest Jenkins
Frogmore, S. C.

50
Mr. Leroy E. Brown
Frogmore, S. C.

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Bluffton, S. C.

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Frogmore, S. C.

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Mrs. Bessie Singleton
Port Royal, S. C.

55
Mrs. Lenora Ralla
Fort Worth, Texas

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Rev. C. A. W. Clark
Dallas, Texas

57
Miss Barbara Jordan
4910 Campbell
Houston, Texas

58
Mr. Wesley Smalls,
Frogmore, S. C.

59
Mrs. Ruby M. Jones
Route #1
Hilton Head, S. C.

60
Mr. Peter Drayton
Route #1
Hilton Head, S. C.

61
Mr. James Richardson
c/o Tom's Shoe Shop
Beaufort, S. C.

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Dale, S. C.

64
Mr. A. J. Brown
Frogmore, S. C.

65
Mrs. A. C. Sherman
Frogmore, S. C.

[redacted]

66
Mr. David Barnwell
Dale, S. C.

67
Mrs. Jessiemae G. Warren
P. O. Box 14-A
Frogmore, S. C.

68
Mrs. Naomi Frazier
Route #1
Hilton Head, S. C.

69
Mr. Paul L. Brown
Route #1,
Hilton Head, S. C.

70
Mr. B. F. Boyd
Frogmore, S. C.

71
Rev. Clifton Miller
P. O. Box 140
Beaufort, S. C.

72
Mr. James Thomson
Dale, S. C.

73
Mrs. Azarine K. Thompson
Dale, S. C.

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Rev. James R. White
Yemassee, S. C.

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Penn Community Center
Frogmore, S. C.

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Mr. Prince Legree
Frogmore, S. C.

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Mr. & Mrs. Simon Seabrook
Frogmore, S. C.

78
Rev. W. M. Ford
Route 1
Hilton Head, S. C.

79
Mr. Charlie Simmons, Jr.
Hilton Head, S. C.

80
Mr. J. P. King
Frogmore, S. C.

81
Mr. Robert Bryant, Jr.
1108 Scott Street
Beaufort, S. C.

82
Mr. Clever B. Johnson
Frogmore, S. C.

83
Miss Harriet Wateon
Frogmore, S. C.

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Mr. & Mrs. Lewis Glover
Frogmore, S. C.

85
Mr. J. W. Barnwell
Dale, S. C.

86
Mr. Sam Williams
Frogmore, S. C.

87
Rev. Matthew McCollum
303 Verdier Street
Walterboro, S. C.

88
Rev. J. V. Livingston
P. O. Box 331
Summerville, S. C.

89
Mrs. Loretta Kinlow
Monks Corner, S. C.

90
Mr. Billy Fleming
Flemming Funeral Home
Manning, S. C.

91
Mr. Pat Friday
Yamessee, S. C.

92
Mr. Daniel Mitchell
RFD
Ridgeland, S. C.

93
Etty. Charles E. Washington
Frogmore, S. C.

94
Mr. Dave Danial
205 Nix Street
Hampton, S. C.

95
Mr. Verdell Newton
P. O. Box 205
Estill, S. C.

96
Mr. J. J. Deloach
Route 1, Box 239
Pineland, S. C.

97
Rev. Lewis H. Simmons
P. O. Box 371
Summerville, S. C.

98
Mr. Samuel Weigfall
Huger, South Carolina

99
Mr. George Holman
Monks Corner, S. C.

100
Mr. Robbie Dicks
Flat Street
Allendale, S. C.

101
Mr. B. M. Primus
P. O. Box 522
Yamessee, S. C.

102
Mr. Leroy Sneed
RFD
Ridgeland, S. C.

103
Mr. Willie Lawton, Jr.
P. O. Box 358
Varnville, S. C.

104
Mr. Alex Jenkins
203 Nix Street
Hampton, S. C.

105
Mr. Hebert Roberson
P. O. Box 242
Estill, S. C.

106
Mr. Loyard Davis
915 Holly St.
Hampton, S. C.

107
Rev. A. P. Sumter
P. O. Box 371
Summerville, S. C.

108
Mr. James Balwin
Monks Corner, S. C.

109
Dr. Walter Evens
Monks Corner, S. C.

110
Mr. William Young
Young Funeral Home
Yamessee, S. C.

111
Mr. Joe Orr
P. O. Box 1531
Ridgeland, S. C.

112
Mr. Leroy Brown
Frogmore, S. C.

113
Rev. H. C. Coypes
P. O. Box 106
Varnville, S. C.

114
Mr. Earl Caypes
Route #1, Box 198
Hampton, S. C.

115
Mr. Henry L. Early
P. O. Box 819
Hampton, S. C.

116
Mr. Reginald Campbell
Route #1
Hilton Head, S. C.

117
Atty. Orzell Billingsley, Jr.
1630 North 4th Ave.
Birmingham, Alabama

118
Mr. W. M. Martin
344 Martin Ave.
Auburn, Ala.

119
Mr. Robert Adams
2300 Standley Drive
Huntsville, Ala.

120
Mr. Ezra Cunningham
Route #2, Box 25-B
Beatrice, Ala.

121
Mr. T. W. Costleberry
Route #2, Box 220
Carrolton, Alabama

122
Mr. Wilkie Clark
217 Riley Street
Roanoke, Alabama

123
Rev. O. W. Green
Route #1, Box 262
Cropwell, Alabama

124
Rev. Robert Rowe
Route #1
Wadley, Alabama

125
Mr. E. T. Steeley
Sunflower, Alabama

126
Mr. Geraldine P. Woods
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.
1814 M Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

127
Mr. R. A. Hubbard
Box 190
Courtland, Alabama

128
Mr. Walter Brown
Trinity High School
Athens, Alabama

129
Mr. T. J. Alexander
Route #2
Thomaston, Ala.

130
Mr. Rufus Lewis
712 Dorsey Street
Montgomery, Alabama

131
Mr. S. C. Robinson
P. O. Box 175
Brundidge, Alabama

132
Mr. Albert Quinn
1511 12th Avenue
Phenix City, Alabama

133
Mr. James R. Weatherly
York, Alabama

134
Mrs. Ida Glynn
714 29th Ave.
Tuscaloosa, Alabama
###
~~Dr. Geraldine P. Woods~~
~~National President~~
~~Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.~~
~~1814 M Street, N.~~

134
Mr. K. C. McKelny
206 West Court St.
Moulton, Alabama

135
Dr. C. G. Gomillion
308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

136
Mr. C. H. Montgomery
560 English Street
Mobile, Alabama

137
Rev. W. B. Franks
417 Church Street
Decatur, Alabama

138
Mr. Ishan H. Harris
333 Plum Street
Troy, Alabama

139
Mr. A. L. Burnice
P. O. Box 142
Calera, Alabama

140
Mr. D. C. Clark
P. O. Box 131
Sylacauga, Ala.

141
Mr. S. J. Hembrick
Box 704
Jasper, Alabama
~~National President~~
~~Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.~~
~~1814 M Street, N.~~

142
Mr. A. B. Reid
411 S. George Street
Goldsboro, N. C.

143
Mr. A. J. Smith
Route #2, Box 340-A
Whiteville, N. C.

144
Rev. J. C. Hunt
Route #5
Burlington, N. C.

145
Mr. B. J. Battle
2005½ Asheboro Street
Greensboro, N. C.

146
Mr. V. C. Smith
RFD Box 75
Comer, Ala.

147
Dr. G. A. Rodgers, Jr.
1616 Cooper Avenue
Anniston, Ala.

148
Mr. Brooks Bennett
100 Cook Street
Enterprise, Ala.

149
Mr. Acy Bailey
P. O. Box 54
Gantt, Ala.

150
Mr. Hampton Mitchell
Route #1, Box 341
Talassee, Ala.

151
Mr. O. B. Harris
Box 344
Eutaw, Ala.

152
Rev. J. A. Mebane
1306 Edmonson Ave.
Tarboro, N. C.

153
Dr. S. B. Thomas
627 Rauhut Street
Burlington, N. C.

154
Rev. J. D. Jacobs
Route #1, Box 86
Hampstead, N. C.

155
Mrs. Willie Smith, Sec.
1434 E. Washington Street
Greensboro, N. C.

156
Mr. Aaron Sellers
Routel
Midway, Ala.

157
Mr. J. W. Andrews
Jackson, Alabama

158
Mr. Charlie Burgess
200 Central Avenue
Muscleshores, Ala.

159
Mr. James Kolb
Route #2, Box 90
Luverne, Ala.

160
Mr. George Heights
1006 Avenue H.
Gadsden, Alabama

161
Mr. J. B. Newman
Clopton, Alabama

162
Mr. O. Norfleet
Enrul, N. C.

163
Mr. Charles Baldwin
P. O. Box 552
Pittsboro, N. C.

164
Mr. Dudley
Route #2, Box 82
Aurora, North Carolina

165
Mr. Norde Winston
Route #1, Box 39
Bayminette, Ala.

166
Rev. G. G. Nelson
307 Perry Street
Greenville, Ala.

167
Mr. Robert King
806 North 1st Ave.
Ashland, Alabama

168
Mr. Otis Armour, Sr.
Goodwater, Alabama

169
Mr. S. W. Boynton
1315 Lapsey Street
Selma, Ala.

170
Mr. H. B. Winston
408 Graham Drive
Russellville, Ala.

171
Mr. J. C. Forrester
717 East Burdeshaw Street
Dothan, Alabama

172
Mr. Roscoe R. McWilliams
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

173
Mrs. Linnie Garrett
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennesee

174
Miss Mildred Coburn
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

175
Ms. Victoria C. Sims
1500 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

176
Ms. Evelyn Walker
616 E. 92nd Place
Jackson, Mississippi

177
Ms. Betty Hawkins
2905 Slate Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

178
Rev. L. B. Quick
P. O. Box 964
Hamlet, N. C.

179
Mr. Walter Riley
3015 Dearborn Drive
Durham, N. C.

180
Mr. B. H. Jones
Route 1, Box 117
Pamlico, N. C.

181
Mrs. N. K. Dunn
308 W. 1st Street
Weldon, N. C.

182
Mr. Floyd Peete, Jr.
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

183
Ms. Mathelia Barr
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

184
Ms. Mamie Kilbon
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

185
Ms. Betty Jean Austin
Route 2, Box 246-B
Jackson, Mississippi

186
Ms. Caroline Tyler
1534 Schoolview Drive
Jackson, Mississippi

187
Mr. Arthur T. Freeman
Tidewater Voter Registration Project
655½ E. Princess Anne Rd.
Norfolk, Virginia

188
Mr. H. M. Bullock
Route #1,
Creedmoor, N. C.

189
Atty. M. C. Burt, Jr.
Hillsboro, N. C.

190
Rev. C. W. Ward
501 S. Bloodworth Ave.
Raleigh, N. C.

191
Rev. Cecil Bishop
2011 Asheboro Street
Greensboro, N. C.

192
Mrs. Elizabeth Russell
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

193
Mr. Alfrado Saffold
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

194
Mr. James A. Hammond
1615 Lamar Avenue
Tampa, Florida

195
Miss Pearline Lewis
3005 Edwards Avenue
Jackson, Mississippi

196
Ms. Rosetta Williams
307 Marshall Street
Decatur, Georgia

197
Rev. E. L. Kirby
812 Piedmont Street
Riedsville, North Carolina

198
Mr. S. T. Shaw
Route #3
Kenly, N. C.

199
Mr. W. Jarmon
Route #2, Box 258
Trenton, N. C.

200
Mr. J. J. Sansom
13 E. Hargett St.
Raleigh, N. C.

201
Mr. J. W. Edwards
Route #3, Snow Hill
Statonsburg, N. C.

202
Mr. Roy Wilkins
NAACP 20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

203
Mr. Aaron Henry
COFO
213 Fourth Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi

204
Mr. Jesse Hill
All Citizens Registration
Committee
P. O. Box 897
Atlanta, Georgia

[redacted]

205
Mr. Heslip Lee, Dir.
Virginia Council on Human
Relations
Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond 19, Virginia

206
Mr. Norman Zimerson, Dir.
Ala. Council on Human Relations
Rm 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

207
Mrs. George Dumbauld
Houston Council on Human
Relations
3605 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas

208
Ms. Ruth Kinsey
Alachua County Branch NAACP
1605 S. E. 12th Ave.
Gainesville, Florida

209
Ms. Eleanor Adams
NAACP Youth Council
2231 Lampa Rilla Way, So.
St. Petersburg, Florida

210
Mr. R. L. Postell, Dir
Richmond County NAACP
1223 Gwinnett St.
Augusta, Ga.

211
Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee
8½ Raymond St., N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

212
Mrs. Mary Hurt
Madison Cty. Com. for
Registration & Voting
334 Church Street
Huntsville, Alabama

213
Mr. Henry Cabirac
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conf.
1046 Baronne St., Suite 2
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

214
Mr. Phil Weightman
Committee on Political
Education
815 16th St., NW
Washington 6, D. C.

215
Mrs. Alice Spearman, Dir.
S. C. Council on Human
Relations
1330 Laurel St.
Columbia, S. C.

~~Dan Dufur Mynard~~
~~Kentucky Council on Human Relations~~
~~Kentucky State College~~
~~Louisville, Kentucky~~

216
Mr. Nathanial Griswold
Ark. Council on Human
Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

217
Mr. W. W. Harleaux
1818 Haase Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

218
Ms. Mabel Richardson
Orange County NAACP
643 Carter St.
Orlando, Florida

219
Mr. James A. Hammond
Tampa Crusade for Voters
1615 Lamar Avenue
Tampa, Florida

220
Mr. J. M. Atkinson
Brunswick-Glynn Voter
Registration Committee
2711 Albany St.
Brunswick, Ga.

[redacted]

221
Mr. Hosea Williams
SGCV
415 West Park Avenue
Savannah, Georgia

222
Ms. Connie Curry
U. S. National Student Assn
41 Exchange Place, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

223
Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Greater Atlanta Council
on Human Relations
5 Forsyth St., NW Rm 207
Atlanta 3, Georgia

224
Miss Katherine Jones
Tennessee Council on
Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tenn.

225
Mr. Harry S. Jones, Dir.
N. C. Council on Human
Relations
121 E. 3rd St., Rm 209
Charlotte, N. C.

226
Mrs. James S. Crate, Chr.
Texas Council on Human
Relations
8510 Ferris Street
Houston, Texas

227
Mr. Lowell Guillory
1019 N. Simmons
Lake Charles, Louisiana

228
Mr. James P. Austin
Polk County NAACP
602 North Avenue
Lake Wales, Florida

229
Mr. William E. Bush, II
Hillsborough Cty. NAACP
1615 Lamar Avenue
Tampa, Florida

230
Mrs. Ollie Mae Toomer
Route #2, Box 136
Ridgeland, S. C.

231
Ms. Margaret V. Williams
Route #2, Box 129
Ridgeland, S. C.

232
Mr. Frank Robinson
17 Robinson Street
Sumter, S. C.

[redacted]

[redacted]

233
Mr. J. Harvey Kerns
Box 5107
New Orleans, La.

234
Mr. Esau Jenkins
41 Cannon Street
Charleston, S. C.

235
Dr. C. H. Thomas
Box 278
South Carolina State Collge
Orangeburg S. C.

236
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

237
National Urban League
Southern Regional Office
250 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

238
Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Ser. Com.
1818 South Main St.
High Point, N. C.

239
Mr. Nathaniel White
120-B Alexander St.
Charleston, S. C.

240
Mr. Weldon Rougeau
4519 N. W. 15th Ave.
Miami, Florida

241
Mr. Ronnie Moore
10185 Avenue "B"
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

242
Mr. Robert Moses
708 Avenue "N"
Greenwood, Mississippi

243
Mrs. Norveleate Downing
P. O. Box 83
Newport News, Va.

244
Mr. W. P. Mitchell
Tuskegee Institute,
Alabama

245
Mr. C. H. Montgomery
1403 Davis Street
Mobile, Alabama

246
Mr. Calvin C. Pryor
238 Monroe Street
Montgomery, Alabama

247
Southern Christian
Leadership Conf.
334 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

248
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

249
Mr. E. B. Henderson
All Citizens Reg. Com. of
Northern Virginia
307 W. Fairfax Street
Falls Church, Va.

250
Mrs. Louise Williams
P. O. Box 244
Hardeeville, S. C.

251
Mr. S. D. Harvey
610 Coliseum Drive
Winston Salem, N. C.

252
Mr. E. Brown
17 Robinson Street
Sumter, South Carolina

253
Mr. William P. Randall
845 Forsyth Street
Macon, Georgia

254
Mr. Arthur T. Freeman
Rm. 103 YMCA Bldg.
812 Wood Street
Norfolk, Va.

255
Ms. Rosetta Gardner
Southern Region YMCA-NSCF
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

256
Mr. Charlie R. Burgess
200 Central Avenue
Muscle Shoals City, Ala.

257
Mr. Larry Goodwyn
VOTE
1317 S. Congress
Austin, Texas

National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 16, New York

258
Mr. Arthur Shores
1630 4th Ave., North
Birmingham, Alabama

[redacted]

259
Mrs. Cornelia L. Blacksten
Route #1, Box 241
Ridgeland, South Carolina

260
Mrs. Ernestine Brown
Route #1, Box 41
Garnett, South Carolina

261
Mrs. Topsy Brown
Route 1, Box 205
Pineland, S. C.

262
Mrs. Juanita Cummings
Route #1, Box 161
Hardeeville, S. C.

263
Mrs. Rosa Lee Flint
Route #1, Box 449
Ridgeland, S. C.

264
Mrs. Sarah Fraser
376 Huger Street
Charleston, S. C.

[redacted]

265
Mrs. Margaret James
Route #1, Box 153
Garnett, S. C.

266
Ms. Blossie M. Johnson
45 Calhoun Street
Charleston, S. C.

267
Mrs. Helen L. Morgan
165 Spring St.
Charleston, S. C.

268
Mr. Thomas C. Barnwell
Penn Community Service
Frogmore, South Carolina

269
Mr. Curtis Bostick
Route #1, Box 301
Ridgeland, South Carolina

[redacted]

270
Delores Campbell
5 Charlotte St.
Charleston, S. C.

271
Miss Justine Deas
Route #1, Box 121
Johns Island, S. C.

272
Mrs. Rybye Grace Francis
515 King Street
Mt. Pleasant (Charleston),
S. C.

273
Mrs. Phyllis P. Glover
Route #1, Box 59
Ridgeland, S. C.

274
Ms. Louise W. James
425 Greenwich St.
Mt. Pleasant, S. C.

275
Mr. Esau Jenkins
41 Cannon Street
Charleston, S. C.

276
Miss Marie Jones
1 East Colt Courts
Charleston, S. C.

277
Mr. Esau Morris
15 F. Marsh St.
Charleston, S. C.

278
Mr. Leroy Blackshear
P. O. Box 120
Hardeeville, South Carolina

279
Mrs. Sarah F. Bright
P. O. Box 883
Ridgeland, South Carolina

280
Mrs. Wilimena Brown
RFD #1, Box 174
Hardeeville, S. C.

281
Mrs. Eloise Campbell
242 St. Philip St.
Charleston, S. C.

282
Miss Pearlie Dixon
Route #1, Box 249
Ridgeland, S. C.

283
Mr. Vanie Frazier, Jr.
Voorhees Junior College
Denmark, S. C.

284
Mrs. Annie Green
Route #1, Box 177
Garnett, S. C.

285
Rev. J. H. Hosey
RFD #1, Box 133
Garnett, S. C.

286
Mrs. Virgil Jenkins
Route #1, Box 381
Ridgeland, S. C.

287
Rev. J. W. Milligan
493 Meeting Street
Charleston, S. C.

288
Miss Gloria Randall
PO Box 143
Hardeeville, S. C.

289
Mr. Franklin Jones
Marshall, Texas

290
Mr. Houston Thompson
Silsbee, Texas

291
Mr. Dan Sullivan
102 Grimes Building
Andrews, Texas

[redacted]

292
Mr. Bob Dennis
2331 19th Street
Lubbock, Texas

293
Mr. Will Burnett
Wimberly, Texas

294
Ms. Sarah McClure
1620 W. Mulberry
San Antonio, Texas

295
Mr. Tony Korioth
1114 Texas Avenue Bldg.
Houston, Texas

296
Ms. Geri Elliott
4702 Wilshire
Midland, Texas

297
Ms. Penny Dudley
322 S. Caraneahua
Corpus Christi, Texas

298
Mr. Martin Wiginton
El Campo, Texas

299
Ms. Margaret Carter
2816 6th Avenue
Fort Worth, Texas

300
Ms. Imogene Williams
Route #3,
Panhandle, Texas

301
Mr. Jimmy Strong
137 West Neal
Carthage, Texas

302
Mr. Leo Marwill
402 East Main
Rusk, Texas

303
Mr. Bob Slagle
Commercial Building
Sherman, Texas

304
Mr. Jim Sewell
Corsicana, Texas

[redacted]

305
Ms.Nancy Hamilton
5802 Highland Hills Dr.
Austin, Texas

306
Mr. Roy Engelke
619 8th Ave., N.
Texas City, Texas

307
Ms. Jean Lee
3110 West Avenue
Austin, Texas

308
Mr. Bill Wright
1503 Avenue S
Snyder, Texas

309
Mr. Lawrence Bruhl
Llano, Texas

310
Ms. Virginia Ragsdale
210 S. Bradley
McKinney, Texas

311
Judge Tom Brookshire
303 N. Armstrong
Kingsville, Texas

312
Mr. Maury Maverick
709 Maverick Bldg.
San Antonio, Texas

313
Mr. Doug Crouch
Criminal Dist. Courts Bldg.
Fort Worth, Texas

314
Ms. Minnie F. Cunningham
New Waverly, Texas

315
Mr. Jamie Murphy
7209 Ellis Rd.
Fort Worth, Texas

316
Mr. Bill Dunn
Route #2,Box 615
Tyler, Texas

317
Mr. J. W. "Bill" Ricks
2312 Avenue E
Nederland, Texas

318
Mr. Paul Teague
Box 1429
Texas City, Texas

319
Mr. George Miner
718 N. W. 7th Street
Grand Prairie, Texas

320
Mr. Ed Rackley
4021 Caddo
Greenville, Texas

321
Mr. Frank Parker
Box 1590
Big Spring, Texas

322
Mr. Chester Smith
709 Littlefield Bldg.
Austin, Texas

323
Mr. Al Goodson
1904 11th Place
Big Spring, Texas

324
Mr. L. Tom Fox
2306 Broadway
Houston, Texas

325
Mr. John Heath
1102 E. Weatherford
Fort Worth, Texas

##########################

326
Mr. N. E. Coward
2704 Sutherland
Houston, Texas

327
Mr. Oscar Reyna
1010 S. Alameda
Corpus Christi, Texas

328
Mr. Dave Keeler
1206 Hickory Tree Road
Mesquite, Texas

329
Mr. Bill Petril
705 Shady Lane
Austin, Texas

330
Mr. Felix Nakovic
515 Hawkins Way
El Paso, Texas

331
Mr. E. R. Jacobson, Jr.
1501 Aggie Lane
Austin, Texas

##########################

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332
Mr. Robert N. Brown
2719 Bagley
Odessa, Texas

333
Mrs. Samuel M. Calderon
3405 McAshas
Houston, Texas

334
Mr. F. M. Akers
4005 Norhill
Houston, Texas

335
Mr. L. V. Means
119 McNeel Road
San Antonio, Texas

336
Mr. O. C. Yancy, Jr.
7878 Terry Street
Ft. Worth, Texas

337
Mr. F. M. Hall
Box 1798
Amarillo, Texas

338
Mr. A. A. Gianfala
2534 Boca Chica Blvd.
Brownsville, Texas

339
Mr. Herman Whatley
3909 S. 1st Street
Abilene, Texas

340
Mr. Billy Fielding
Box 141
Grand Prairie, Texas

341
Ms. Jean B. Savoy
3101 Tanglebriar
Pasadena, Texas

342
Mr. Roy Elixondo
1708 Lyons,
Houston, Texas

343
Mr. John Castillo
1136 Hammock
Houston, Texas

~~Ms. Mary W. Ricks~~
~~Gaiety de Covers Social~~
~~Club~~

344
Ms. Eddie Ricks
The Professional Women's
Club
503 S. Mulberry Street
Tuscumbia, Alabama

345
Mrs. G. L. Gibbs
Genesal Delivery
Wagner, South Carolina

346
Mr. Willis Dean McKenzie
720 Elwood Avenue
St. Matthews, S. C.

347
Rev. W. M. Green
Dunbar Road
West Columbia, S. C.

348
Rev. J. H. Hosey
Route 1, Box 133
Garnett, S. C.

349
Mr. Horace Wickers
519 Thompson Street
West Columbia, S. C.

350
Mr. George Stallings
Route #2, Box 110
Williston, S. C.

~~[illegible]~~

351
Mr. Benjamin J. Mack
5248 Ridgeway Street
Columbia 3, South Carolina

352
Ms. Mary W. Ricks
Gaiety de Covers Social
Club
1000 East 7th Street
Tuscumbia, Alabama

353
Rev. A. W. Holman
P. O. Box 1002
Aiken, S. C.

354
Mrs. Eddie L. Holloway
P. O. Box 238
Wagner, South Carolina

355
Mr. John Hutts
Route #2, Box 227
Denmark, S. C.

356
Rev. A. K. Sapp
79 Boundary Street
Newberry, S. C.

357
Mrs. Fannie M. Gaither
Route #1, Box 737
Great Falls, S. C.

358
Mr. Japper Bowman
RFD #2, Box 247
Columbia, S. C.

359
Mrs. Sallie J. Halley
3101 Beaumont Street
Columbia, S. C.

360
Mrs. B. P. Cobb
Route #2
Pelzer, S. C.

361
Rev. E. W. Hagans
1527 Bon Air Drive
Columbia, S. C.

~~[illegible]~~
~~The Professional Women's~~
~~Club~~
~~Tuscumbia, Alabama~~

362
Rev. J. H. Corbett
RFD #1, Box 19
Salley, S. C.

363
Mrs Hope Williams
Route #1, Box 117
Ft. Motte, S. C.

364
Mr. R. H. Williams
Route #2, Box 227
Denmark, S. C.

365
Rev. A. Wicker
P. O. Box 55
Newberry, S. C.

366
Mrs. Josephine Dawson
Route #1, Box 254
Dazell, S. C.

367
Rev. Paul Green
P. O. Box 334
Williston, S. C.

368
Mr. Charlie E. Simon
Route #2, Box 26
Eastover, S. C.

369
Mrs. D. B. Williams
5410 Wright Street
Columbia, S. C.

370
Rev. J. C. Copeland
79 Boundry Street
Newberry, S. C.

371
Mrs. Ruth B. Bryant
1211 S. Western Parkway
Louisville 11, Kentucky

374
Rev. David W. Roston
P. O. Box 703
Estill, South Carolina

376
Mr. Sally Robinson
2130 McConnell Road
Greensboro, N. C.

~~Mrs. Pauline Broadnax~~
~~407 Banks Street~~ ~~2102 McConnell R~~
~~Greensboro, N. C.~~

~~Mrs. Novella Martin~~

377
Mrs. Pauline Broadnax
407 Banks Street
Greensboro, N. C.

372
Mrs. Novella Martin
2102 McConnell Road
Greensbom, N. C.

375
Mrs. Helen Douglas
908 Salem Street
Greensboro, N. C.

373
Mr. Damon Kiel, Jr.
P. O. Box 121
Coffeeville, Alabama

378
Mrs. Grace Sims
The Jolly Sixteen's
127 Phyllis Goins
Spartanburg, S. C.

379
Mrs. Ida Cox
174 East Hampton Av.
The One Nighters
Spartanburg, S. C.

380
Mrs. Francis Waddell
The La Fon's
206 Tennessee Ave.
Spartanburg, S. C.

381
Mrs. Irene Martin
The Moon Glower's
406 Evins Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

382
Mrs. Ruby Johnson
Angle Art
600 South Liberty Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

383
Mrs. Mary Means
Alfonzos
322 Evins Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

384
Mrs. Alberta Samuels
The Friendly Beauticians
270 Evans Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

385
Mrs. Christerline Williams
The Big Sisters
200 Aden Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

386
Mrs. Annie P. Kelly
The Gay Ladies
75 Carver Drive
Spartanburg, S. C.

387
Mrs. Virginia Jones
The Silavetts
242 Highland Ave.
Spartanburg, S. C.

388
Mrs. Alana Brown
The Rosettes
242 Highland Homes
Spartanburg, S. C.

389
Mrs. Juanita Nash
The Silver Lockets
231 Conley Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

390
Mr. Nathaniel West
The Excelsior's
230 Caulder Circle
Spartanburg, S C.

391
Mrs. Bessie Evans
The Jolly Eights
540 South Liberty St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

392
Mrs. Pervas Switzer
Royal Aces
177 West Park Avnue
Spartanburg, S. C.

393
Mrs. Mable Level
The Ladies Ten
535 Jefferson Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

394
Mrs. Nancy Boyd
The Alpines
395 Ribault Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

395
Mrs. Stella Fanders
The Friendly Ten
287 Tobe Hartwell
Spartanburg, S. C.

396
Miss Elease Carter
The Alladins
550 South Liberty Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

397
Mr. Merly Wallace
Spice Social Club
Rt. Una
Spartanburg, S. C.

398
Mrs. Edna Glen
The Dreamers
104 Everette Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

399
Mrs. Iris Jones
The Diamonds
281 Caulder Avenue
Spartanburg, S. C.

400
Mrs. Willie Mack
The Busy Bees
210 Clement Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

401
Mrs. Tweetie McGowan
The Flamengoes
North Converse Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

402
Mrs. Louise Little
Ontre Nous
183 West Park Avenue
Spartanburg, S. C.

403
Mr. Emanuel Jones
The Four and Eight
603 Jefferson Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

404
Mrs. Margaret Gilmore
The Charming Ladies
542 Bee Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

405
Mr. Preston Gist
The Modernistics
314 Woodview Ave.
Spartanburg, S. C.

406
Miss Mable Evans
The Socialettes
16 Tobe Hartwell
Spartanburg, S. C.

407
Mr. T. M. McElrath
New Bethel Baptist Church
Route 3, Woodruff, S. C.

408
Mt. Pilgrim Baptist Church
Rev. R. L. Pilgrim
Route 1, Box 343
Inman, S. C.

409
New Prospect AME Church
Mrs. Sauline Hawes
315 Cotton Drive
Spartanburg, S. C.

410
Fosters Grove Baptist Church
Mrs. Novela Glover
258 Oak Avenue
Spartanburg, S. C.

411
Ebenezer Baptist Church
Mrs. Eloise Brown
322 Concord St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

412
Zion Hill Baptist Church
Rev. K. R. Brewton
Route 1,
Moore, S. C.

413
Highland Baptist Church
Rev. E. H. Herbert
425 Penola Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

414
Epithany Episcopal Church
Rev. Rupert Taylor
108 Prospect Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

415
Macedonia Baptist Church
Mr. Isaac Hill
365 Highland Ave.
Spartanburg, S. C.

416
St.Josephs Catholic Church
Rev. J. D. Murphy
325 Calhder Avenue
Spartanburg, S. C.

417
Mrs. Queen Linder
463 E. St. John St.
Golding St. Baptist Church
Spartanburg, S. C.

418
Mt. Sinai Baptist Church
Mr. J. W. Davenport
Route 4,
Spartanburg, S. C.

419
Mt. Zion Baptist Church
Mr. K. M. Brown
205 W. Park Avenue
Spartanburg, S. C.

420
Mt. Moriah Baptist Church
Mrs. Mary Pierson
785 S. Liberty Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

421
Mt. Nebo Usher Board
Mrs. Bobby Pearson
Seminole Court Route 5
Spartanburg, S. C.

422
Bethel Holiness Church
Rev. J. J. Johnson
311 Hines Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

423
Greater Trinity AME Church
Mr. Lee A. Robinson
547 W. Centennial St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

424
Metropolitan AME Church
Mrs. J. M. Douglas
294 N. Dean St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

425
Smith Memorial Methodist Ch.
Rev. A. C. Jones
307 Appian Dr.
Spartanburg, S. C.

426
Maxwell Chapel Baptist Ch.
Deacon N. McSwain
236 Palisade Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

427
Rev. W. L. Snead
457 Magnolia Street
Trinity AME Church
Spartanburg, S. C.

428
Silver Hill Meth. Church
Rev. J. M. Bradley
269 N. Converse Street
~~##########~~
Spartanburg, S. C.

429
St. Paul Baptist Church
Mrs. Novela Glover
258 Oak Avenue
Spartanburg, S. C.

430
New Bedford Baptist Ch.'
Mr. Carl Lefton
Route #2,
Inman, S. C.

431
Mayfield Chapel Baptist Church
Mrs. Gettis Drummon
Route 6
Greer, S. C.

432
Cumming St. Baptist Ch.
Mrs. Albert Avirger
217 N. Pine Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

433
Mt. Zion Baptist Church
Rev. J. W. Surratt
463 W. Hampton Ave.
Spartanburg, S. C.

434
Majority Baptist Church
Rev. C. M. Johnson
199 W. Park Aven.
Spartanburg, S. C.

435
Allen Chapel Meth. Church
Rev. A. C. Jones
307 Appian Dr.
Spartanburg, S. C.

436
Thompson St. Baptist Ch.
Rev. B. T. Sears
555 Wofford Street
Spartanburg, S.C.

437
Ridgeville Baptist Church
Rev. B. T. Sears
555 Wofford Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

438
Woodward Memorial Bapt. Chu./
Rev. C. L. Austin
PO Box 83
Spartanburg, S. C.

439
West Minister Presbyterian
Church
Mr. David Aiken
388 E. Cleveland St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

440
New Zion Baptist Church
Mr. Nathaniel Gibson
Pacolet, S. C.

441
Travelers Rest Bapt. Ch.
Rev. N. J. Alexander
PO Box 34
Una, S. C.

442
Florence Chapel Meth. Ch.
Rev. J. S. Pendarvis
Bryson High School
Fountain Inn, S. C.

443
Hopewell Baptist Church
Mr. W. M. Fowler
Route 1,
Duncan, S. C.

444
Moores Chapel Bapt. Church.
Mr. DeWitt Cohen
Box 131
Duncan, S. C.

445
Mt. Alexander Bapt. Church.
Mrs. Willie R. Wofford
Route 1
Roebuck, S. C.

446
Smith Chapel Baptist Church
Rev. A. C. Philson
Route 5
Spartanburg, S. C.

447
Upper Shady Grove Wellford
Rev. B. T. Sears
555 Wofford Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

448
Tabernacle Bapt. Missions
Rev. A. M. Matthews
142 E. Clement Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

449
Jones Holiness Church
Mrs. Elder E. David
354 Warren Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

450
Landrum Springs Bapt. Church
Mrs. L. B. Carson
Landrum, S. C.

451
Lower Shady Grove Bapt. Ch.
Rev. N. J. Alexander
PO Box 34
Una, S. C.

452
Allen View Methodist Church
Rev. J. S. Pendarvis
Bryson High School
Fountain Inn, S. C.

453
Monks Grove Baptist Church
Rev. K. B. Brewton
Route 1
Moore, S. C.

454
Flint Hill Bapt. Church
Mr. Ellias C. Means
Twitty Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

455
Lewis Chapel Baptist
Mrs. Novela Grover
258 Oak Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

456
Walker Memorial CME Ch.
Mrs. W. L. Durham
557 Wofford Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

457
Harrison Grove Baptist
Rev. A. M. Matthews
142 E. Element Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

458
Pleasant View Meth. Ch.
Rev. E. C. Anderson
Box 354
Cowpens, S. C.

459
New Trinity Bapt. Church
Rev. M. P. Robertson
PO Box 296
Pendleton, S. C.

460
Fair Forest Bapt. Ch.
Rev. N. J. Alexander
PO Box 34
Una, S. C.

461
Hardy Chapel Bapt. Church
Mr. B. B. Moore
7220 Short St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

462
Moores Chapel Bapt. Ch.
Rev. J. C. Jackson
Route 5
Simponville, S. C.

463
New Zion Bapt. Church
Mrs. Lula B. Hodge
315 Cotton Drive
Spartanburg, S. C.

464
Mt. Nebo Baptist Church
Mrs. Bobby Pearson
Seminole Cts. Route 5
Spartanburg, S. C.

465
Whitehall AME Church
Mr. Lee Robinson
247 W. Centennial St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

466
Mt. Zion Baptist Church
Rev. M. H. Hackett
167 Owens Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

467
Trinity Methodist Church
Rev. C. C. Clark
~~[illegible]~~
P. O. Chesness, S. C.

468
Enoree Baptist Mission
Rev. J. J. Jones
19 Phyllis Goins Ct.
Spartanburg, S. C.

469
Wofford Chapel CME Church
Rev. H. B. Jackson
176 Amos St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

470
Friendship Baptist Church
Mr. C. W. Fowler
647 Wofford Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

471
Stephen Grove AME Church
Miss Medora Gist
524 Jefferson St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

472
Wesley Methodist Church
Rev. C. C. Clark
P. O. Chesness, S. C.

473
Mt. Zion CME Church
Rev. H. B. Jackson
176 Amos Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

474
Brown Chapel Methodist Ch.
Rev. C. C. Clark
Chesnee PO - S. C.

475
Shiloh Baptist Church
Rev. M. H. Hackett
167 Owens Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

476
Bethsaida Presbyterian Church
Mr. E. A. Frye
105 Gibson Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

477
Shady Grove Baptist Church
Route 2
Inman, S. C.

478
~~[illegible]~~
Spring Hill CME Church
Rev. H. B. Jackson'
176 Amos Street
Spartanburg, S. C.

479
The Rev. S. M. Glover
102 Bleckley St.
Anderson, S. C.

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The Rev. W. J. Owens
Holly Springs Church
Clemson, S. C.

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The Rev. Jackson Ward, Jr.
Route 1
Starr, S. C.

482
The Rev. Billups
Mt. Olive Church
Anderson, S. C.

483
The Rev. J. W. Hinderson
133 Palm St.
Greenville, S. C.

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The Rev. T. M. Marigne
203 Elmore St.
Greenville, S. C.

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The Rev. J. S. Maddox
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Donalds, S. C.

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The Rev. M. D. Hawks
837 Dixie St.
Gainesville, Ga.

487
The Rev. F. E. Harrell
Salem Church
Atlanta, Georgia

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The Rev. C. C. Stewart
Sweet Canaan Church
Greenville, S. C.

489
TheRev. H. W. D. Stewart
207 Asbury Ave.
Greenville, S. C.

490
The Rev. D. J. Valentine
PO Box 36
Due West, South Carolina

491
The Rev. W. D. Hawks
PO Box
Gainesville, Ga.

492
The Rev. W. B. Hawk
1022 High Street
Gainesville, Ga.

493
The Rev. R. H. Mitchell
Mt. Moriah Church
Walhalla, S. C.

494
The Rev. L. R. Best
600 Thomas Street
Anderson, S. C.

495
The Rev. E. W. Wright
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Laurens, S. C.

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The Rev. J. C. McDowell
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The Rev. J. B. Bailey
206 Arnold St.
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The Rev. Otis Pickett
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The Rev. J.O. Rich
W. Reed Street
Anderson, S. C.

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The Rev. C. R. Lewis
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The Rev. W. J. Owens
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The Rev. W. R. Earle
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Honea Path, S. C.

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505
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11 Tuskegee Ave.
Greenville, Ga.

506
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PO Box 86
Pendleton, S. C.

507
The Rev. S. M. Glover
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606 Cleveland Avenue
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Route 1
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514
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816 Queen Street
Alexandria, Va.

515
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Richmond, Virginia

525
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Richmond, Va.

526
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527
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Beulah Baptist Church
Minor, Va.

528
Rev. J. R. Redd
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Danville, Va.

529
Rev. Melford W. Walker
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Va.

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Rev. W. H. Rainey
Brown's Grove Bapt. Church
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532
Rev. W. E. Payne
2307 Fendall Ave.
Richmond, Va.

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Rev. Charles McCreary
211 Holbrook St.
Danville, Va.

534
Rev. j. E. Taylor
Calvary Baptist Church
Kenbridge, Va.

535
Rev. O. A. Brinkley
Box 181
Kilmarnock, Va.

536
Rev. Willie Toomer
119 Melbourne Cir.
Danville, Va.

537
Rev. Benjamin Robertson
716 N. 24th St.
Richmond, Va.

538
Rev. W. P. Keene
2400 Broad Street
Danville, Va.

539
Rev. J. P. Griffith
911 Union St.
Danville, Virginia

540
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Clarksville Baptist Church
warsaw, Va.

~~Rev. C. A. Hester~~

The Rev. Q. A. Hester 541
806 Simmons St.
Durham, N. C.

Rev. P. A. Pinkey 542
Route 2, Box 55
Portsmouth, Va.

Rev. H. L. Ferguson 543
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Ringgold, Va.

Dr. E. C. McCreary, Sr. 544
422 9th St., NW
Charlottesville, Va.

Rev. G. L. Parker 545
2228 Effingham St.
Portsmouth, Va.

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1329 Effihgham St.
Portsmouth, Va.

Rev. David T. Shannon 547
216 E. Leigh St.
Richmond, Va.

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Staunton, Va.

Rev. W. J. Miller 549
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Ebenezer Baptist Church
Wardtown, Virginia

Mr. Gordon E. Hemmings, 550
1026 Florida Avenue
Lynchburg, Va.

Rev. G. W. Watkins 551
Elam Bapt. Church
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500 Arminstead St.
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Wilmington, Va.

Dr. R. S. Anderson 557
2019 Barton Ave.
Richmond, Va.

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2411 Lamb Ave.
Richmond, Va.

Rev. S. A. Wilson, Jr. 559
Box 522
Cape Charles, Va.

First Baptist Church 560
c/o Henry Powell
Route 1
Cape Charles, Virginia 561

Rev. S. M. Carter 562
2613 The Terrace
Richmond, Virginia

Rev. B. F. Bunn 563
800 Anderson St.
Charlottesville, Va.

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902 Washington St.
Danville, Va.

~~Rev. J. T. Griffin~~
~~313 Virginia Street~~

567
Rev. J. T. Griffin
313 Virginia Street
Farmville, Va.

568
Rev. S. F. Daly
Box 231
Franklin, Va.

569
Rev. R. J. Brown
616 Phillips Ave.
Portsmouth, Va.

570
Rev. J. E. Thomas, III
834 N. King Street
Hampton, Va.

571
Rev. White
First Bapt. Church
Heathville, Va.

572
Rev. Vergil Simms
212 Massie Street
Lexington, Virginia

573
Rev. John O. Peterson
Box 32
Louisa, V.

574
Rev. Albert E. Davis
625 Columbia Rd. NW
Washington, D. C.

575
Rev. M. T. Boone
Box 127
Mappsville, Va.

576
Rev. L. D. Pollard
2813 Moss Side Ave.
Richmond, Va.

577
Rev. E. P. Simms
2723 Woodland Av.
Norfolk, Va.

578
Mrs. Lillian Ferebee
3205 McKinley St.
Norfolk, Va.

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Rev. W. J. Beckett
3428 Jackson Ave.
Portsmouth, Va.

580
Rev. C. J. Smith
304 Water St.
Salem, Va.

581
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Roxboro, NC

582
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2516 Elm Ave.
Portsmouth, Va.

583
Rev. W. B. Schiele
1301 48th St.
Newport News, Va.

584
Dr. W. L. Ransome
1507 Decatur St.
Richmond, Va.

585
Rev. J. E. Douglas
1512 10th St., NE
Washington, D. C.

586
Rev. David Collins
727 W. Scotland St.
Williamsburg, Va.

587
Dr. C. E. Griffin
970 Merrimac Ave.
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588
Rev. W. E. Keeling
950 Rugby St.
Norfolk, Va.

589
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Churchland, Va.

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Hanover School for Boys
Hanover, Va.

591
Rev. A. L. Green
628 North 8th
Richmond, Va.

592
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1126 N. 30th St.
Richmond, Va.

593
Dr. S. L. Scott
808 South St.
Portsmouth, Va.
Portsmouth, Va.

594
Dr. R. L. Taylor
601 N. 31st St.
Richmond, Va.

595
Rev. L. C. Manning
2301 Langston Ave, Apt C
University Terrace
Richmond, Va.

596
Rev. T. B. Wilson
706 S. Main St.
Roxboro, N. C.

597
Gilfield Bapt. Church
c/o J. W. Burke
209 Perry St.
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598
Rev. Paul Nichols
Virginia Union University
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Rev. W. B. Ball
407 W. Clay St.
Richmond, Va.

600
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Harmony Village, Va.

601
Rev. C. W. T. Barnes
2117 Parkwood Ave.
Richmond, Va.

602
Rev. J. H. Cross
2216 Walcott Place
Richmond, Va.

603
Rev. J. H. Brown
1902 Pleasant St.
Richmond, Va.

604
Rev. S. M. Thompson
2013 Miller Ave.
Richmond, Va.

605
Rev. G. G. Campbell
Box 41
Churchland, Va.

606
Rev. C. H. Rhodes
1205 North 24th St.
Richmond, Va.

607
Rev. S. R. Williams
PO Box 301
Smithfield, Va.

608
Rev. W. H. Felton
613 Summitt Ave.
Portsmouth, Va.

609
Jerusalem Bapt. Church
Doswell, Va.

610
Rev. T. M. Venable
2907 Mapleton Ave.
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Rev. W. E. Alexander
127 Nicholson St.
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619 W. Mary St.
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PO Box 321
Waverly, Va.

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Essex County, Va.

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2808 U Street
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Metompkin Bapt. Church
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Rev. W. P. Keene
240 W. Broad St.
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625
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
2908 Noble Ave.
Richmond, Va.

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2228 Effingham St.
Portsmouth, Va.

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Rev. A. B. Walker
1308 Effingham St.
Portsmouth, Va.

628
Rev. Howard A. Chubbs
School of Religion Dormitory
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Va.

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Mt. Bethel Bapt. Church
Princess Anne,
Virginia

631
Rev. Milton Shepherd
Route 2, Box 247
Alexandria, Va.

632
Dr. A. S. Hoard
2607 Chestnut St.
Portsmouth, Va.

633
Rev. I. H. Bradley
Mt. Calvary Bapt. Church
Richmond, Va.

634
Rev. C. C. Crawford
2613 Chapel St.
Norfolk, Va.

635
Dr. E. D. McCreary, Jr.
2300 East Broad St.
Richmond, Va.

636
Rev. U. R. Booker
134 Hillsboro St.
Roxboro, N. C.

~~First Bapt. Church~~
~~Rev. E. P. Simms~~
~~2723 Woodland Ave.~~
~~Norfolk, Va.~~

~~First Bapt. Church~~
~~c/o Mrs. Lillian Ferebee~~
~~3205 McKinley St.~~
~~Norfolk, Va.~~

~~Rev. W. J. Beckett~~
~~3248 Jackson Ave.~~
~~Portsmouth, Va.~~

~~Rev. C. J. Smith~~
~~304 Water St.~~
~~Salem, Va.~~

~~Rev. U. R. Booker~~
~~210 Johnson St.~~
~~Roxboro, N C~~

~~First Bapt Church~~
~~c/o Mrs. Beatrice Pain~~
~~2616 Elm Ave.~~
~~Portsmouth, Va.~~

~~Rev. W. B. Schiele~~
~~1301 48th St.~~
~~Newport News, Va.~~

~~Dr. W. L. Ransome~~
~~1507 Decatur St.~~
~~Richmond, Va.~~

637
Rev. Irvin Waters
2839 Glasgow St.
Portsmouth Va.

638
Mt. Hope Bapt. Church
Brooks, Va.

639
Dr. F. P. Wise
2716 Broad Creek Rd.
Norfolk, Va.

640
Rev. S. F. Harris
Mt. Nebo Bapt. Church
West Point, Va.

641
Rev. M. T. Bonne
Box 127
Mappsville, Va.

642
Rev. H. T. Myers
842 Pollard St.
Norfolk, Va.

643
Mrs. Mary Cain
Mt. Olive Bapt. Church
Rehoboth Church, Va.

644
Rev. W. E. Cunningham
Star Route
South Boston, Va.

645
Rev. George Smith
908 N. 37th St.
Richmond, Va.

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Mt. Olive Bapt. Church
c/o D..O/ Jones
Wicomico, Va.

647
Rev. E. C. Kent
2115 Maplewood Ave.
Richmond, Va.

648
Rev. L. A. Jackson
Mt. Pleasant Bapt. Church
Aldie, Va.

649
Rev. Milton Shepherd
Route 2, Box 247
Alexandria, Va.

650
Rev. C. H. Crews
118 Mt. Pleasant Ave.
Norfolk, Va.

651
Rev. C. S. McCall
2416 Lamb Ave.
Richmond, Va.

652
Rev. J. P. Wilkerson
3118 Pioneer St.
Portsmouth, Va.

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Dr. L. R. Taylor
2105 Lamb Ave.
Richmond, Va.

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Rev. j. B. Hamilton
405 Dice Street
Charlottesville, Va.

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Rev. B. H. Galyes
Mt. Zion Bapt. Chr.
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Rev. W. M. Jordan
1246 Harrison Ave.
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660
Rev. Dennis Houghton
Mt. Zion Bapt. Church
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661
Rev. James O. Powell
609 N. August St.
Staunton, Va.

662
Rev. P. C. Young
Mulberry Bapt. Church
Emmerton, Va.

663
New Zion Bapt. Church
Rev. J. H. Moody
Box 83
Lightfoot, Va.

664
Rev. E. W. Davidson
2306 Chestnut St.
Portsmouth, Va.

665
Rev. W. B. Westbrook
224 Hough Street
Norfolk, Va.

666
Rev. A. M Johnson
2211 Maplewood Ave.
Richmond, Va.

667
Rev. W. E. Costner
Nothern Va. Bapt. Assn.
Falls Church, Va.

668
Rev. W. P. Keene
240 W. Broad St.
Danville, Va.

669
Rev. Luther Mills
2512 E Street, NE
Washington, D. C.

670
Rev. L. Sharpe
826 E. Brambleton
Ave.
Norfolk, Va.

671
Rev. L. A. Jackson
Olive Branch Bapt. Church
Aldie, Va.

672
Dr. F. P. Lewis
906 6th St.
Lynchburg, Va.

673
Rev. C. H. Rhodes
1205 N. 24th St.
Richmond, Va,

674
Rev. H. A. Townes
332 Pine St.
Covington, Va.

675
Rev. Roger S. Steel
1235 Center Ave.
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2412 Hawthorne Ave.
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680
Rev.Harold E. Pinkston
2917 NobleAve.
Richmond, Va.

691
Rev. J. William Drew
302 S. Addison St.
Richmond, Va.

692
Rev. A. N. Johnson
2211 Maplewood Ave.
Richmond, Va.

693
Rev. C. B. Hinton
2817 Hawthorne Ave.
Richmond, Va.

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Suffolk, Va.

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Virginia Union University
Richmond, Va.

698
Rev. C. W. Peebles
Shiloh Bapt. Church
Boykins, Va.

699
Rev. H. M. Ruffin
Route 1, Box 26
Reedville, Va.

700
Rev. F. J. Boddie
457 Byrne St.
Petersburg, Va.

701
Shilph Bapt. Church
c/o F. D. Bowers, Jr.
1310 Charles St.
Fredericksburg, Va.

702
Dr. B. H. Hester
515 Amelia Street
Fredericksburg, Va.

703
Rev. A. B. Smith
Shiloh Bapt. Church
Lane View, Va.

704
Rev. G. W. Martin
PO Box 91
Keller, Va.

705
Rev. R. V. Bush
Route 2 Box 131-A
McLean, Va.

706
Rev. H. B. Moore
215 Ross Street
Danville, Va.

707
Dr. A. W. Brown
2014 Miller Ave.
Richmond, Va.

708
Rev. H. G. Knight
1320 Dub ois Ave.
Richmond, Va.

709
W. W. Jones
Star Route
Blenheim, Va.

710
Rev. Stacey Williams
3018 Midlothian
Pike
Richmond, Va.

711
Dr. A. B. James
608 Overbook Rd.
Richmond, Va.

712
Mr. John M. Bailey
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.-20006

713
Mr. Steven E. Smith
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.-20006

714
Mr. Louis Martin
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.-20006

715
Mr. Tinsley L. Spraggins
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.-20006

716
Mr. George Booker
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.-20006

717
Ms. Daisy Bates
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.-20006

718
Ms. Ethel Payne
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.-20006

719
Mr. James Mankins
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.-20006

720
Ms. Alma Polk
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.-20006

721
Mr. Matt Reese
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.-20006

722
Rev. David W. Roston
P. O. Box 703
Estill, S. C.

723
Mr. Marion Barry, Jr.
Knoxville Crusader
1900 McCalla Ave.
Knoxville, Tenn.

724
Ms. Sheila Michaels
Knoxville Crusader
1900 McCalla Ave.
Knoxville, Tenn.

725
Rev. A. P. Sumter
500 Parkwook Dr.
Summersville, S. C.

726
Mr. Ollie Whitley, Jr.
1600 E. Wiley Street
Midland, Texas

727
Ms. Ebbie Gatson
2545 Jackson Street
Lamargue, Texas

728
Dr. M. A. Ray
P. O. Box 626
Tarboro, N. C.

729
Ms. Glover Telfair
318 Lime Street
Orlando, Florida

730
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General Delivery
Warrenton, N. C.

731
Mrs. F. Mitchell
Rte., 1 Box 108-A
Seabrook, S. C.

732
Mr. Charles Brown
Box 5
Bennett College
Greensboro, N. C.

733
Rev. E. J. Moore
2027 Syracuse Dr.
Charlotte, N. C.

734
V. B. Baucum
913 Winchester Ave.
Monroe, N. C.

735
Mr. Tolar Lee Gibbs
General Delivery
Wag ner, S. C.

736
Rev. S. H. Chatman
R. F. D. Box 251 A
Tuskegee, Ala.

737
Miss Alma Seniors
2 Olga Seastrom
Nat'l Student YWCA
Suite 301
Atlanta, Georgia-30303

738
Women United For Social
Action
2409 W. Madison St.
Louisville 11, Kentucky

739
L. V. Davis
2212 N. E. 8th Ave.
Gainesville, Florida

740
Roland H. Clark (Mr.)
904 E. Church Street
Tarboro, N. C.

741

Mr. Gregrery E. Shinert, Director
Virginia Equal Job Opportunity Bureau
17 E. Eary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Mr. Tully B. Lucas, Jr. 742
210 S. Bradley
McKinney, Texas

Mr. Wilbur Hobby, Area Director 743
Cope Area # 3
Box 175
Durham, North Carolina-27702

Mr. Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director 744
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Miss Jane Duffin 745
The Grail
127 Cherry Street
Lafayette, Louisiana

Mr. Peter Nemenyi 746
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

The Rev. John A. Mebane 747
P. O. Box 140
Tarboro, N. C.

748
Mr. Roy Wilkins
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

749
Mr. John Morsell
NAACP
40 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

750
Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

751
Mr. Marvin Rich
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

752
The Rev. Wyatt T. Walker
SCLC
334 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

753
The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
SCLC
334 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

754
Mr. John Lewis
8½ Raymond St., NW
Atlanta 14, Ga.

755
Mr. James Forman
8½ Raymond Street, NW
Atlanta 14, Ga.

756
Mr. Whitney Young
National Urban League
14 East 48th St.
New York 17, New York

757
~~#######~~
Mr. Heman Sweatt
Southern Regional Office
National Urban League
250 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

758
Mr. Walter Jarman
Route 2, Box 350
Trenton, N. C.

759
Mr. James Smith
Frogmore, S. C.

760
Mr. Frank Johnson
Frogmore, S. C.

761
Mr. Louis J. Cookley
1408 Washington St.
Beaufort, S. C.

762
Dr. Rufus Atwood
3609 Eaton Lane
Cincinnati 29, Ohio

763
Mrs. Idella McDaniel
Route #2, Box 350-F
Trenton, N. C.

764
Mr. Harry Mack
Frogmore, S. C.

765
Mr. Eddie Fripp
Frogmore, S. C.

766
Mr. Tom Brown
Frogmore, S. C.

767
Ms. Una Mae Hargrave
127 Cherry Street
Lafayette, Louisiana

768
E. M. Aytch
1405 Green St.
Beaufort, S. C.

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771
Mr. Thomas Johnson
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550 Stewart Avenue
Garden City, L. I.,
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Richard F. Dozier 772
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Salisbury, N. C.

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North Carolina College
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St. Augustine College
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Nathaniel Tollison 777
Winston-Salem Teachers College
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Hayes E. Streeter 778
Fayetteville State College
Fayetteville, N. C.

Ray Cooper 779
Eliz. City State Teachers Col.
Elizabeth City, N. C.

W. E. Hall 780
P. O. Box 935
Burlington, N. C.

Charles A. Ray 781
North Carolina College
Durham, N. C.

Gerson L. Stroud 782
1407 Beatties Ford Road
Charlotte, N. C.

John B. Huser 783
235 N. Cameron Ave.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

R. L. Teele, Jr. 784
705 Gladden Street
Washington, N. C.

Harlee H. Little 785
502 Milford Hills Rd.
Salisbury, N. C.

George L. Foxwell 786
1807 Charles Street
Raleigh, N. C.

Walter R. Howze 787
75 Ridge Street
Ashville, N. C.

Odell Uzzell 788
1878 Gola Drive
Fatyetteville, N. C.

Louis B. Martin 789
204 Lincoln Street
Concord, N. C.

H. K. Gilreath 790
Box 14
Oxford, N. C.

C. H. McDonald 791
301 Queen Street
Wilmington, N. C.

W. W. Witherspoon 792
1504 Highland Ave.
Eliz. City, N. C.

George T. Young 793
Route 2, Box 141
Enfield, N. C.

Glendell N. Brooks 794
908½ N. Morris St.
Gastonia, N. C.

T. L. Williamson 795
1020 Piedmont St.
Riedsville, N. C.

796

National Student YWCA

Ms. Sandra Bodenheimer
Appalachian State Teachers College
Boone, N. C.

797 Mrs. Mary Haroldson
Appalachian State Teachers College
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798 Ms. Kathleen Payne
Barber Scotia College
Concord, N. C.

799 Ms. Dora Threatt
Barber Scotia College
Concord, N. C.

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Bennett College
Greensboro, N. C.

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Catawba College
Salisbury, N. C.

802 Rev. Porter Seiwell
Catawba College
Salisbury, N. C.

803 Mr. D. D. Gross
East Carolina College
Greenville, N. C.

804 Ms. Priscilla Allen
Box 8602
Guilford, N. C.

805 Ms. Rosemay Gaines
Johnson C. Smith Univ.
Charlotte, N. C.

806 Dr. A. C. Steele
Johnson C. Smith Univ.
Charlotte, N. C.

807 Mrs. George H. Ballard
Lenoir-Rhyne College
Hickory, N. C.

808 Mrs. Lois Reeves
Livingstone College
Salisbury, N. C.

809 Mr. Robert Butler
P. O. Box 166
Louisburg, N. C.

810 Miss Ruth Merritt
Louisburg College
Louisburg, N. C.

811 Dr. Ila J. Blue
Box 696
Durham, N. C.

812 Ms. Claudia Johnson
Queens College
Charlotte, N. C.

813 Ms. Mary Faith Carson
Queens College
Charlotte, N. C.

814 Dr. Inzer Byers
Salem College
Winston Salem, N. C.

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Shaw University
Raleigh, N. C.

815 Rev. R. B. Hooper
Shaw University
Raleigh, N. C.

816 Ms. Lucy Kennerly
University of N. C.
Chapel Hill, N. C.

817 Ms. Anne Queen
Box 124
Chapel Hill, N. C.

818 Mrs. Robert Dobson
Winston Salem Teachers College
Winston Salem, N. C.

819
Ms. Gladys Williams
Route #2, Box 140
Wagener, S. C.
820
United States Student Press Assn.
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104
821
Mr. James A. Hayes, III
113 Bellamy Avenue
Norfolk, Virginia
822
J. Siffert
45 East 85th Street
New York 28, New York
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Rev. W. Williams
Route #2, Box 61
Bronson, S. C.
824
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1103-18th Ave., South
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41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia
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926 Linda Lou Dr.
San Antonio, Texas
828
Roger Hart
Southwestern-at-Memphis
Memphis 12, Tenn.
[illegible]
[illegible].

829
Mr. Claude Sitton
New York Times
10 Forsyth St.
Atl., Ga

830
Mr. Joe Cummins
Newsweek
C+S National Bank Bldg
Atl., Ga.

831
Rev. S. J. Wright
Route 2, Box 97
Bamberg, S. C.

832
Mr. C. L. Sellers
Denmark, South Carolina

833
Mrs. Muriel Potts
Voorhees Jr. College
Denmark, S. C.

834
Mr. E. H. Jones
Box 253
Bamberg, S. C.

835
Rev. J. J. Saxton
Route 1, Box 13
Bamberg, S. C.

836
Mr. John Long
Olar, South Carolina

837
Mr. and Mrs. Chas. McMillan
Route 2, Box 89-A
Bamberg, S. C.

838
Mrs. Gertrude Reed
315 Treadwell St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

839
Mrs. Mary Williams
333 Treadwell St., NE'
Orangeburg, S. C.

840
Mrs. Gertrude Ford
138 Treadwell St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

841
Mr. Eugene Montgomery
325 Treadwell St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

842
Mrs. Cecelia Fleming
448 Treadwell St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

843
Mr. Leon Dash
255 Treadwell St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

844
Mr. George Daniels
433 Treadwell St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

845
Mrs. Idella Inabinet
133 Treadwell St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

846
Mrs. Gibbs
214 Dutton St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

847
Mrs. Joseph Whitmore
222 Dutton St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

848
Mr. Thomas,Pellman, Sr.
230 Dutton St.
Orangeburg, S. C.

849
Mr. Abraham Harrison
245 Dutton St.
Orangeburg, S. C.

850
Mr. William Moorer
705 Amelia St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

851
Mrs. Alethia Lewis
Oak Street, NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

852
Mr. Frank Haigler
206 Sunnyside St., NE
Orangeburg S. C.

853
Mr. Walker Nelson, Jr.
488 Sunnyside Street, NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

854
Mr. L. F. Heyward
Route 1, Box 416
Orangeburg, S. C.

856
Rev. Leon Stephenson
Route 5, Box 310
Orangeburg, S. C.

857
Mr. Thomas Moss
Route 5, Box 369
Orangeburg, S. C.

858
Mr. Frank Pimble
Route 5, Box 463
Orangeburg, S. C.

859
Mr. Theodore Adams
Route 1, Box 779
Orangeburg, S. C.

860
Mr. Wilmon Smiley
660 Goff Avenue
Orangeburg, S. C.

861
Mrs. Janie B. Williams
Route 3, Box 189
Orangeburg, S. C.

862
Mr. Clarenc e Jones,
PO Box 121
Bowman, S. C.

863
Mrs. Clarence Jones
PO Box 121
Bowman, SC

864
Mr. Charlie Byrd
PO Box 31
Branchville, S. C.

865
Mr. Jacob Barnes
George Street
Branchville, S. C.

866
Mr. R. L. Williams
PO Box 19
Elloree, S. C.

867
Mr. L. A. Blackmon
PO Box
Elloree, S. C.

868
Mr. Thomas Anderson
Route 2, Box 342
Elloree, S. C.

869
Mr. George Nelson
Route 1, Box 198
Eutawville, S. C.

870
Mr. T. J. Nelson.
Route 1, Box 62
Eutawville, S. C.

871
Mr. W. R. Bunch
PO Box 293
Holly Hill, S. C.

872
Mr. Robert Shepman
General Delivery
Holly Hill, S. C.

873
Mr. Edward Allen
PO Box 293
Holly Hill, S. C.

874
Rev. John W. Wright
PO Box 591
Holly Hill, S. C.

875
Miss Marion V. Atkinson
PO Box 454
Holly Hilly, S. C.

876
Rev. C. C. Burgess
PO Box 443
Holly Hill, S. C.

877
Mr. J. P. Cummings, Jr.
PO Box 481
Holly Hill, S. C.

878
Mrs. Ethel White
PO Box 441
Holly Hill, S. C.

879
Mrs. Wendel Jenkins
PO Box 307
Holly Hill, S. C.

880
Mr. D. D. Charley
PO Box 41
North, S. C.

881
Mrs. Sybil Jamison
PO Box 52 and 527
North, S. C.

882
Rev. Dycee Logan
General Delivery
North, S. C.

883
Mrs. Sonyer June C. Kenner
Routh 2, Box - North, S. C.

884
Mr. Willie James,
PO Box 172
Springfield, S. C.

885
Mr. Sears Corbett
Springfield, S. C.

886
Mr. Cleo Thomas
RFD #1
Springfield, S. C.

887
Mr. Earl L. Ishmeal
Route 2, Box 16
Neeses, S. C.

888
Mr. Elijah Inabinet
Route 2 Box
North, S. C.

~~889~~
~~Mrs. Sybil Jamison~~
~~PO Box 52~~
~~North, S. C.~~

~~890~~ 889
Rev. E. L. Keitt
Route 1, Box 181-A
Branchville, S. C.

~~891~~ 890
Mr. Nehemiah Jennings
210 Evans St.
Branchville, S. C.

~~892~~
~~Mrs. Ethel Williams~~
~~Holly Hill, S. C.~~

~~893~~ 891
Mr. Willie James
PO Box 172
Springfield, S. C.

~~894~~

892
Mr. Cleo Thomas
Route 1
Springfield, S. C.
~~[illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~.
893
Rev. Harold Roland
225 Dutton St., NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

894
Mr. N. Antley
598 Maple St., SW
Orangeburg, S. C.

895
Mrs. Ann West
145 Glover St., SW
Orangeburg, S. C.

896
Mr. and Mrs. George Hutto
PO Box 471
Barnwell, South Carolina

897
Mr. L. C. Gay
2220 Allen Street
Barnwell, S. C.

898
Mr. Eddie Weathersbee
2110 Marlboro Avenue
Barnwell, S. C.

899
Rev. Miller Bush
RFD
Barnwell, S. C.

900
Mr. Levant Hicks
Route 1
Blackville, S. C.

901
Mrs. Mildred Ford
Blackville, S. C.

902
Mr. Rufus Jones
Route 1
Blackville, S. C.

903
Mr. Gordon Green
Blackville, S. C.

904
Rev. Paul Green
c/o Mr. Joseph Lewis
314 Mill Street
Williston, S. C.

905
Mr. Robert Carter
Route 1
Williston, S. C.

906
Rev. M. B. Bush
Route 2, Box 39
Williston, S. C.

907
Mr. William Frank
Route 1, Box 78-A
Williston, S. C.

908
Rev. Aaron Bush
Elko Street
Williston, S. C.

Persons to Whom Newsletters Were Sent 3-31-64

ALABAMA

1. Dr. Stanley Smith, Chairman 909
Division of Social Sciences
[redacted]
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

FLORIDA

1. Mr. James P. Austin 910
602 North Avenue
Lake Wales, Florida

2. Mrs. Ernestine Collins 911
Route 3, Box 170
Marianna, Florida

3. Mrs. Johnnye R. Curtis 912
1005 Central Avenue
Tampa, Florida

4. Mrs. Patricia Stevens Due 913
403 Macomb Street
Tallahassee, Florida

5. Mr. John S. Frink 914
563 Second Avenue
Daytona Beach, Florida

6. Mrs. Barbara R. Pinkston 915
600 W. Broadway
Ocala, Florida

7. Mrs. Mable Richardson 916
643 Carter Street
Orlando, Florida

8. Mr. King Roberts 917
624 N.W. 2nd Street
Gainesville, Florida

9. Mr. James B. Sanderlin 918
1123 22nd Street, S.
St. Petersburg, Florida

10. Rev. C. K. Steele 919
Box 1003
Tallahassee, Florida

11. Mrs. Queen Williams 920
1275 Kings Road
Jacksonville, Florida

GEORGIA

Mr. Theodore Appling 921
307 E. Church Street
Fort Valley, Georgia

Mr. Ben Armstrong 922
Route 2
Hazelhurst, Georgia

Mr. J. M. Atkinson 923
2711 Albany Street
Brunswick, Georgia

Mr. Willie Bolden 924
600-A S. Jefferson Street
Albany, Georgia

Mrs. Annette Brown 925
500½ 9th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Mr. Thomas J. Croom 926
1301 Leader Street
Douglas, Georgia

Mr. E. L. Gardner 927
Post Office Box 849
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Joseph Golden 928
School of Social Work
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Donald Harris 929
536 East Jefferson Street
Americus, Georgia

Mr. Levanil Hicks 930
Route 1, Box 10
Waynesville, Georgia

Mr. Donald Jackson 931
512 Branham Avenue
Rome, Georgia

Mr. P. B. McCoy 932
1021 Blackwell Street
Waycross, Georgia

Mr. Toombs McLendon 933
215 Mercer Street
Washington, Georgia

Miss W. Richardson 934
Post Office Box 579
Waycross, Georgia

Mrs. Pealie Steele 935
102 Wilson Street
Homerville, Georgia

Rev. Charles Stokes 936
306 E. Espinosa Street
Augusta, Georgia

Mr. Newton Van 937
Route 2
Hazelhurst, Georgia

Rev. S. B. Wells 938
21 Meritt
Albany, Georgia

Mr. Ellie Whitaker 939
Box 185 Reddick Street
Homerville, Georgia

Mrs. Rosetta Williams 940
204 Marshall Street
Decatur, Georgia

LOUISIANA

941

Miss Mary Hamilton
2211 Dyrades Street
Room 203
New Orleans, Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI

942

Mr. Bobby Talbert
1072 W. Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA

Rev. B. B. Felder 943
706 E. Cumberland Street
Dunn, North Carolina

Dr. F. W. Jackson, Chairman 944
Voter Registration Project of
Winston-Salem
125 E. Third Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Mr. Talmage A. Watkins, Chairman 945
Citizens Committee of Wilson and
Wilson County
Wilson, North Carolina

SOUTH CAROLINA

944

Rev. Nathaniel Brockman
809 Jenkins Street
Greenville, South Carolina

TENNESSEE

Miss Cornelia Braden
512 Hill Street
Columbia, Tennessee

Mr. James Brown
1640 Dunbar Street
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. A. M. Buckley
104 Vine Street
Humboldt, Tennessee

Miss Mattie Donnell
161 Pine Street
Jackson, Tennessee

Miss A. Theresa Whittaker
1308 Jefferson Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee

VIRGINIA

Mr. Herbert Coulton 947
244 Halifax Street
Petersburg, Virginia

Mr. Arthur T. Freeman, Director 948
Tidewater Voter Registration Project
Room 103, YMCA Bldg.
812 Wood Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. Harry Roberts 949
Director of Research
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

950
[redacted] Bismarch Thomas
Mr. [redacted], Jr.
804 South Rockwall
Terrell, Texas

951
Mr. Eugene Coy, Sr.
P. O. Box 525
Kaufman, Texas

952
Fr. J. D. Epps
1104 North Moore Avenue
Tyler, Texas

953
Rev. T. H. Barfield
400 North Hill Avenue
Tyler, Texas

954
Mr. C. L. Johnigan
1432 North Dargan Avenue
Tyler, Texas

955
Rev. N. N. Boozer, Jr.
1412 Leuclaw Street
Tyler, Texas

956
Mr. Charles E. Coleman
[redacted]
Tyler, Texas

957
Rev. [redacted] H. E. Hugh
406 Fulton Street
Pittsburg, Texas

958
Mr. Richard L. Mitchell
408 Fulton Street
Pittsburg, Texas

959
Mr. John Whitfield
PO Box 29
Linden, Texas

960
Mr. Morrie Love
P. O. Box 562
Linden, Texas

961
Dr. Holloman Keyman
PO Box 254
Hughes Springs, Texas

962
Mr. Curtis Hawkins
PO Box 181
Hughes Springs, Texas

963
Mrs. Ella Mae Hill
Cooper, Texas

964
Mrs. Nettie Carter
Cooper, Texas

965
Mrs. Hazel Triggs
P. O. Box 296
Cooper, Texas

966
Mrs. Jimmie E. Williams
Box 425
Kilgore, Texas

967
Mrs. Fama J. Haynes
120 Harrison Street
Longview, Texas

968
Mrs. Dell Lockett
1005 Culver
Gladewater, Texas

969
Mrs. Mable Hawley
Gladewater, Texas

970
Mrs. Beatrice Lockett
Gladewater, Texas

[redacted]

971
Rev. D. X. L. Nicholson
813 Truelove
Gainesville, Texas

972
Mr. ########## Sammie Henderson
510 East Main Street
Waxahachie, Texas

973
Mrs. Willie Love
Ennis, Texas

974
Mr. Lafayette Smith'
Route 1, Box 153
Hooks, Texas

975
Mrs. Albert Biggers
511 Van Buren
Henderson, Texas

976
Rev. G. W. Thomas
Marshall, Texas

977
Rev. J. M. Sims
103 Ross Street
Sulphur Springs, Texas

978
Rev. G. Alexander
109 Frost Street
Sulphur Springs, Texas

979
Rev. ###### A. L. Seamon
538 3rd Northeast St.
Paris, Texas

980
Mr. William King
Box 33, Naples, Texas

981
Mr. JamesMiller
PO Box 394
Naples, Texas

982
Mrs. C. E. Evans
Douglas Memorial Hospital
Box 460
Jefferson, Texas

983
Rev. E. W. Johnson
PO Drawer 527
Jefferson, Texas

984
Dr. R. D. Douglas
PO Box 460
Jefferson, Texas

985
Mr. Fred Hicks
1020 Carver St.
Waco, Texas

##.
986
Mr. Robert L. Pennis
316 Sherman Street
Waco, Texas

987
Mr. Eddie Givens
623 East Chambers St.
Cleburne, Texas

988
Mr. Joseph E. Matthew
PO Box 58
Cleburne, Texas

989
Mr. M. S. Durham
Greenville, Texas

990
Mr. Billy Ray Morris
Route 1, Box 326
Tatum, Texas

33

Citizenship Schools in First Congressional
District in South Carolina

10 each

Mr. Thomas C. Barnwell
Penn Community Service
Frogmore, South Carolina
St. Helena Island

Mr. Leroy Blackshear
P. O. Box 120
Hardeeville, South Carolina
Jasper County

Mrs. Cornelia Louise Blacksten
Route 1, Box 241
Ridgeland, S. C.
Jasper County

Mr. Curtis Bostick
Route 1, Box 30
Ridgeland, S. C.
Jasper County

Mrs. Sarah F. Bright
P. O. Box 883
Ridgeland, S. C.
Jasper County

Mrs. Ernestine Brown
Route 1, Box 41
Garnett, S. C.
Hampton County

Mrs. Wilimena Brown
R.F.D. # 1, Box 174
Hardeeville, S. C.
Jasper County

Mrs. Topsy Brown
Route 1, Box 205
Pineland, S. C.
Jasper County

Delores Campbell
5 Charlotte St.
Charleston, S. C.

Eloise Campbell
242 St. Philip St.
Charleston, S. C.

Mrs. Juanita Cummings
Route 1, Box 161
Hardeeville, S. C.
Jasper Cty.

Miss Justine Deas
Route 1, Box 121
Johns Island, S. C.

Miss Pearlie Dixon
Route 1. Box 249
Ridgeland, S. C.
Jasper Cty

Mrs. Rosa Lee Flint
Route 1. Box 449
Ridgeland, S. C.
Jasper Cty

Mrs. Rubye Grace Francis
515 King Street
Mt. Plesant (Charleston) S. C.

Mr. Vanie Fraizer Jr.
Voorhees Junia College
Denmark, S. C.

Mrs. Sarah Fraser
376 Huger St.
Charleston, S. C.

Mrs. Phyllis P. Glover
Route 1. Box 59
Ridgeland, S. C.
Jasper Cty.

Mrs. Annie Green
Route 1. Box 177
Garnett, S. C.
Hampton Cty.

Rev. J. H. Hosey
R.F.D. 1, Box 133
Garnett, S. C.
Hampton Cty

Louise W. James
425 Greenwich St.
Mt. Pleasant, S. C.
Charleston Cty.

Mrs. Margaret James
Route 1, Box 153
Garnett, S. C.
Hampton,Cty.

list of Citizenship Schools Cont.

Mr. Esau Jenkins
244 Spring Street
Charleston, S. C.

Mrs Virgil Jenkins
Route 1. Box 381
Ridgeland, S. C.
Jasper Cty.

Blossie M. Johnson
45 Calhoun St.
Charleston, S. C.

Miss Marie Jones
1 East Colt Courts
Charleston, S. C.Rev. J. W. Milligan
493 Meeting Street
Charleston, S. C.

Mr. Helen L. Morgan
165 Spring Street
Charleston, S. C.

Esau Morris
15 F Marsh Street
Charleston, S. C.

Miss Gloris Randall
P. O. Box 143
Hardeeville, S. C.

Mrs. Ollie Mae Toomer
Route 2 Box 136
Ridgeland S. C.
Jasper Cty.

Nathaniel White
120-B Alexander St.
Charleston, S. C.

Mrs. Louis Williams
P. O. Box 244
Hardeeville, S. C.
Jasper Cty

Margaret V. Williams Route 2, Box 129
Ridgeland S. C.
Jasper Cty

File

Aloba Coord. Committee mailing list

DIRECTORS FOR THE JULY CAMPAIGN

Lauderdale County
Rev. David Tolbert
818 West Irvine Avenue
Florence, Alabama

Colbert County
Mrs. Delia Burgess
200 Central Avenue
Muscle Shores, Alabama

Franklin County
Mrs. Callie Adams
P. O. Box 61
Russellville, Alabama

Lawrence County
No Worker

Morgan County
William L. England, Sr
P. O. Box 50
Decatur, Alabama

Etowah County
Mr. Q. D. Adams
1907 East Broad Street
Gadsden, Alabama

Saint Clair County
Mrs. Emma Williams
Ashville, Alabama

Calhoun County
Mrs. A. M. Moloux
1307 Brown Avenue
Anniston, Alabama

Talladega County
Mr. Milton Hurst
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Randolph County
Mrs. Billie Jean Whittaker
512 Avenue C
Roanoke, Alabama

Coosa County
No Worker

Lee County
Mr. Willie McCoy
Motts, Alabama

Russell County
Mr. F. L. Provitt
902 28th Avenue
Phenix City, Alabama

Barbour County
No Worker

PERSONS ATTENDING THE GREEN COUNTY
WORKSHOP

Essie Mae Morrow
Rt. 3, Box 106F
Eutaw, Ala.

Levi Morrow
Rt 3, Box 106F
Eutaw, Ala.

Mrs. Martha J. Harris
P.O. Box 344
Eutaw, Ala.

Levi Morrow Jr.
P. O. Box 344
Eutaw, Ala.

Catherine E. Robinson
P. O. Box 123
Eutaw, Ala.

P. J. Kirksy
Rt., 1, Box D 19
Boligee, Ala.

Steve Donaldson
1505-South Kostner Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Doobie Coleman
Eutaw, Ala.

Frank L. Hackson
Box 127
Eutaw, Ala.

Willie P. Petagrow
Rt., 2, Box 107
Boligee, Ala

Mark Outland
P. O. Box 123
Boligee, Ala

Alfred J. Outland
P. O. Box 123
Boligee, Ala.

Eunice R. Outland
P.O. Box 123
Boligee, Ala.

Ruth Outland
P. O. Box 123
Boligee, Ala.

Walter Outland
P. O. Box 123
Boligee, Ala.

Alfred Outland
P. O. Box 123
Boligee, Ala

Mrs. Nacy M. Kirksey
Rt. 1 Box D-16
Boligee, Ala.

Mamie J. Means
413-Front Stree
Eutaw, Ala.

Annie Thomas
Mrs. Lula Cook
Rt. 2, Box A-1
Boligee, Ala.

Jennie T. Odim
304-Kirksey Street
Eutaw, Ala.

Beatha Dunlop
156-Vera Vista
Eutaw, Ala.

Hattyr Epps
P. O. Box 322
Eutaw, Ala.

Essex Johnson
Rt. 2-Box A-7
Boligee, Ala.

Willie Belton
P. O. Box 131
Boligee, Ala.

Thomas Crawford
317-Kirksey Ave.,
Eutaw, Ala.

Green County Cont.

Fannie Williams
616-Finch Street
Eutaw, Ala.

Katie Miller
504-Kirksey Ave.,
Eutaw, Ala.

Eddie Mae Crawford
P.O. Box 183
Eutaw, Ala.

Zebedee Wilder
Rt., 3, Box 144
Eutaw, Ala.

Ora D. Bulter
BOX-184B, Rt., 1
Eutaw, Ala.

PERSONS ATTENDING THE TUSKEGEE WORKSHOP*June 21,1963

J.D. Lewis
Box 147-Shorter, Ala.

Charles W. Chisholm
119-Cox Street
Tuskegee, Ala.

Rev. S. H. Chatman
Rt., 1, Box 251A
Tuskegee, Ala.

Hasla L. Guice
Rt., 1, Box 118
Shorter, Ala.

Mrs. Virginia Knight
Box 182
Shorter, Ala.

Rev. Henry Ellis
Rt., 1, Box 149
Shorter, Ala.

Rev. E. E. Sinclair
Rt., 1, Box 335
Notasulza, Ala.

Janices A. Johnson
204-Clark Ave.
Tuskegee, Ala.

Frank H. Bentley
209-Brown Street
Tuskegee, Ala.

S. V. Adams
201-Auburn Street
Tuskegee, Ala .

J. A. Watkins
124-Greenwood Drive
Tuskegee, Ala.

Mrs. R. B. Ford
309-Taylor Street
Tuskegee, Ala.

Lois L. Reeves
218-Bibb Street
Tuskegee, Ala.

Julia L. Alexander
104-Clark Ave.
Tuskegee, Ala.

Mr. C. O. Moore
Box 7, Hardarar, Ala.

Elizabeth A. Jeter
Box 807
Tuskegee, Ala.

Mrs. C. L. Franklin
Box, B Vets. Hospital
Tuskegee, Ala.

Robert Knight
Box 182
Shorter, Ala.

PERSONS ATTENDING THE HENRY
COUNTY WORKSHOP

June 19, 1963

Miss Jennie L. Jones
21-Peachtree Street
Headland, Ala.

Ozie Reynolds
31-Peachtree Street
Headland, Ala.

Catherine Mahtes
114-Lindsay Street
Headland, Ala.

Ada Hodges
31-Peachtree Street
Headland, Ala.

Martha J. Glanton
Route 3, Box 80
Headland, Ala.

Miss Peggie A. Glanton
Route 3, Box 80
Headland, Ala.

Nancy Glanton
Route 3, Box 80
Headland, Ala.

Mr. Willie Glanton, Sr.
Route 3, Box 80
Headland, Ala.

Mr. George Hamilton
Headland, Ala.

Mella McHellon
208-Sparks Street
Headland, Ala.

Annie Jewell Ward
Rt., 1
Headland, Ala.

Mrs. Lucy Poole
109-Peachtree street
Headland, Ala.

Mrs. Beatrice McKay
210-Lendsay street
Headland, Ala.

Lois McKay Euler
210-Lendsay Street
Headland, Ala.

William McNealy
Rt., 1 Headland, Ala.

Major Hill
Box 162
Headland, Ala.

John Danzery
505-Hollon Street
Headland, Ala.

C. R. Rynalds
Rt., 1, Box 14
Headland, Ala.

Rev. D. L. McKay
Headland, Ala.

Rastus Peanice
Rt., 3-Box100
Headland, Ala.

Frank Gay
20, North Peachtree Street
Headland, Ala.

B. F. Simpson
16-Carlock Street
Headland, Ala.

Ardis B. Colton
Box 262
Headland, Ala.

J. B. Newman
Clopton, Ala.

Otis Jones
211-Boynton Street
Headland, Ala.

Rev. J. A. Floyd
2204-Denear Rd.
Dothon, Ala.

HENRY COUNTY CONT.

Mrs. Ruby Lee Hammock
223-Baynton Street
Headland, Ala.

Mrs. Fannie L. Danzer
505-Hallon Street
Headland, Ala.

Miss Ruby Jackson
Box 22
Headland, Ala.

Mrs. Agnus Craddock
213-Baynton Street
Headland, Ala.

Mrs. Addie Mae Davis
Box 41
Headland, Ala.

Jennie Robinson
12-Mitchell Street
Headland, Ala.

Viretta Brown
Box 222
Headland, Ala.

DIRECTORS FOR THE JULY CAMPAIGN

Washington County
Mr. John Woodyard
Sunflower, Alabama
Phone - 246-3992

Clark County
Mr. J. W. Andrews
P. O. Box 275
Jackson, Alabama

Escambia County
Mr. Eugene McNiel
P. O. Box 111
Atmore, Alabama

Monroe County
Mr. John E. Clauselle
P. O. Box 491
Monroeville, Alabama
Phone - 743-2905

Butler County
Rev. G. H. Nelson
307 Perry Street
Greenville, Alabama
Phone 335-5634

Crenshaw County
Mr. James Kolb
Route 2, Box 90
Luverne, Alabama

Covington County
Mr. Acy Bailey
P. O. Box 54
Gantt, Alabama

Coffee County
No Worker

Houston County
Mrs. Ruth Berry
801 Wilder Avenue
Dothan, Alabama
Phone 792-9879

Henry County
Mr. J. B. Newman
Clopton, Alabama

Bullock County
No Worker

Macon County
Mrs. Virginia Knight
P. O. Box 182
Shorter, Alabama

Sumter County
No Worker

Greene County
Mr. Doolie Coleman
410 Constantine Street 3rd Ave.
Eutaw, Alabama

Pickens County
No Worker

Walker County
Mrs. Marie Hall
104 Columbus Street
Cordova, Alabama

Shelby County
No Worker

PERSONS ATTENDING THE
CLINIC IN CRENSHAW COUNTY-JUNE 13, 1963

1. Carrie McTyere
   Rt. 3, Box 104
   Brantley, Alabama

2. Ella Mae Owens
   Rt. 3, Box 96
   Brantley, Alabama

3. Lillie Mae Owens
   Rt. 3, Box 96
   Brantley, Alabama

4. Maggie Lee Evertte
   Rt. 3, Box 95
   Brantley, Alabama

5. Mrs. W. D. Hawk
   119 Nineth Street
   Luverne, Alabama

6. Rebecca Ware
   908 Hall Street
   Luverne, Alabama

7. Sara Brantley
   134 Thomas Street
   Luverne, Alabama

8. Mrs. Johnnie M. Bryant
   1207 Hall Avenue
   Luverne, Alabama

9. Mrs. Anna E. Bowen
   1204 Hall Avenue
   Luverne, Alabama

10. Mrs. Bernice Caffie
    117 Thomas Street
    Luverne, Alabama

11. Mrs. Loretta Allen
    Rt. 2, Box 99
    Luverne, Alabama

12. Mrs. Lilie Smith
    157 Watts Street
    Luverne, Alabama

13. Mrs. Barbara Nix
Rt. 1, Box 102
Pigean Creek, Alabama

14. Miss Georgia Allen
206 Nineth Street
Luverne, Alabama

15. Mrs. Tessie Flowers
119 Nineth Street
Luverne, Alabama

16. Mr. Eugene Liptial
137 Fail Street
Luverne, Alabama

17. M. L. Lowery
120 Tenth Street
Luverne, Alabama

18. Howard Allen
Rt. 3, Box 96
Luverne, Alabama

19. Howard Owens
Rt. 3, Box 96
Luverne, Alabama

20. Walter Allen
314 Nineth Street,
Luverne, Alabama

21. Rev. W. D. Hawk
119 Nineth Street
Luverne, Alabama

22. Rev. G. H. Nelson
P. O. Box 161
Greenville, Alabama

23. William Caffen
1203 Hall Avenue
Luverne, Alabama

24. J. L. Dawxon
118 Rutledge Street
Luverne, Alabama

25. Mr. Albert McKee
Rt. 1,
Luverne, Alabama

26. Mr. J. C. Flowers
119 Ninth Street
Luverne, Alabama

27. Mr. Freddie Allen
121 Ninth Street
Luverne, Alabama

28. Willie J. Pharmer
Rt. 1
Luverne, Alabama

29. Mr. Henry L. Pharmer
Rt. 1
Luverne, Alabama

30. Mr. Theodore Ewing
Rt. 1
Pegeon Creek, Alabama

31. Mr. James Mathews
1108 Hall Avenue
Luverne, Alabama

32. L. C. Burnett
Rt. 1
Brantley, Alabama

33. John Walters
129 Ninth Street
Luverne, Al abama

34. Gorgia Lee Burnett
Rt. 2
Dozier, Alabama

35. Lessie B. Dawson
Luverne, Alabama

36. Mrs. Bessie A. Salter
Rt. 2, Box 262
Luverne, Alabama

37. Cue Allen
Rt. 2
Luverne, Alabama

38. Floyd Matthews
Rt. 1
Pegion Creek, Alabama

39. Grady Byant
1207 Hall Avenue
Luverne, Alabama

40. Dennis Shine
Rt. 1
Pegeon Creek, Alabama

41. W. M. Caffey
117 Thomas Street
Luverne, Alabama

42. S. D. Peterson
Rt. 1
Highland Home, Alabama

43. Richard Daniels
Rt. 2
Dozier, Alabama

44. A. V. Burnett
Rt. 2
Dozier, Alabama

45. Eddie Pitmore
217 Rutledge Street
Luverne, Alabama

46. Elmer Lowery
Rt. 1
Highland Home, Alabama

47. Anna Righway
Rt. 3
Brantley, Alabama

48. Eleanor Oliver
1213 Hall Avenue
Luverne, Alabama

49. Dilsie Lee May
1213 Hall Avenue
Luverne, Alabama

50. Alma Daniel
Rt. 2
Dozier, Alabama

51. Gorgie Lee Burnett
Rt. 2
Dozier, Alabama

52. Willie Kolb
Rt. 2, Box 90
Luverne, Alabama

WORTH 6-2644

CABLE ADDRESS: PABUMACO

PARK BUSINESS MACHINES & EQUIPMENT COMPANY

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PRINTING PRESSES
TYPEWRITERS

February 4, 1963

Mr. R. T. Blackwell
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

With reference to our telephone conversation of February 2nd, we are indicating below our prices, which are FOB New York City, on the following machines and equipment.

REBUILT MULTILITHS	PRICES
Model 1250W (11 x 17)	3000.00
Model 1300 (13 x 17) with receding stacker	2200.00
Model 2066 (14 x 20)	3750.00
PAPER CUTTERS-NEW	
Premier Ream Cutter 18"	249.95 FOB Chgo
Premier Ream Cutter 18" with Stand	279.90 " "
FOLDING MACHINES-NEW	
Fold-O-Matic Model FH6 17¼ x 22	495.00 FOB Chgo
	Plus 6% FET
FOLDING MACHINE-REBUILT	
Pitney-Bowes Model FM 11 x 24	375.00
PLATE MAKING EQUIPMENT	
NuArc Rapid Printer Model RP17 17 x 23 New	298.00 FOB Chgo
NuArc Stripping Table Model LT23 23 x 28 New	99.00 FOB Chgo
Kenro Vertical Camera Model Model V240 New	1800.00
COMPOSING MACHINES	
Stripprinter (for headline type) New	299.00 FOB Okla
D S J Varitypers- Reconditioned and Rebuilt	895.00 and up
Justowriters- Reconditioned	3000.00 and up

Literature on the new machines is enclosed. Our Rebuilt machines are 100% re-manufactured and modernized and are equal to the new machines now sold by the manufacturers, both in operation and appearance. They are Guaranteed for one year against defective parts and ninety days against labor.

NATIONAL OFFICE MACHINE DEALERS' ASSOCIATION
Dependably
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Service

March 10, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley Branton

From: Randolph Blackwell

This memo is prepared on the eve of the close of the first fiscal year of the Voter Education Project. It is our feeling that there are some few programs that can be added to the overall structure of the project by the time the second fiscal year begins that will be significantly beneficial. Some of what will be suggested here will not be entirely new, nor does it all have its origin in my mind. It just so happens that many of the ideas of merit that we have talked about have not been given the attention that they deserve because circumstances more immediate have not allowed for such.

An effort is made here to spell out just one or two of these ideas in much greater detail than they have been spelled out before, so that the relative merits of each can be weighed in the light of their cost, required personnel, and results that can be expected. Before entering upon a discussion of each of these ideas, it would be desirable first to just set each idea out so that it is clearly understood, and not lost in the course of spelling out what would be necessary to implement the idea.

As I examine the numerous ideas that are presented in the course of each day, it would seem that there are several that seem to come up again and again, and on which there is general agreement. These ideas are set out below:

I. The Voter Education Project is by far, the most important program in this history of the civil rights struggle, not only because of the objectives towards which it strives, but also because this is the first time in the entire history of the Negro people that all major civil rights organizations have been pretended to agree on the importance of any one single program. (Further discussion is found in Section I.)

II. The Voter Education Project has in its first fiscal year, sought to accomplish its objectives mainly through the operations of the "big five" civil rights organizations, and a few isolated independent organizations. The cooperation and loyalty that has characterized this relationship in the past must be preserved. And yet, the very fact that there are many communities that these organizations will not reach seems to dictate that the VEP should initiate a program designed

to aid these communities, and to involve them in the overall program. To not do so will be to mark off a possible 70,000 additional new voters. The VEP must remain ever cognizant of the fact that there was some sort of political concern in just about every Negro community long before it came into existence. (Further discussion of this will be found in Section II).

III. The Voter Education Project is less than one year old, and so it is perhaps too early to arrive at any hard, fast conclusions as to what the facts and forces are that have kept the Negro people from registering in large numbers in the past. It would appear, however, that the experiences of the past twelve months substantiates some opinions in this regard of long standing. It is often suggested that many Negro people have not registered in the past because of apathy, a feeling of inferiority, a lack of information, lack of inspiration, and fear - both physical and economic. The VEP must develop programs designed to deal with each of these causes. (Suggestions relative to overcoming these causes for not registering are discussed in Section III).

IV. The civil rights struggle can only hope to be successful in proportion to its ability to communicate with the masses of the American public. This history of the NAACP dictates the truth of this proposition more clearly than perhaps any other single organization. This, of course, means that there must be some sort of publishing house to which organizations engaged in the struggle have free and immediate access at the lowest possible cost. One of the difficulties that these organizations have had to labor under has been the very limited number of sympathetic printing sources. Thousands of things are said daily that ought to be communicated to thousands of Americans, but cannot be, for some several reasons - mainly cost. Too often, they have had to rely on having the press represent them to the public. Which, of course, is always done within their frame of understanding at their convenience, and to the degree that it feels it important. (Further discussion of this is included in Section IV.)

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

SECTION I.

Believing that the objectives towards which the VEP strive are too important to leave a single stone unturned, the attached sample newsletter is proposed as in instrument that would serve well to present registering as a matter of region-wide concern, and also to create a kind of wholesome competition between communities and organizations that could pay big dividends in terms of new voters. It would be expected that sections of such a newsletter would be devoted to reporting what is being done in each state each month; Along with feature stories and photographs of special happenings. Here we could report progress on such things as the Poll Tax Amendment, as well as descriptions of registration activities that prove to be unusally successful. It would be hoped that 20,000 such newsletters could be published and distributed each month.

COST

If we buy the printing equipment:

20,000 copies per month .....$ 215.00

20,000 copies per month for a year.....$2,580.00

If we have the newsletter printed:

20,000 copies per month .....$ 365.00

Cost of distributing 20,000 copies.....$ 60.00

****

one of the first articles:

INTRODUCING THE VEP NEWSLETTER

You are reading the first edition of the official organ of the Voter Education Project, which will be published on the 15th of each month for the duration of the project. This newsletter is the only publication of its kind in the entire nation. It has as its sole purpose that of publishing news about and related to registration and practical political education in the southern states. This purpose is broad enough to allow for inquiry into such matters as how registration programs are conducted, methods and techniques used, how interest is aroused, what difficulties and obstacles are encountered in carrying on voter registration programs, the measures used to overcome those difficulties and obstacles, the results of voter registration programs throughout the South, both as to the numbers of increased registration and the general effect on the political life of the community.

This Newsletter is non-partisan and will remain so; seeking in no way to influence the outcome of elections or legislation.

The VEP was begun in the spring of 1962 and is expected to continue at least through 1964. It operates on funds granted to the Southern Regional Council by various foundations and other interested organizations. The work of the Project in the main is conducted through the five major civil rights agencies: NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC, NUL. However, sometimes special grants are made to local organizations with a proven record of success in voter registration drives when local conditions seem to justify so doing. The project is always eager to provide guidance, materials, professional advice and information even though it may not be possible to provide funds at a given time.

A considerable body of information has been assembled about voter registration programs that have been conducted during the past nine months throughout the South. This information is available to all who are interested in using it to further registration efforts in their communities. In turn, the Project seeks to cooperate with all who are working in southern voter registration so that its fund of information can be as complete as possible.

The project is staffed by five individuals.

Attorney Wiley Branton, from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, is in charge of the project. Attorney Branton accepted the position as Director of VEP after some ten years of law practice in the South. He was the attorney for the plaintiffs in the famous Little Rock school integration case in 1957.

Attorney Randolph Blackwell is Director of Field Activities for VEP. Attorney Blackwell was graduated from Howard University Law School in 1953, and has since taught political science and business law in North Carolina and Alabama. He has maintained an abiding interest in social action throughout his career.

Jack Minnis is Director of Research. He is a doctoral candidate in Political Science from Tulane University in New Orleans.

Mrs. Jean Levine is VEP's Administrative Secretary and Mrs. Janet Shortt is her assistant.

Attorney Blackwell, as Field Director, maintains contact with the groups and organizations who are working in voter registration throughout the South. He observes and reports on the conduct of voter registration programs with which VEP is connected. He is always available for advice and consultation on any problems which registration workers may encounter.

Mr. Minnis, as Research Director, is responsible for gathering information about how registration programs are conducted, what success they have, what problems they meet, and how they solve these problems.

Mrs. Levine, who is also Mr. Branton's secretary, maintains the financial records of the project and handles the thousand and one administrative details that go with the day-to-day operation of the VEP office. She is assisted, most ably, in these duties by Mrs. Shortt.

Attorney Branton, as Director of the Project, oversees and coordinates all these activities and sets major policy for the project.

SECTION II.

This section is devoted, in the main, to a discussion of what is here called Plan "B". An understanding of Plan "B", and how it fits into the total structure of the VEP can best be had by reading the attached sample letter.

In order to put Plan "B" into operation for one year, the following budget would be needed:

One Assistant Field Director.....	$4,800.00
Travel and Expenses.....	1,000.00
Mailing.....	500.00
Telephone allowance.....	200.00
Printing.....	2,570.00
TOTAL-----	$9,070.00

The printing cost of the above budget is projected on the basis of having in operation, five hundred (500) Plan "B" projects. It is structured on the assumption that we own the equipment on which to prepare the material.

500 General Instruction books 40 pages, 8½ x 11	$ 108.00
20,000 "Don't Talk Politics In Here If You Are Not Registered" display cards 9 x 12; 40 for each of the projects.....	456.00
80,000 "Everybody In This Household is a Registered Voter" 5 x 6½	456.00
500,000 sheets of Doger paper Assorted colors; 6 x 9	450.00
Paper and supplies for letterheads, mass meetings, programs, etc., ...	1,000.00
	$ 2,570.00

Voter Education Project

SAMPLE

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

March 7, 1963

Mr. John Doe
1000 Jackson Street
Winston Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Doe:

Your name has been supplied to us by one who has for sometime expressed an interest in the establishment in our country, a living democracy in every sense of the word. It has been suggested that you share an interest in this all-important objective, and that you would possibly like to join the thousands of Americans all over the land who are ready and willing to admit our shortcomings, and work constructively to overcome them.

Most workers in this camp of patriots are agreed that the first and major consideration should be given to the right of Negro people to register and participate in the election processes of our government.

It might be that the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council has not come to your attention. After you shall have read the enclosed V.E.P. Newsletter, you will have a better idea of the kind of work that we are presently doing.

May I just explain at this point that the V.E.P. has as its objective, the business of encouraging registration in the Negro community, and studying the techniques used and the successes gained. In doing this, we have two basic plans of sponsorship that we call Plan A and Plan B.

> PLAN A covers those community programs for which the V.E.P. supplies to an existing organization the money that it determines would be necessary to conduct an effective registration drive. Sponsorship under Plan A, of course, means that the organization must meet certain standards such as leadership, registration experience, availability, willingness and capacity of workers, and community potential registration.

PLAN B is designed to govern those communities that cannot, at the time, meet the standards required of Plan A. Under Plan B, the V.E.P. makes available expert professional advice on how to conduct a registration drive, along with the necessary printed literature made to your order. In the area of literature, the V.E.P. supplies Registration Kits which contains a general instruction book and samples of hand bills, mass meeting programs, canvass forms, display cards for businesses and many other pieces that can be ordered in quanity without cost.

Now that we have, in a general way, placed before you our purpose and plan, may we request that you read our newsletter and then fill out and mail the enclosed card? We need your reaction to this communication in order to continue our work effectively.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Very truly yours,

Mr. Wiley Branton:

I have read your description of the V.E.P. Program.

( ) I am interested ( ) I am not interested.

I would like to communicate with you further relative to:

( ) Plan A ( ) Plan B

Please communicate with:

Miss
Mr. _____
Mrs.

Address _____

City and State _____

( ) I would like to receive the V.E.P. Newsletter monthly.

_____

This is a list of cities in the eleven (11) southern states with a population of more than 10,000. Of this list, there are 340 cities in which we have no activity. These cities alone with 160 college campuses would serve as a basis for the 500 Plan "B" projects

ALABAMA

CITY	POPULATION
Alexander City	13,140
Andalusia	10,263
✗ Anniston	33,657
Auburn	16,261
✗ Bessemer	33,054
✗ Birmingham	340,887
Chickasaw	10,002
Cullman	10,883
Decatur	29,217
Dothan	31,440
Enterprise	11,410
Fairfield	15,816
Florence	31,649
✗ Gadsden	58,088
Homewood	20,641
✗ Huntsville	72,365
Jasper	10,799
Mobile	202,779
Montgomery	134,393
Mountain Brook	12,680
Opelika	15,678
Phenix City	27,630
Prichard	47,371
✗ Selma	28,385
Sheffield	13,491
Sylacauga	12,857
Talledega	17,742
Troy	10,234
Tuscaloosa	63,370

ARKANSAS

Benton	10,399
Blytheville	20,797
Camden	15,823
Conway	12,500
El Dorado City	25,292
Fayetteville	20,274
Forrest City	10,544
Fort Smith	63,309
Helena	11,500
Hot Springs	28,337

Arkansas (cont.)

Jacksonville	14,488
Jonesboro	21,418
✗Little Rock	107,813
Magnolia	10,651
North Little Rock	58,665
Pine Bluff	44,037
Springdale	11,895
Texarkana	19,788
West Memphis	19,374

FLORIDA

Bartow	12,849
Belle Glade	11,273
Boynton Beach	10,467
Bradenton	19,380
Brownsville	38,417
Carol City	21,749
✗Clearwater	34,653
Cocoa	12,294
Coral Gables	34,793
Daytona Beach	37,395
De Land	10,755
Delray Beach	12,230
Eau Gallie	12,300
Fort Lauderdale	83,648
Fort Myers	22,523
Fort Pierce	25,256
Fort Walton Beach	12,147
✗Gainesville	29,701
Hallandale	10,483
Haileah	66,972
Hollywood	35,237
✗Jacksonville	201,030
Jacksonville Beach	12,049
Key West	33,956
Lakeland	41,350
Lake Worth	20,758
Leesburg	11,172
Melbourne	11,982
✗Miami	291,688
Miami Beach	63,145
Miami Springs	11,229
North Miami	28,708
North Miami Beach	21.405

Florida (cont.)

Ocala	13,598
✗Orlando	88,135
Palatka	11,028
Panama City	33,275
Pensacola	56,752
Pinellas Park	10,848
Plant City	15,711
Pompano Beach	15,992
Riviera Beach	13,046
St. Augustine	14,734
✗St. Petersburg	181,298
Sanford	19,175
Sarasota	34,083
✗Tallahassee	48,174
✗Tampa	274,970
Warrington	16,752
West Palm Beach	56,208
Westwood Lakes	22,517
✗Winter Haven	16,277
Winter Park	17,162

GEORGIA

✗Albany	55,890
Americus	13,472
Athens	31,355
✗Atlanta	487,455
✗Augusta	70,626
Bainbridge	12,714
Brunswick	21,703
Carrollton	10,973
College Park	23,469
✗Columbus	116,779
Cordele	10,609
Dalton	17,868
Decatur	22,026
Dublin	13,814
East Point	35,633
Forest Park	14,201
Gainesville	16,523
Griffin	21,735
Hapeville	10,082
La Grange	23,632
Macon	122,876
Marietta	25,565
Midway-Hardwick	16,909
Milledgeville	11,117
Moultrie	15,764
Newnan	12,169

Georgia (cont.)

North Atlanta	12,661
Rome	32,226
Savannah	149,245
Smyrna	10,157 (10,157)
Thomasville	18,246
Valdosta	30,652
Warner Robins	18,633
Waycross	20,944

LOUISIANA

Abbeville	10,414
Alexandria	40,279
Bastrop	15,193
Baton Rouge	152,419
Bogalusa	21,423
Bossier City	32,776
Crowley	15,617
Eunice	11,326
Goosport	16,778
Gretna	21,967
Hammond	10,563
Houna	29,772
Jefferson Heights	19,353
Jennings	11,887
Kenner	17,037
Lafayette	40,400
Lake Charles	63,392
Minden	12,785
Monroe	52,219
Morgan City	13,540
Natchitoches	13,924
New Iberia	29,062
New Orleans	627,525
Opelousas	17,417
Ruston	13,991
Shreveport	164,372
Sulphur	11,429
West Monroe	15,215

MISSISSIPPI

Biloxi	44,053
Clarksdale	21,105
Cleveland	10,172
Columbus	24,771
Greenville	41,502

Mississippi (cont.)

Corinth	11,453
Greenwood	20,436
Gulfpprt	30,204
Hattisburg	34,989
Jackson	144,422
Laurel	27,889
McComb	12.020
Meridian	49,374
Natchez	23,791
Pascagoula	17,155
Tupelo	17,221
Vicksburg	29,130
Yazoo	11,236

NORTH CAROLINA

Albemarie	12,261
Asheville	60,192
Burlington	33,199
Chapel Hill	12,573
Charlotte	201,564
Concord	17,799
Durham	78,302
Elizabeth City	14,062
Fayetteville	47,106
Gastonia	37,276
Goldsboro	28,873
Greensboro	119,574
Greenville	22,860
Henderson	12,740
Hickory	19,328
High Point	62,063
Jacksonville	13,491
Kannapolis	34,647'
Kinston	24,819
Lenoir	10,257
Lexington	16,093
Lumberton	15,305
Monroe	10,882
New Bern	15,717
Raleigh	93,931
Reidsville	14,267
Roanoke Rapids	13,320
Rocky Mount	32,147
Salisbury	21,297
Sanford	12,253

North Carolina (cont.)

Shelby	17,698
Statesville	19,844
Thomasville	15,190
Wilmington	44,013
Wilson	28,753
Winston-Salem	111,135

SOUTH CAROLINA

Orangeburg	13,852
Rock Hill	29,404
Spartanburg	44,352
Sumter	23,062
Union	10,191

TENNESSEE

Athens	12,103
Chattanooga	130,009
Bristol	17,582
Clarksdale	22,021
Cleveland	16,196
Columbia	17,624
Donelson	17,195
Dyersburg	12,499
East Ridge	19,570
Elizabethton	10,896
Fountain City	10,365
Greeneville	11,759
Inglewood	26,527
Jackson	34,376
Johnson City	31,187
Kingsport	26,314
Knoxville	111,827
Lebanon	10,512
Madison	13,583
Maryville	10,348
Memphis	497,524
Morristown	21,267
Murfreesboro	18,991
Nashville	170,874
Oak Ridge	27,169
Red Bank-White Oak	10,777
Shelbyville	10,466
Tullahoma	12,242
Whitehaven	13,894
Woodbine-Radnor-Glencliff	14,485
Woodmont-Green Hills-Glendale	23,161

TEXAS

Abilene	45,570
Alice	20,861
Amarillo	137,969
Andrews	11,135
Arlington	44,775
Arlington	44,775
Austin	186,545
Bay City	11,656
Baytown	28,159
Beaumont	119,175
Beeville	13,811
Bellaire	19,872
Big Spring	31,230
Borger	20,911
Brownfield	10,286
Brownsville	48,040
Bryan	27,542
Cleburne	15,381
College Station	11,396
Corpus Christi	167,690
Corsicana	20,344
Dallas	679,684
Del Rio	18,612
Denison	22,748
Denton	26,844
Eagle Pass	12,094
Edinburg	18,706
El Paso	276,687
Farmers Branch	13,441
✗Fort Worth	356,268
Freeport	11,619
Gainesville	13,083
Galena Park	10,852
Galveston	67,175
Garland	38,501
Grand Prairie	30,386
Greenville	19,087
Groves	17,304
Harlingen	41,207
Highland Park	10,411
Houston	938,219
Huntsville	11,999
Hurst	10,165
Irving	45,985
Kermit	10,465
Kilgore	10,092
Killeen	23,377
Kingsville	25,297
La Marque	13,969
Lamesa	12,438

Texas (cont.)

Laredo	60,678
Levelland	10,153
Longview	40,050
Lubbock	128,691
Lufkin	17,641
McAllen	32,728
Mc Kinney	13,763
Marshall	23,846
Mercedes	10,943
Mesquite	27,526
Midland	62,625
Mineral Wells	11,053
Mission	14,081
Nacogdoches	12,674
Nederland	12,036
New Braunfels	15,631
Odessa	80,338
Orange	25,605
Palestine	13,974
Pampa	24,664
Paris	20,977
Pasadena	58,737
Pecos	12,728
Pharr	14,106
Plainview	18,735
Port Arthur	66,676
Richardson	16,810
Robstown	10,266
San Angelo	58,815
San Antonio	587,718
San Benito	16,422
San Marcos	12,713
Seguin	14,299
Snyder	13,850
Sweetwater	13,914
Temple	30,419
Terrell	13,803
Texarkana	30,218
Texas City	32,065
Tyler	51,230
University Park	23,202
Uvalde	10,293
Vernon	12,141
Victoria	33,047

Texas (cont.)

Waco	97,808
Waxahachie	12,749
Weslaco	15,649
West University Place	14,628
White Settlement	11,513
Wichita Falls	101,724

VIRGINIA

Alexandria	91,023
Bristol	17,144
Charlottesville	29,427
Covington	11,062
Danville	46,577
Fairfax	13,585
Falls Church	10,192
Fredericksburg	13,639
Hampton	89,258
Harrisonburg	11,916
Hopewell	17,895
Lynchburg	54,790
Martinsville	18,798
Newport News	113,662
Norfolk	304,869
Petersburg	36,750
Portsmouth	144,773
Pulaski	10,469
Richmond	219,958
Roanoke	97,110
Salem	16,058
South Norfolk	
Springfield	10,783
Staunton	22,232
Suffolk	12,609
Vienna	11,440
Waynesboro	15,694
Winchester	15,110

js

SECTION III.

Without waiting for conclusive evidence as to what the problems are that have worked against the registration of large numbers of Negroes, it is possible to proceed with certainty knowing that fear and a feeling of inferiority will be on the list. With this attitude, I would propose that we begin now to try some approaches to ~~for~~ dealing with these problems.

For example, at the turn of the century, several university departments of history, notable among these, Columbia, felt called upon to misstate the facts of Negro participation in government during the reconstruction period. As a result, there is not a single outstanding American history book on the market that does not say that the Negro men that occupied government offices of that period were fools, and that they did the country a great disservice. This simply is not true. The legislation enacted by those men was, in most cases, of high caliber and quite fundamental. Many of the men were very well trained, having attended leading universities both in and out of this country. But of course, these misstatements of facts have served well to engender a feeling of inferiority. I feel that if this feeling of inferiority was attacked by a presentation of the facts, we would be on the way to doing a real job of setting the Negro community on the right track. At the same time, we could do a job of political education by pointing up the kind of legislation that these men stood for.

This attack could be made through the distribution of little booklets on the life and work of these men. If we had the equipment for printing them, it is possible that we could prepare them at a cost of about three cents each. I feel that it would be possible at such a price to get outside organizations to assume the cost.

SECTION VI.

At some several places in the memo, I have made reference to the desirability of establishing a printing shop to serve the needs of SRC, VEP and possibly other civil rights organizations. The only thing remaining for me, then, is to set forth the cost for such a venture:

Press	$3,900.00
Camera	500.00
Folder	500.00
Printer	279.00
Headliner	300.00
Operating supplies	223.00
	$6,000.00

I should think that if are able to get an additional man to work on the proposed Plan "B", then he might also become the chief operator of this equipment.

A sample instruction book on registration drives

1963

CITIZENSHIP CLINIC

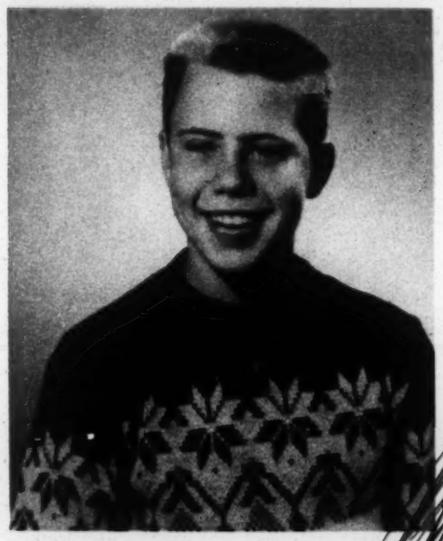
HEADQUARTERS: 243 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA, GA.

Southern Regional Council

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

NEWSLETTER

Volume 1 JANUARY Number 9



Dick Hult Named Outstanding Senior

The Senior Class of 1956 has selected Dick Hult as their outstanding student.

Dick, a handsome 17-year old, is a native of Hometown. He is a graduate of Roosevelt Grade School, and transferred to City High in his Junior year from Boone High School.

Dick is a member of the Debating Club, and just recently was awarded the Debater's Plaque as the leading High School Debater in Brown County. He competed with over 150 boys and girls to win this award.

Besides being a member of the Debating Club, Dick also belongs to the Science Club, the Camera Club, and the band. He is also fond of all sports and is a member of City High's basketball team.

After graduation in June, he plans on attending State College where he will major in Chemical Engineering.

Language Club Plans Banquet

The foreign language club is planning a Roman Banquet for Tuesday, January 31st.

Everyone attending will dress in the costume of the country of his language. Each class will contribute a part of the entertainment.

Committees have been formed with Jane Clark, in charge of the music; Betty Bock, food preparation; Nancy Haney, entertainment; Veronica Joyce, place cards; and Frank Welch, program.

Roman slaves of the first year Latin class will serve the dinner.

Driving Classes Begin at City High

The long-awaited car for City High's safety education classes was delivered during the month of December.

The car is a two-tone green four door Deluxe model, equipped with an automatic transmission.

Lessons in driving will begin Wednesday, February 1st. All students who wish to enroll for driving lessons, should register in the Principal's office on Monday, January 16th.

Phantoms Beat City 76-60

The Phantoms spoiled City High's chance of winning their last home game by using their superior height to defeat City High 76-60. The Phantoms jumped off to an early lead and were in command for most of the first quarter, but Jim Carter pulled City High up to within eight points at the half. The third quarter almost proved to be the downfall of The Phantoms when City High got within two points, but could not close the margin.

Notre Dame Conf

EXCERPTS FROM REPORT OF THE U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, 1959

FOR RELEASE AT NOON (EASTERN DAYLIGHT TIME) TUESDAY SEPT. 8, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL: The attached material from a report to the President and the Congress by the Commission on Civil Rights MUST BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, [illegible], or intimation may be published or given out until noon, Eastern Daylight time, Tuesday, September 8, 1959.

CAUTION: Related hints and leads to radio and television commentators and announcers as well as to the press. Extreme care must be exercised to avoid premature publication.

John A. Hannah
Chairman

COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

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4 - Notre Dame Conf.

JOHN BRADEMAS
3D DISTRICT, INDIANA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

April 8, 1960

File
Notre Dame Conf.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I would like to tell you how very much I appreciated your participation in the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights last month.

The sessions were most valuable in illuminating some of the major civil rights issues with which Congress has been wrestling these last several weeks.

Here are two reprints of the proceedings of the conference for your files.

Again, thank you for your time and effort.

Cordially,

John

JOHN BRADEMAS
Member of Congress

4- Notre Dame Conf.

Notre Dame Conf.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

August 22, 1962

AUG 24 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

I am taking the liberty of sending you separately a copy of the preliminary manuscript of my school desegregation book. Knopf has expressed an interest in publishing it but I am anxious for reactions from knowledgeable people before we lock up the final copy.

You may keep the copy and please feel under no obligation even to read it - though I'd welcome any comments you may have regarding tone or content.

Hope you have had a pleasant Summer.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

4- Notre Dame Conf.

Leslie: I'm real pleased! Bill

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

WB— the list on the back will interest you; a couple have not yet accepted

MA - file

December 5, 1962

Mr. John Feild
Executive Director
The President's Committee on
Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear John:

I am delighted at the report from Leslie Dunbar that you may be able to attend our off-the-record conference at the Notre Dame Law School, February 8-11, 1963.

The conference grows out of a concern that there is a real need for developing and bringing to public attention some informed and reasonably objective opinion regarding civil rights legislation. Legislative proposals for civil rights have only rarely been the product of relatively detached and informed consideration. Rather, they have been cast as hurried reactions to demands and denials and too often have failed to account for intimately related problems which remain unyielding.

What is proposed here is a modest start toward bringing the insights of law, political science, and economics to the analysis of civil rights issues. Although we believe that the program will be vaulable in itself, we hope further that it may contribute importantly to continuing and institutionalized interest in the study of public policy issues in civil rights and racial relations.

The conference will be a quiet meeting from February 8 through February 11 to which a small group of informed and involved people are invited. The meeting will have two chief purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to Congress as to three topics:

(a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as school desegregation;

(b) Voting; and

(c) Employment.

The second purpose will involve a final agenda item to be considered on the fourth day, taking up the question of what can be done--or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations--to provide

continuing professional interest and study in the public policy aspects of race relations.

The conference will be limited, as noted, to Congressional issues and to only three of them. This is dictated both by considerations of priority and feasibility. The limitation does not mean that we do not recognize the need for likewise organizing and furthering objective analysis of state and local policies and legislation, and for study of executive policies at the various governmental levels.

Not later than early January, you will receive copies of three discussion papers. These papers will undertake to (a) outline legislative problems; (b) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (c) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and (d) present the author's recommendations. These papers will serve to direct and organize discussion. They will not limit or control the conclusions of you and other conferees.

The discussion papers will be written by:

(Education)	Professor G. W. Foster, Jr. University of Wisconsin, Law School;
(Voting)	Wiley A. Branton Voter Education Project, Atlanta
(Employment)	Professor Daniel Pollitt University of North Carolina, Law School.

Following the meeting, a reporter will pull together the material and present the judgments and consensus reached for publication in the Notre Dame Lawyer. Except to indicate who were the conferees, the report will not attribute ideas to named individuals.

The mid-February 1963 meeting date occurs after the new Congress convenes and, of course, after the Administration has made whatever general commitment it may choose to make in the State of the Union message to the Congress of that year. While a good case can be made for having recommendations available early enough that the Administration could have them in hand when deciding on the position to be taken in the State of the Union message, there are distinct advantages in holding the conference in February of 1963, since legislative proposals from the Administration and others may then be in hand by the time the conference is convened.

A few words about the second purpose of the conference--discussion of means to provide for continuing professional interest in civil rights policy--are appropriate. We contemplate that this matter will be informally discussed throughout the conference, and that the concluding conference session will be devoted to it. Following the conference, we shall solicit the written views of each conferee, summarize them, and circulate to selected law deans and foundation executives. It is our hope that such a memorandum will be useful to these people in framing their policies and in reviewing proposals for curriculum development or grants.

Invitees include:

Carl Auerbach, University of Minnesota Law School
Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project
Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council
John Feild, Washington, D. C.
Harold C. Fleming, Potomac Institute
G. W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School
Eli Ginzberg, Columbia University
Vivian Henderson, Fisk University (on research leave to be at North Carolina State University, 1962-1963)
Paul Norgren, Princeton University
Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School
John Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union
Daniel Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School
John Silard, attorney, Washington, D. C.
McNeill Smith, attorney, Greensboro, North Carolina
Michael Sovern, Columbia University Law School
Daniel Thompson, Dillard University
John Wheeler, attorney and banker, Durham, North Carolina.

I very much hope you can come. I do suggest that you drop a line to Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School, indicating your acceptance of the invitation.

Faithfully,

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

December 12, 1962

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
The University of Wisconsin
Law School
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the Civil Rights U.S.A./ Public Schools Southern States 1962.

I expect to be able to send you my draft for the Civil Rights Seminar very shortly.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

November 15, 1962

DEC 4 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Branton~~: Wiley:

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of a set of field reports on school desegregation just published by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. They were made by a group of law professors and, I believe, represent the most valuable contribution thus far in spelling out the actual mechanics by which school desegregation has taken place in a number of communities.

Sincerely,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

nll

SM

~~10-22-62~~
~~10-29-62~~
~~10-31-62~~
~~11-5-62~~
~~11-12-62~~
~~11-21-62~~
~~11-26-62~~
~~11-30-62~~
~~12-6-62~~
12-10-62

October 17, 1962

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
The University of Wisconsin Law School
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I am quite willing to tackle the job of coming up with a draft by mid-December for the paper on voting for the Notre Dame conference on civil rights legislation. Les Dunbar had discussed this with me a few weeks back.

Les has been a little ill for the past few days and I have not had an opportunity to talk with him about reproduction of the draft, but I am certain that we can get together on this.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

October 11, 1962

OCT 15 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Leslie Dunbar has talked with you about a background paper for the Notre Dame conference on civil rights legislation. I very much hope that you will undertake to prepare for us the paper on the voting question.

I have checked this out at Notre Dame and Dean O'Meara is most anxious to have you do the job for us if you can find the time for it. My off hand reaction is that you should shoot for a completion date of your draft of mid-December. This will enable us to get the thing reproduced and distributed to invitees with ample time for them to submit to the group any comments or suggestions they may wish to make that grow out of things you have said or failed to say.

Discuss with Leslie the question of reproduction and mailing costs for all of this. I assume that SRC can pick up the tab on all of this. If there is a question about it, however, let me know and I will see what we can do to raise the additional money required to carry it off.

I am tickled pink that you can do the job.

Cordially,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Notre Dame Law School

Notre Dame, Indiana

August 30, 1962

Office of the Dean

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Conference
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

I was away when the good news came that you would participate in our Conference on Civil Rights Legislation. I am delighted. Regarding details, you will hear further from me in due course.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw

August 7, 1962

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

I am pleased to accept your invitation to participate in a conference on civil rights legislation to be held at Notre Dame, February 8 to February 11.

Les Dunbar had discussed with me the possibility of such a conference taking place.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the Dean

August 2, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

You are most cordially invited to participate in a conference on civil-rights legislation to be held here from February 8 through 11. The plan and purpose of the conference are described in the accompanying memorandum. While here you will be our guest at the Morris Inn, on the campus, and we will cover your travel expense to the extent it is not otherwise reimbursable.

I shall be away from Notre Dame for a couple of weeks beginning Monday, August 6. However, Professor G. W. Foster of the University of Wisconsin Law School and Dr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council have been working very closely with me on the conference and, in fact, have done the preliminary planning. If you have any questions about the conference, I am sure Dr. Dunbar will be glad to discuss them with you.

I hope very much for a favorable reply.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

Joseph O'Meara

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw
Encl.

NOTRE DAME CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

The conference grows out of a concern that there is a real need for developing and bringing to public attention some informed and reasonably objective opinion regarding civil-rights legislation. Legislative proposals for civil rights have only rarely been the product of relatively detached and informed consideration. Rather, they have been cast as hurried reactions to demands and denials and too often have failed to account for intimately related problems.

What is proposed here is a modest start toward bringing the insights of law, political science and economics to the analysis of civil-rights legislative issues. Although we believe that the program will be valuable in itself, we hope further that it may contribute importantly to continuing and institutionalized interest in the study of public-policy issues in civil rights and racial relations.

The conference will be a quiet meeting from February 8 through February 11, to which a small group of informed and involved people are being invited. The meeting will have two chief purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to Congress as to three topics:

(a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as school desegregation);

(b) Voting; and

(c) Employment.

The second purpose will involve a final agenda item to be considered on the fourth day, taking up the question of what can be done - or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations - to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public-policy aspects of race relations.

The conference will be limited, as noted, to Congressional issues and to only three of them. This is dictated both by considerations of priority and feasibility. The limitation does not mean that we do not recognize the need for likewise organizing and furthering objective analysis of state and local policies and legislation, and for study of executive policies at the various governmental levels.

Not later than early January, you will receive copies of three discussion papers. These papers will undertake to (a) outline legislative problems; (b) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (c) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and (d) present the author's recommendations. The papers will serve to direct and organize discussion; but will not limit or control the conclusions of the conferees.

Following the meeting, a reporter will pull together the material and present the judgments and consensus reached for publication in the Notre Dame Lawyer. Except to indicate who were the conferees, the report will not attribute ideas to named individuals.

The mid-February, 1963 meeting date occurs after the new Congress convenes and, of course, after the Administration has made whatever general commitment it may choose to make in the State of the Union message to the Congress of that year. While a good case can be made for having recommendations available early enough so that the Administration could have them in hand when deciding on the position to be taken in the State of the Union message, there are distinct advantages in holding the conference in February of 1963, since legislative proposals from the Administration and others may then be in hand by the time the conference is convened.

A few words about the second purpose of the conference - discussion of means to provide for continuing professional interest in civil-rights policy - are appropriate. We contemplate that this matter will be informally discussed throughout the conference, and that the concluding conference session will be devoted to it. Following the conference, we shall solicit the written views of each conferee, summarize them, and circulate to selected law deans and foundation executives. It is our hope that such a memorandum will be useful to these people in framing their policies and in reviewing proposals for curriculum development or grants.

Invitees include, among others:

Charles Black, Yale Law School
Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project
Wylie Davis, University of Illinois Law School
Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council
Harold C. Fleming, Potomac Institute
G. W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School
Eli Ginzberg, Columbia University
Alexander Heard, Vanderbilt University
Vivian Henderson, Fisk University (on research leave at North Carolina State University, 1962-1963)
Donald Matthews, University of North Carolina
Paul Norgren, Princeton University
John Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union
Louis Pollak, Yale Law School
Daniel Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School
John Silard, attorney, Washington, D. C.
McNeill Smith, attorney, Greensboro, North Carolina
Daniel Thompson, Dillard University
John Wheeler, attorney and banker, Durham, North Carolina
Avon Williams, attorney, Nashville, Tennessee

Memo from **JEAN T. LEVINE**

12/21/62

Would you care to work today on your background paper for Notre Dame conference?

Can I help you in any way?

RES IPSA LOQUITOR

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

January 4, 1963

JAN 8 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

I write this letter in conjunction with the forthcoming off-the-record meeting at the Notre Dame Law School, February 8-11, 1963. As had been indicated in previous correspondence with you, it is planned to furnish background memoranda on the subjects of education, employment and voting to furnish a starting place for discussion at the meeting.

Responsibility for the memorandum on education has fallen to me. To this end, I am having sent to you directly from the Commission on Civil Rights copies of two volumes recently published which report field studies of school segregation in a number of communities across the country. In all likelihood you will not have an opportunity to read them in their entirety, although I would suggest in particular that you attempt to read in full the report on New Rochelle commencing at page 29 in the volume dealing with public schools in the North and West, and the report on Virginia commencing in the Southern volume at page 155.

In addition to these materials, I hope to send you shortly a comprehensive memorandum treating questions of present federal involvement in school segregation and recommendations which have been made for further federal participation.

I would like to urge you to pass along any suggestions you may have which you think should be distributed to the invitees in advance of our arrival at Notre Dame. I will be more than happy to undertake responsibility for distributing them.

It will be good to see you at Notre Dame.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

P.S. You will have received one or both of the field reports earlier. The purpose of sending this second set is simply to give you something which you can carry to the Notre Dame meeting.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

January 15, 1963

JAN 17 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

I am enclosing a copy of the list used for distribution of the background papers intended for the Notre Dame conference. You will note that Berl Bernhard's name is also on the list. This comes at Berl's request, and Dean O'Meara has told him that he comes as a visitor rather than as a participant. (I am not quite sure I know what the distinction means, for I seriously doubt that Berl will keep silent, or that we would make him do so under the circumstances.)

It will be good seeing you.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

JAN 21 1963

January 16, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Enclosed is a copy of the background paper for education problems to be used at the Notre Dame conference, February 8 through 11.

We are running only a limited number of these, and I would very much appreciate your bringing this copy with you to the meeting.

It will be good to see you then.

Sincerely,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Enclosure

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

FEB 1 1963

January 28, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I thought it might be helpful to send to all participants in the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights Legislation some mechanical details about the meeting. The conference is to begin at 9:00 a.m. on Friday, February 8th and will conclude on Monday, February 11th. I would appreciate it if you would advise me of your travel plans so that I may make final arrangements at the Morris Inn on the university campus.

The conference will be a quiet meeting from February 8 through February 11, to which a small group of informed and involved people are being invited. The meeting will have two chief purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to Congress as to three topics:

(a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as school desegregation);

(b) Voting; and

(c) Employment.

The second purpose will involve a final agenda item to be considered on the fourth day, taking up the question of what can be done - or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations - to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public-policy aspects of race relations.

The conference will be limited, as noted, to Congressional issues and to only three of them. This is dictated both by considerations of priority and feasibility. The limitation does not mean that we do not recognize the need for likewise organizing and furthering objective analysis of state and local policies and legislation, and for study of executive policies at the various governmental levels.

Prior to the conference you will receive copies of three discussion papers. These papers will undertake to (a) outline legislative problems; (b) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (c) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and (d) present the author's recommendations. The paper will serve to direct and organize discussion; but will not limit or control the conclusions of the conferees.

Following the meeting, a reporter will pull together the material and present the judgment and consensus reached for publication in the Notre Dame Lawyer. Except to indicate who were the conferees, the report will not attribute ideas to named individuals.

A few words about the second purpose of the conference - discussion of means to provide for continuing professional interest in civil-rights policy - are appropriate. We contemplate that this matter will be informally discussed throughout the conference, and that the concluding conference session will be devoted to it. Following the conference, we shall solicit the written views of each conferee, summarize them, and circulate to selected law deans and foundation executives. It is our hope that such a memorandum will be useful to these people in framing their policies and in reviewing proposals for curriculum development or grants.

While here you will be our guest at the Morris Inn and we will cover your travel expense to the extent it is not otherwise reimbursable.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Joseph O'Meara

JOSEPH O'MEARA cs

Dean

JO'M:es

February 5, 1963

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

Thank you for your letter of January 28, 1963 regarding the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights Legislation which will begin at 9:00 a.m. on Friday, February 8.

I plan to arrive at South Bend on United Airlines Flight #421 from Newark at 9:25 p.m. on February 7, 1963. In checking with Leslie Dunbar I note that he will arrive in South Bend on Transworld Airlines Flight #312 at 4:27 p.m. on February 7.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

CONFIDENTIAL DRAFT

This is the report of a conference on problems of Congressional civil rights legislation held at the Notre Dame University Law School February 8 - 10, 1963. By pleasurable coincidence, as the report was completed Congress had already before it a civil rights bill backed by unusually strong Presidential support.

This circumstance has had, of course, its difficult side for the preparers of this report, the least of which has been revising an earlier draft in order to take account of the Administration's measure. In fact, most of the provisions of the President's proposal (except Title II) were debated, at least in general terms, by the conference, and a consensus reached about them.

A more basic difficulty will be apparent when we note that the working premise of the Notre Dame Conference, as laid down by Dean Joseph O'Meara in our first session, was that we should frame recommendations without regard to anyone's views of their political chances. This is, therefore, a report of the consensus we reached as to what Congress should pass, not as to what it possibly or probably might pass.

We continue to believe that this was a sound approach. We do, of course, recognize that the legislative decision this year will be made on the Administration's bill. Perhaps, nevertheless, what is reported here will be helpful to Congress as it deliberates, and will help the country

understand better the problems and the results which may be expected from various legislative approaches to them.

The conference was limited to three subjects: schools, employment, and voting. We have, therefore, no recommendations or reflections to report on the public accommodations part of the President's program (Title II).

This report states the consensus of the conference. The extent of agreement was impressive, and except at a few points the consensus was well-nigh perfect. This was all the more notable, because many differing views had been brought to the meetings.

The conferees, in addition to Dean O'Meara, were Carl A. Auerbach, University of Minnesota Law School; Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project; Thomas F. Broden, Jr., Notre Dame Law School; Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council; John G. Feild, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; Harold C. Fleming, The Potomac Institute; G. W. Foster, Jr., Law School, University of Wisconsin; Eli Ginzberg, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University; Vivian W. Henderson, Economics, Fisk University; Paul H. Norgren, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University; John de J. Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union; Daniel H. Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School; John Silard, Attorney, Washington, D. C.; Michael I. Sovern, Columbia University School of Law; William Taylor, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights; John H. Wheeler, Attorney, Durham, North Carolina.

We had also the benefit of consultation with President Hesburgh, and the gracious, friendly hospitality of the Notre Dame campus.

INTRODUCTION

The crisis of America's race relations has become almost unbearably intense, and its causes are interlaced with countless characteristics of our history and our social structure. These are propositions for which any elaboration, at this time, would be redundant.

The present crisis is not the first in our history. Crises in race relations, as in the other relationships of men with men, are not necessarily caused by worsened conditions; the opposite may in fact be so. But as long as the relationships enclose and nurture discontent on one or both sides, periodic crises will occur. The present crisis is far less brutal and violent than that of 1917 - 1921. It has probably been accompanied by no deeper or more widespread moral self-scrutiny, religious debate, or intellectual and literary study than went with the racial crisis of Civil War days.

Those crises passed, and after each the condition of Negro Americans was still bad. What is primarily different about the present crisis is that it is not likely to pass, until a new equilibrium acceptable to Negroes is reached. Earlier crises ended when white people tired of them; this one will not.

The pressure of this fact, or perhaps the realization of it, has much to do with creating the contemporary emotional urgings of both Negroes and whites, the all too facile bandying about of such concepts as "hatred" and "revolution," and the obsessive over-valuation of the strength

of the Black Muslims. On the other hand, prudence, if nothing else, dictates the working assumption that no person has reason to have an attachment to a constitutional system if its processes fail to provide meaning and reality to its guarantees.

If Congress had no other reason to act to end the crisis, this would be sufficient: unless the crisis is overcome, the Constitution as we know it will bend. Concepts such as federalism, and universal obedience to the courts, and Presidential deference to the legislative will of Congress, have already been affected. There are reasons at least as good, and some of us will think even better, for Congressional action: these have to do with justice and friendship and religion. But Congress has a special responsibility to defend and protect the Constitution.

There is a truth known to political wisdom at least as long ago as Aristotle, and that is that a healthy, sound polity cannot tolerate distinctions of citizenship. To perpetuate, by law or by fact, classes of citizens is to breed an unendurable and enlarging malignancy in our national life. As Attorney-General Kennedy has said, to "thwart thousands of our fellow Americans from participating fully in the process of our government is to weaken [civic] vigor and to dilute their faith, and we cannot afford it."*

*As quoted in the New York Times, May 6, 1962.

Race relations have always been heavily dependent on law and public policy. Custom and law have mutually bred and supported each other. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has summarized the history of one segment of the public policy toward Negroes; viz. the policy of the national government through its three branches.* A reading of this summary is instructive. It can suggest to us something of the dimensions of Negro alienation -- a coerced, not a voluntary, alientation -- from the mainstream of American life and thought. For example, a Negro can hardly look back on Woodrow Wilson with the warmth shared now by most white Americans. Moreover, even a brief exposure to history will show how often and how seriously Negro interests not only have been subordinated by Congress, President, and courts to other interests but have been damaged by their pursuit.

The classic example is, of course, the compromise of 1877. There may well have been a national interest in the removal of troops from the South; the interest of Negroes was opposed. But more frequent occasions for national policies prejudicial, at least in some ways, to the interests of Negroes have come with the modern growth of the federal government. New Deal legislation had the effect of institutionalizing and hardening segregation in some fields, such

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*Freedom to the Free, pp. 30-199.

as housing; of creating new and profitable inducements to discriminate in other fields, such as agricultural subsidies.

The explosion of social consciousness that took place under President Roosevelt, the elan with which the country tested its democratic faith, have been a positive and equally strong legacy of the New Deal. Mr. Roosevelt was the first President since Grant to give Negro citizens any sound reason for trusting the national government and for believing that it had a concern for their welfare. The war-time FEPC, the establishment of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, and its diligent combat of lynching were other Rooseveltian services.

The truly decisive turn in federal policy came, however, during the administration of President Truman. There were three developments which we sorely need to recall and understand, because they helped greatly to produce as well as define present issues.

The integration of the Army during the Korean War was the first large experience with integration the American people, white or Negro, had ever known. It was accomplished by executive fiat and it worked in a practical way: both of these points were better observed by Negroes than by whites.

The Truman Doctrine preempted for the United States the active leadership of the West and thrust us into world-wide competition with the Soviet Union. Henceforth, our

polity would be under international inspection, and our own diplomacy would be increasingly needful of the good opinion of foreign peoples, many of whom were humanly eager to denigrate us because of our political pre-eminence.

But perhaps most decisive of all was appointment of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and Mr. Truman's unwavering espousal of its recommendations even at the cost of a party split at the Democratic convention of 1948. No political act since the compromise of 1877 has so profoundly influenced race relations; in a sense, it was the repeal of 1877. Among the consequences were (a) a shift of emphasis from Negro "uplift" -- essentially a paternalistic approach -- to civil rights, i.e., the achievement of more than nominal citizenship; (b) a renewal of the fateful rupture between South and non-South; and (c) the ensuing complications for economic and social reform by statute.

In retrospect, President Truman's action was timely and profoundly beneficial. For the southern support which made his reforms possible, Wilson had paid the full price; Roosevelt paid somewhat less, but he paid. There was something deeply immoral about purchasing reforms, which benefitted white persons relatively more than Negroes, at the price of continued suppression of Negro rights.

The corollary is, however, that since 1948, law-making for domestic problems has fallen into desuetude. No President can

lead, and no Congressional majority exists to enact -- only to defeat -- economic and social proposals. The presence of the civil rights problem has been permitted to thwart the progress of domestic policies.

President Truman forced us, as a people, to confront ourselves, and examine the integrity of our principles. His successors have coped with the results of that self-examination. During President Eisenhower's terms, the first civil rights legislation since 1875 was enacted, in 1957, and strengthened three years later. His military intervention in Arkansas, although inexpediently carried out, manifested the determination and the capability of the Presidency. His Department of Justice began successfully the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, and in New Orleans in 1960 developed the pattern which has been followed since of defense of the integrity of the federal courts.

President Kennedy has achieved much, very much, by an extensive and imaginative use of executive power. He has also lifted his Administration to a new and higher commitment to civil rights, a magnificent and unsurpassed achievement.

But such heavy reliance on executive action has not only its limits but its very real danger. Entirely apart from any question of the overstepping of authority, there is the risk of obliterating the responsibility of Congress. Prompt and well-conceived Congressional action in response to Mr. Kennedy's

message of June 19, 1963 will re-commit the country to justice, strengthen its economic well-being, and restore its honor: it will also secure the Constitution.*

Political science distinghishes between the "deliberative" and the "representative" functions of a legislature. Congress is our representative body, and there is no other which can so express and certify the national will. As long as Congress is silent, civil rights has something of a bootleg aspect. Congress has not been altogether silent. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 and the poll tax amendment are of value, but at the most they give protection, and a laggard one at that, for but one right. What the country urgently needs, and what American constitutionalism is weakened by the absence of, is an unambiguous registering of the national will in behalf of racial justice, as only Congress in its representative role can do.

The subsequent pages of this paper are hopefully intended to help Congress in its deliberative role; i.e., in defining and framing its policies. In this field of civil rights, and at this time, Congress by deliberating and enacting will also be representing, supplying the will and the resolution that can put the crisis behind us.

The times require, in other words, not only that Congress act wisely, but that it act -- and act with dispatch, and without ambiguity or timidity. But if in its drive to represent the national will, Congress does not act wisely,

*The President's legislative proposals were introduced as S.1731, by Senator Mansfield on June 19, 1963, and as H.R. 7152 by Representative Celler on June 20.

the outcome could be bitter. Congress passed voting laws in 1957 and 1960 which were not fashioned to achieve their goals, and have not done so. Their failure has contributed to the present crisis, because those laws brought disillusion on top of high hopes.

In order to act effectively, Congress should be guided by certain principles that include the following:

(1) Congress should legislate not for the appeasement of crisis, but for the solution of it.

(2) Administrative actions, when appropriate and Constitutional, are more effective and less piecemeal than judicial remedies.

(3) Where possible and suitable, it is good federal practice to draw support from state and local governments in the administration of federal programs.

(4) In some problem areas, the national interest is best served by local solutions. In such problem areas, Congressional action is not appropriate when there is a realistic prospect of a prompt solution at the local level.

EQUAL RIGHTS TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

The first point above is especially pertinent in 1963. Congressional action at this time ought to begin with schools.

We say this with all the emphasis we can.

There are at least five reasons for this priority.

First, nine years have now passed since Brown v. Topeka declared a Constitutional right of all American children, a right still wantonly flouted or ignored. In support of it, and in the face of overt defiance, the Presidency was until the Fall of 1957 indecisive and since has been inadequately empowered. Congress has done nothing.

The decision was responded to by eleven southern states with outright defiance unprecedented in the world annals of federal government, and at times near rebellion. In a sense, it is a sign of the basic strength of American society that defiance so intense and widespread was able to be contained without rupture of national bonds. The federal courts and the Presidency, aided by enlightened opinion in the South, have by now decisively weakened the political resistance. Nevertheless, through evasion or inaction, more than two-thirds of the bi-racial school districts of the eleven southern states have as yet made no start toward school desegregation; 99% of the Negro children of these states are still in segregated schools; and in three states -- Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina -- not even a token start has yet been made.

The Supreme Court's decision of 1954 was received by Negro citizens as a promise and as an earnest of a new life for them in our common country. A very large cause of the current crisis is the disappointment which followed. Our

high court had spoken -- and was not obeyed. The good will of our people had been invoked -- and did not respond.

There is, therefore, a symbolic importance to the schools issue which none other has. In no other area can Congress so clearly

GO ON TO PAGE 11.

and unambiguously represent and register a national decision in affirmation of equality. Furthermore, if Congress were to act in another area, and did not in this one, recalcitrant school districts would have **reason** to believe that Congress does not disapprove of their policies.

Second, education has an intrinsic value, both for the individual and for the nation, of unsurpassed importance.

Third, education is basic to the durable achievement of other civil rights. It affects employment opportunities and voting eligibility and the intelligent use of the ballot. It affects housing patterns (and is affected by them). It determines and will determine the quality and the temper of Negro communal leadership.

Fourth, there should be no hesitation in saying that our needs go beyond civil rights, and that a better integrated society is a social, political, and moral imperative. The American people need to live more happily with each other. Our public schools weave the web of society as no other institution does.

Fifth, school integration brings forth the hard, but basically important, issues. (The extension of employment opportunities does also.) To desegregate transportation, or restaurants and hotels, or professional associations requires little more than a decision to stop doing one thing and do another. These decisions are socially and morally necessary, but the Negro and white people of this country would both delude themselves if they expected these decisions to go far toward solving our racial

inequities. To solve them, or even to begin to do so, the country must see clearly and face the gigantic problems of our disadvantaged people. Whenever school desegregation in a community gets beyond token dimensions, that community will unavoidably confront the cultural wrongs it itself has created, and will, we think, be brought to an awareness that something must be done about them.

To summarize then, school legislation deserves priority because of its symbolic value, because of the intrinsic cultural importance of education, because education is basic to the achievement of other civil rights, and because the integration of schools has profound and beneficial social consequences.

The bill first introduced by Senator Clark and Representative Celler in 1961* sought to achieve these objectives. It has provided the leading ideas which have guided discussions since 1961, and which the conferees at the Notre Dame Law School believed basically sound. In important respects, however, we did differ from Clark-Celler.

The principal features of the Clark-Celler approach are (1) the requirement of a desegregation plan by those school districts which use race as an assignment criterion; (2) the filing

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*S. 1817, 87th Cong., 1st session.

of the plan with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, who is empowered to grant financial and technical assistance to aid in carrying out the plans, if he determines that the plans are legally satisfactory; similar assistance would be available to certain other districts; (3) a requirement of "at least first-step compliance" immediately; and (4) power for the Attorney-General to bring suits in federal district courts to compel compliance.

We believe that Congress should prepare an enactment which would embrace the following purposes:

(1) A start must be effected, with provision for federal enforcement, in the more than 2000 bi-racial school districts that have made no beginning.

(2) The completion of the desegregation process should be facilitated, in accordance with sound educational precepts.

(3) Neither federal legislation nor administration should impede the initiation of suits by private plaintiffs in federal courts, or prejudice the outcome of their suits.

(4) Nor should the federal role inhibit the reaching of local desegregation solutions by local consensus.

Of the above purposes, Nos. 3 and 4 have definite implications for northern school desegregation. Congress cannot

at this time, however, wisely legislate to meet directly the northern questions, and should not, therefore, try. Constitutional rights and principles have not yet been sufficiently clarified by adjudication, and professional controversy still somewhat obscures the educational merits of various solutions. Moreover, there is no reason at this date to suppose that local solutions cannot be satisfactorily and readily attained. (See principle no 4, page 8 above.)

Congress should candidly legislate for the southern problem, and the premier objective should be to effect starts. To this end, Congress should impose an affirmative duty on every public school board to operate the schools under its jurisdiction on a non-racial basis. To assure this, formally recorded desegregation plans should be required of every bi-racial district, not already under court order, where initial assignment of school children is by race, or where, regardless of assignment policies, no Negro and white children are in fact in school together. The plan should be a document of public record. Its recording should be completed shortly after enactment, and certainly in not more than 60 days; more time is not required: there is nothing arcane about

desegregation planning, and there exists an abundance of experience to consult.

The effect of this would be a Congressional finding and declaration that "all deliberate speed" means "now."* No defendant in a school desegregation case could henceforth plead time.

No purpose would be obviously served by requiring that the plans be filed with any office in Washington. There are good reasons why they should not be. Unless the federal office were to review and evaluate them, there would be no need for it to be custodian. Administrative review would be unfortunate. It could have no effect other than either the abrupt or the gradual and subtle permeation of bureaucratic thinking and influence into the desegregation process. What pleased the Secretary of HEW would tend to please a federal judge, and the rights of a Negro plaintiff to seek redress in a federal court would become progressively, and merely, formal. His remedy would be through his Washington lobbyist, not through his local lawyer.

The Attorney-General must be empowered to intervene in pending litigation, and, more importantly, to bring suit in the name of the United States to effect prompt desegregation starts, through civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction against school boards depriving or threatening to deprive individuals of their equal protection rights. The affirmative duty should be defined in the

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*cf The Supreme Court's gloss in Watson v. Memphis, decided May 27, 1963.

statute in such a way as to preserve in full the freedom of action of private plaintiffs:* and to give at least tacit Congressional recognition to the impossibility of the Attorney-General filing suits in as many as 2,000 districts (in the unhappy and unlikely chance that would be indicated), and the consequent desirability of his bringing suit in the most strongly resistant areas.**

The Attorney-General should proceed on his own investigation, as he does in voting violations under the Civil Rights Act of 1957.*** He should not have to await on complaints; the privilege of private counsel for private complainants should be fully preserved and should suffice. Congress has a specific Constitutional mandate to enforce the terms of the 14th Amendment;**** by a statute such as is recommended here it would do so by affirming the duty of school boards to operate non-racial systems; the Attorney-General can and should, consequently, be made responsible to combat violations which he discovers. We need to remember that Brown v. Topeka is not a limitation on the power of Congress; the Supreme Court proscribed denial of an individual right. This does not inhibit Congress from going beyond to a general protection of the right.

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*cf Sec. 310 of S. 1731. cf. also Sec. 1602 of S. 172, 88th Cong., 1st session, introduced by Senator Clark.

**cf. the formula "materially further the orderly progress of desegregation in public education." S. 1731, sec. 307 a2.

***P. L. 85-315, sec. 131 (c) cf. also Sec. 108 of S. 1209 (88th Cong., 1st session), introduced by Senator Kuchel and others, which would confer on the Attorney-General the power and the duty in school cases recommended here. The approach of S. 1209 to this problem is, therefore, much to be preferred over that of the Administration's bill.

****14th Amendment, Sec. 5.

The simple, yet conclusive, reasons for placing this responsibility on the Attorney-General are to expedite the desegregation process, bring to bear national authority, and relieve Negro plaintiffs, organizations, and lawyers of some of their heavy psychological and financial burdens.

To do an effective job, the already over-strained staff of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice will have to be strengthened. The present Administration has considerably enlarged that staff and its function since January 1961, but has done so in part by using personnel from other Divisions. The Adminis tration should ask Congress for the money needed to staff adequately the Civil Rights Division, and Congress should provide it.

The right of private plaintiffs to bring suit should not, we repeat, be impaired or diluted by new statutory authority for the Attorney-General. The law of school desegregation is evolving through the courts, and in terms of individual rights, not public policies. Whether the nation would have been better off had it a decade ago approached the issue differently, through statutes rather than decrees, is an interesting but now practically irrelevant question. It did not, and now is too late for constructive change. The atmosphere for freely litigating and adjudicating individual claims to rights should be carefully preserved. There are still many unanswered 14th Amendment questions, particularly in connection with northern desegregation but also in the South. Hard and fast rules are, of course,

impossible but we would suggest that the Attorney-General plan his cases to spread and consolidate judicial interpreations already secured, and that the definition of new legal concepts to be sought be left to private plaintiffs and their attorneys.

The authority and the duty to bring suits in behalf of the United States is indispensable and already far too long withheld. Yet the Congressional requirement of "plans" is, if anything, even more worthwhile. It would put a positive duty on local people, and the country badly needs to begin thinking of school desegregation in those terms. While we believe that the Supreme Court in Cooper v. Aaron* in 1958 did affirm this duty, nobody speaks the national will as does Congress. There are persuasive grounds also for believing that such a mandate from Congress would be obeyed in a great many school districts, and that much litigation could thereby be avoided.

To give further impetus to the integration process, the federal government should offer, on application to the Secretary of HEW, financial assistance to school districts making their first starts, or to districts, whether of the South or the North, revising their systems in the direction of more integration.

Assistance should be limited to specific projects proposed by the local school administrators, and should be strictly limited to projects facilitating the desegregation process. Examples

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*358 US. at 16 - 19.

might include programs of teacher preparation, special tuition for Negro students to help overcome the academic handicaps of their inferior schooling, and special training for Negro teachers to help overcome the academic shortcomings of their training. The assistance, which could be either by grant, loan, or both, should be based by the Secretary on a finding that the project as described and planned by the local administrators would make a substantial contribution to the success of desegregation.

The Secretary should be instructed by the statute to adopt as his criterion of "desegregation" a unified school system. Only those projects should qualify which look toward, and are integral parts of a plan toward the full integration of faculties, administrators, and facilities, and the initial assignment of all students without regard to race; and which envision this accomplishment within a reasonably short period.*

Other forms of federal assistance, not reasonably connected to such technical projects as are mentioned above, should not be offered by Congress. So-called "compensatory" aid has sometimes been proposed, even to the inclusion of construction costs. We think there is a moral flaw in such proposals, and that they also rest on an unproven, and we suspect unprovable, premise; viz.

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*Although otherwise the technical assistance provisions (Sections 301-306) of the Administration's bill seem to us soundly planned, they do rest on a definition of "desegregation" (Sec. 301b) which may well be soon obsolete. There are cases pending, some for a long while, which go beyond the bill's definition as "assignment----without regard to--- race." Several northern cases seek, in effect, a finding that the 14th Amendment right is a right to attend a bi-racial school. But there are also cases in the South which go further than the assignment question and which argue that the 14th Amendment confers a right to attend a school system which is organized and administered, throughout , without regard to race.

that integrated schools exceed the cost of "separate, but equal" schools.* Furthermore, school desegregation law should not be a means of importing federal aid-to-education through the legislative back door for some school districts only. Construction can be adroitly used to freeze or even to reverse the process of desegregation and this is a second reason for not allowing federal cost assistance.

Several bills before the 88th Congress, including the Administration bill, would extend and broaden the functions of the Commission on Civil Rights, and would direct it to become a clearing house for information and a supplier of technical advice and assistance to those responsible for school desegregation (and other civil rights matters). As stated in S. 1117 and H. R. 5456, the CCR would

> serve as a national clearing house for information, and provide advice and technical assistance to Government agencies, communities, industries, organizations or individuals in ... the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities, transportation, and the administration of justice.

We think there is much merit in the proposal, though as pertains to education the respective roles of the Commission and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare should be carfully distinguished.

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*There might be a case for compensation had the South in fact provided equal schools. The logic would be that southern states had acted on the understanding that Plessy v. Ferguson was the law of the land, and therefore merited assistance when the Constitutional issue was settled to the contrary in 1954. Whatever the force of this argument, it is lost both by the failure to provide equality between 1896 and 1954, and by non-compliance after 1954.

Finally, Congress should, of course, repeal that section of the Morrill Act* which countenances segregated land grant colleges. The provision is anachronistic, and we believe of no legal standing or force now; consequently, we think the Administration has been lax by its continued observance of it. Congress should, nevertheless, remove this stain.

There has been much discussion of the general question of withholding of federal funds from programs which directly or indirectly support segregated schooling. We have a strong sympathy with the demand voiced by Negro and other civil rights organizations that federal money not go to strengthen segregated institutions. We think, nevertheless, that when Congress has enacted an adequate school desegregation bill there will be ample power to effect early desegregation everywhere. Congress has plentiful resources without resort to sanctions that weaken programs judged to be in the national interest.

Moreover, probably the largest federal investment in education is represented by the vast federal research programs. In these various programs, Congress has imposed no dictates on the President or his subordinates as to choice of recipient. It is and has been the executive which often chooses to spend funds at segregated institutions, and it is the executive who has the responsibility to stop doing so.

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*And should do likewise with similar provisions of law in other fields, such as the Hill-Burton Act. These goals would be realized by Section 601 of the Administration bill.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS

Private property rights have historically included an employer's right to select his employees. Even with complete legal freedom, however, employers have been strongly influenced in their hiring policies by the pressures of popular opinion and custom, and by the prejudices (or supposed prejudices) of customers and other employees. Such restrictions on the employer's freedom to hire as he pleases do not need to be organized in order to be effective. In contrast, members of minority groups can exert influence on the employer only by organizing (e.g., a boycott) or with the assistance of law.

Federal law has for some years restricted the employer's freedom to discriminate against union members, to hire children, to employ women on prejudicial terms, and to pay sub-standard wages or to work over-long hours.

With this history, there is no obvious reason why the question of the rights of private property should again be debated. It would seem that unless one were prepared to argue for the repeal of these other restrictions on the employer's freedom, he could not legitimately contend for a right to discriminate on racial or creedal grounds.

On the other hand, racial and creedal discrimination does in a unique way involve the prejudices not only of the employer himself but of his customers and other employees. Very probably, both the extent and the durability of this prejudice are exaggerated.

But regardless, when the employer's prejudice is reinforced by that of customers and fellow-workers, the economic situation of the minority group member is especially hopeless, and especially deserving of legal protection. A democratic government has no higher task than the protection of the weak.

The government of our democracy has indeed impelling reasons to combat employment discrimination. These may be summed up under the three heads of developing talents and skills, enlarging national purchasing power, and the continuing obligation of America to build an open, fluid society.

There is little need to dwell here on economics. The drastic and rapidly recurring transition in technology and in distribution methods, the imperative of an expanding market in order to sustain economic growth, the pressures of population, and the steady obliteration of regional economies all point to an inexorable need that people be equipped with marketable skills and talents and that they be enabled to earn well in order to buy well. Our national self-interest coincides with Negro aspirations for employment opportunities.

A sound democracy must be a society open to talents. In simpler days, of industrial adolescence, abundant land, and scarce people, government had only to leave alone in order for talents to flourish (Please go to page 21)

and find their levels. Modern government has to hold back and clear away the weeds and the clutter of a matured and complicated society that choke some of our people from the chance to develop themselves. Job discrimination is a particularly obnoxious growth, and one which is practically insuperable through individual effort. And as Mr. Robert Weaver has said, "Discrimination in housing and public places and in education is degrading and insulting. But discrimination in employment robs a man of the daily bread for himself and his family."*

No one should suppose that an anti-discrimination law will in itself end the employment hardships of Negroes. It will not. We have an enormous problem of disadvantaged people, embracing perhaps a tenth or even more of our citizens who are under-educated, wrongly trained, and culturally distorted. These people, who are of all races, are poorly prepared to accept employment opportunities, and their rescue from inaptitude is a mammoth national task which nearly all governmental bodies have as yet combined in shirking. President Kennedy, in his message of June 19, 1963, coupled manpower training with civil rights. Congress should give unstinted consideration to this part of the message, and to the bills now before it to carry out the training program.**

Yet if non-discrimination is not a specific cure, discrimination has been a specific cause. It has to be removed, in schools, in employment, in housing, and at the polls, or else there can be no general progress in the well-being of our disadvantaged people, or their ability to add to the common good.

We can conveniently look at the employment question under several categories:

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* As quoted in the New York Times, June 5, 1963.

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1. federal employment;
2. employment in interstate and foreign commerce;
3. employment by federal contractors;
4. employment by state and local governments;
5. employment by state and local governments , and by private institutions, for work financed by federal funds.

(1) There is no need for Congress to legislate regarding discrimination in federal employment. The President has sufficient authority to set standards in the Civil Service, and he has the clear responsibility to prevent discrimination. President Kennedy has gone further, and the present Administration has conscientiously and vigorously made a special effort to recruit and place Negroes in non-traditional jobs, and to hire in larger numbers. Much progress has, accordingly, been made toward fairer representation, and toward enhancing the aspirations of Negroes by the visible evidence of real opportunities. The President has only persuasive authority over certain independent agencies, but that is usually enough; if he should find that it is not, he could report his difficulties to Congress. In federal employment, the responsibility is the President's, and Congress should not dilute it by presumptively acting.

(2) Acting under the commerce clause, Congress should ban discrimination by all businesses engaged in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce.* The law should contain a prohibition against discrimination on account of race, color, creed, or national origin, and a complaint procedure available either to the complaining individual or an organization acting in his behalf and at his request. The prohibition should extend not only to discrimination in hiring, but also to discrimination in recruitment; promotion, demotion, or transfer;

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*See also below, page 30

layoff and dismissal; compensation, selection for training, including apprenticeship; membership in employee organizations; seniority rights; and access to all plant or office facilities.

The responsibility for administering the law should be vested in the Department of Labor. We think a commission-type administration (an "FEPC") would be inadvisable. The vogue for commissions is, happily, passing and there is growing awareness that while commissions are still a valuable instrument for quasi-judicial functions they are organically inept at administration. And above all, a fair employment law should be seen as involving administrative competence and vigor, and not as a framework for arbitrating grievances. Enforcement of fair employment should be worked into the regulatory procedures of Labor, just as is enforcement of wages and hours standards or other federally imposed standards on employers.

This means that the Department should not only act on complaints, but should by appropriate regulations establish suitable enforcement, inspection, and educational programs. Enforcement should include the power to order specific alterations of practice, and to issue clear and direct orders.

A complaint procedure is half meaningless unless it is, as it usually is not, expeditious. Congress should consult the experience of the various state anti-discrimination commissions now operating, as well as that of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities. One suggestion that Congress might consider is a provision that all complaints be heard initially by authorized regional or district officials, or by specially assigned officials in case of over-crowded dockets; that a decision must be given within 30 days of filing of complaint; and that in the event of employer appeal against a decision, the individual should during the appeal period have the benefits of the examiner's finding.

We think there should be no elaborate appeals procedure, available either to the employer or the individual. Appeals should go directly from the examiner to an impartial appeals board, and its decision should be final, subject only to review by a federal Court of Appeals confined to questions of law and due process. A similar appeals procedure would suffice for contesting the orders of an inspector enforcing the Department's regulations.

In the Pioneer Bus Company case (140 NLRB, No. 18, 1963), the National Labor Relations Board ruled that where a bargaining representative executes a contract or contracts which discriminate racially,

the Board will not recognize such contract as a bar to another representation election. The Board went on to say that, although not at issue in the case and therefore not required, discriminatory contracts "warrant revocation of the certification." This development in the case-law of the Board should be watched with sympathetic interest.

An interesting question is the relationship of a federal fair employment program to the state programs now operative, with enforcement powers, in 19 states.* We think federal programs should not preempt satisfactory state programs, even for firms in interstate or foreign commerce, unless there is a clearcut administrative advantage. This should not be beyond the skill of legislative draftsmen to provide, nor should cooperative administration be beyond the ingenuity of federal and state officials. An approach to a like question is taken by the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, which expressly negates an inference of federal pre-emption in those situations where the federal agency has not assumed jurisdiction, and thereby permits parties to obtain relief under state law, ( ). /_Will Pollitt supply citation_/

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* Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin. Anti-discrimination laws, with little or no enforcement power, exist also in Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, and New Mexico. /_Will Feild and Norgren verify list._/

Washington has enough to do without doing a job that the states can do as well or better. It may well be that both employer and minority group member would prefer a state administration close at hand, to a remote and impersonal federal.

(3) Employment by federal contractors is a special case. Appropriately, federal contractors should, in virtue of their relationship to the government, make a special contribution to the national need to utilize and develop fully our manpower. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has diligently established a compliance system under Executive Order 10925 and, operating on the base of a statute applicable to all interstate commerce, the Committee could drop its policing functions and concentrate on the much discussed but rather nebulous "affirmative" requirements of the Executive Order. It could, in other words, demand from contractors, and aid them in effective, positive programs to bring minority group members into full participation in the national work force, on the premise that firms doing business with the government enter thereby into a partnership of national goals. Of the various techniques the Committee and, under its guidance, federal offices have already devised, we are especially impressed by the Defense Department's staff of Intergroup Relations Specialists, working in the field with contractors.

No separate legislation seems required, the President having clear enough authority through his procurement power. Certainly, however, the President should ask for and Congress should grant funds necessary for the Committee, instead of using funds, as at present, appropriated for other purposes; if a statutory foundation for the Committee would facilitate this, that legislation should pass.

Furthermore, by control of appropriations both for the Committee and -- more importantly -- for the statutory programs over all employment in interstate and foreign commerce, Congress would be in a position to terminate. This is as it should be. We should not suppose an everlasting need for anti-discrimination measures. It may be an enduring part of human psychology to pay as little as one can for as much as one can get, and therefore a wage and hour law will always be useful. But to believe that racial prejudice is similarly basic to human nature is morally self-defeating. Our conviction must be that once the discrimination barriers are broken, and minority members are equipped to hold their own, there will be in a free society neither the desire nor the possibility of re-erecting the old walls.

(4) Does employment discrimination by state or municipal bodies fall under the ban of the equal protection clause? The question has not been adjudicated but the trend of recent decisions is clearly in that direction, and would probably reach also the state or municipal contractor. The liberalizing effects of Baker v. Carr and its aftermath should, however be remembered. When state governments become structurally responsible to popular majorities, federalism would seem to indicate that their best regulation is by those same majorities.

Go to 30

(5) A quite different question is presented by state or local programs financed in whole or in substantial part by federal dollars. The temptation to discuss this issue at length is considerable, for some of the racially discriminatory uses of federal money are shocking, through a great variety of outlets including but unfortunately not limited to the National Guard, the U. S. Employment Service, Hill-Burton hospital construction, the several federal highways programs, the multitudinous federal farm offices, air terminals, and many others. But many words might serve only to obscure the simplicity of the matter. It ought to be axiomatic that wherever money from the common treasury goes within this country, the Constitution goes along. It is unthinkable that the use of federal money to favor some of us and disfavor others of us could be rationally defended. This is so clear that to many it is not at all clear that any legislation to this end seems needed: the President, it would seem, has no right to spend money which will yield racial discrimination. The hard job of enforcement would be made more feasible, however, by Congressional action. A prohibition on discrimination by state and local governments or their contractors or agents, on all projects financed in whole or in substantial part by the federal treasury, should be included in the proposed fair employment act,* and administered by the Department of Labor, with the added sanction of a funds cut-off to insure compliance.

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*See above, page 22. Sec. 601 of the Administration's bill could accomplish this end. The President's Executive Order _____ of June 22, 1963, also will help. /Will Feild or Taylor supply order number./

VOTING RIGHTS

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 were addressed principally to voting rights. That these first civil rights acts in four generations were concerned with voting, evidences its centrality among our civic values as well as our civic shortcomings. The problem of voting rights has been long and familiarly before us, and has been thoroughly documented by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights;* further description here would be superfluous.

From the history of the last few years, some conclusions and inferences can be drawn, which we state seriatim:

(1) With the exception of a few pockets of discrimination against American Indians and Mexicans the denial of voting rights is a problem peculiar to certain areas in southern states and to their Negro residents. The problem is not even regional in scope: in extensive areas, and the most populous ones at that, Negroes today register and vote freely. Legislation of general application, such as the Administration's literacy bill of 1962,** would supersede state laws all over the country in order to reach abuses that are statewide in at most only two or three states, and which are virulent in parts of not more than three others.***

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*See Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959. Voting, 1961, U.S.C.C.R. Report. Hearings Before the U.S.C.C.R., Voting, 1959 (the Alabama hearings). Equal Protection of the Laws in North Carolina, U.S.C.C.R., 1962. See also: Civil Rights-1959, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Parts I-IV.

**The Senate rider to H. R. 1361, 87th Cong., 2d sess.

***At least two bills are before the 88th Cong.,1st sess. which would implement the 14th amendment by reducing the House representation of states depriving eligible persons of the franchise: S. 1644 introduced by Sen. McNamara; and H. R. 6801, introduced by Rep. Stratton. To the same end is Lampkin v. Hodges, filed May 28, 1963 before the U. S. District Court of the District of Columbia.

(2) Voting discrimination and low Negro participation are not always equivalent. In the states of Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, where there are today only isolated and passing discriminatory practices, Negro participation is low but is remedial by education and organized effort; the same is true of large areas of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, and scattered areas of the other three Deep South states. The evil of discrimination is confined, in other words, to certain communities of the Deep South where the Constitutional prohibition against voting discrimination is openly flouted and efforts to obtain or to exercise voting rights are met by acts of intimidation, harassment, and physical violence, sanctioned and sometimes even participated in by local authorities and law enforcement officers.* These are, and should nationally be regarded as, outlaw communities. Our federal system will be less seriously challenged by federal power brought to bear directly on these communities, than by federal laws which supersede state laws everywhere.

(3) This is not meant to preclude federal regulation of elections, or the establishment of federal standards when, in the judgment of Congress, they are necessary or desirable. There is, we think, outstanding merit in the bill introduced by Senator Hart at each Congress since 1959.** Senator Hart's bill authorizes the federal administration of registration and primary and general elections for U.S. Senators and Representatives in any district where a Congressional Election Commission "determines that unless such election is conducted by the Commission, persons having the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature of the State in which the Congressional District is located are likely to be denied their right...to cast their votes and to have them fairly counted." On the sound premise that Congress has full authority under Article I, Sec. 4 of the Constitution to regulate elections of its own members, the proposed Commission would act solely

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*See Report of the Mississippi Advisory Committee, Report on Mississippi, January 1963, U.S.C.C.R.Report; VEP press release on 64 Mississippi atrocities.

**S.1281, 88th Cong., 1st sess.

at its discretion and without any recourse to the courts. It would, however, follow state law in registering eligible voters.

(4) The Hart bill goes to the key issue, as the Administration's 1962 literacy bill did not. The tool of discrimination is not the literacy laws of southern states, but their immoral and illegal administration, coupled with the physical intimidation and economic coercion of Negroes. Nor would the proposed sixth-grade literacy presumption of the Administration's 1963 voting bill* reach the extra-legal threat of violence or economic reprisal, and there is every prudent reason to suppose that communities which now illegally administer literacy requirements would resort to these extra-legal methods if their practices were set aside by a federal rule. Enactment of Sec. 101-b of the Administration bill (the sixth-grade presumption)would provide a salutary device, but we caution against overly-optimistic expectation of its value.

(5) In 1959 the Commission on Civil Rights proposed that federal registrars be appointed by the President in counties found by the President to practice discrimination.** Congress chose, instead, in the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to invoke the judicial process. Experience does not suggest that this was wise. Voter registration is, after all, a ministerial act. The courts's proper and necessary function is to protect individuals from illegal treatment

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*S. 1283, 88th Cong., 1st sess.

**Report of the U.S.C.C.R., 1959, p. 141.

by the functionnaires commissioned to register their names. To ask the courts to do more than this, to ask them -- as the Act of 1960 does -- to look into the complex whole of a county's or state's practices and ascertain what "pattern" exists, to ask them to supervise the registration of deprived persons or even to register them directly, all this is a heavy and unnatural load on the judicial process. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 were intended to facilitate Negro registration, but they were poorly designed for that purpose. It is sufficient to note that of the 39 voting cases filed under the Acts of 1957 and 1960, only 19 have reached decisions, and of the 29 cases filed since January 20, 1961, only 9 have been decided. /Will Taylor please verify last sentence/

We seriously question, therefore, whether Congressional effort should be expended on the further refining of a basically defective approach. The Administration's present effort to do so (Sec. 101c) seeks by extraordinarily, almost monstrously, complicated means to make judicial administration perform a ministerial service. The effort should be to get the voting question out of the courts, not more deeply into it.

(6) The Acts of 1957 and 1960, imperfect as they are, do provide legal means for federal suppression of the gorsser violations of the 14th and 15th Amendments. The Department of Justice has enforced them conscientiously and, with additional lawyers, could do yet more. (Amendment of the laws would be far less helpful than would appropriations making possible more attorneys in the Civil Rights

Division.) As previously said, voting discrimination occurs now, with but few exceptions, only against Negroes and only in some localities of the South. By their defiance of the Constitutional order, these places are virtually outlaw communities. New and more refined legislative remedies are not required to reach this blatant disregard of rights. To contain and disarm lawlessness, a clear federal presence is required at the first outbreaks. We think the Attorney-General has the power, in the face of determined lawlessness supported by an acquiescent or conspiratorial community, to send federal marshals and agents of the Bureau of Investigation for on-the-spot protection of the exercise of federal rights. Such marshals and federal agents should be deployed in accordance with principles normally governing in law enforcement, in numbers and with authority adequate to deal with all anticipated exigencies, including authority and directions to enforce compliance with federal law and to make arrests for violations.

Moreover, the Attorney-General may seek through the courts appropriate orders to prevent any parties from interfering with the registration or voting process.* We are,

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*The argument made above in paragraph 6 was stated earlier by the Notre Dame Law School Conference in a preliminary statement submitted to the President on February 12, 1963, and subsequently inserted by Senator Douglas in the Congressional Record for February 19, at pages_____. /Will Silard insert page numbers/ The statement urged a more extensive use of executive powers to cope with voting discrimination, and the employment of additional methods to expedite cases and to bring them to satisfactory results. The statement was documented at the request of his conferees by G. W. Foster, Jr., Professor of Law at the University of Wisconsin, in a memorandum submitted to the Civil Rights Division on March 15, 1963.

therefore, glad to note that the Department of Justice in U. S. v. Greenwood, now pending before the federal district court of northern Mississippi, has taken the position that freedom of assembly in connection with voter registration is a right within the power of the Attorney-General to make secure.*

CONCLUSION

There is an urgent need for bringing Congress into explicit support of racial equality. Unless and until this is done, the national decision in favor of equality is clouded and imperfect. The voting legislation of 1957 and 1960 has not achieved this end, because it creates and punishes crimes, and thereby reaches only the issues of discriminatory application of state laws, or vicious interference with the exercise of the federal voting right. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 fall short of a Congressional affirmation of equality as an attribute of national and state citizenship.

For reasons which are now a part of history, but also for reasons of intrinsic value the first Congressional action should, pre-eminently, include a strong, well-designed

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*Senator Javits introduced a bill (S.1693) on June 11, 1963 which would give statutory authorization for injunctions to prevent deprivation of rights by officials or private persons in Albany or Birmingham-type situations that are not clearly related to voting rights. Comments by distinguished law professors regarding the constitutionality and need of the bill are printed in the Congressional Record for June 11 at pages 9970 - 9972.

school desegregation law. We propose that this have the following elements:

(a) "Desegregated schools" should be defined as those which accord each child the right to attend a non-racial school system.

(b) The primary aim of legislation, at this time, should be to effect starts in those bi-racial school districts of the South which have made no beginning.

(c) To this end, each school board having jurisdiction over such a district would be required to prepare and make public a desegregation plan.

(d) Further, the Attorney-General must be authorized to bring desegregation suits in the name of the United States, and to intervene in cases brought by private plaintiffs.

(e) And further, technical assistance from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to facilitate desegregation should be available to school districts, South and North, for projects specifically related to the desegregation process.

(f) The right of private plaintiffs, through counsel of their choosing, to bring desegregation suits should be carefully preserved.

The Notre Dame conference considered also the fields of employment and voting.

Congress has waited long to act in enforcement of the 14th Amendment. When it at last does so, it should direct its action toward fundamental causes of racial inequity. The President's proposals for manpower training go to this problem. But without effective legislation to ban job discrimination, they will not be enough. A fair employment law is required.

The law should be administered by the Department of Labor (not by a new commission), and should cover all phases of the employment process of firms engaged or affecting interstate and foreign commerce. The law should reach also employment, of all descriptions, carried on by state or local governments and by private institutions for work financed in whole or in part by federal funds.

We recommend further that, by several means, the law should rely on administrative regulations rather than quasi-judicial methods for enforcement. We think that this can be realized by incorporating the administration into the Department of Labor, and bringing the whole structure of the Department into responsibility for the work.

We propose that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity be continued, and that it press strongly to bring governmental contractors into partnership with the national government through affirmative actions that specially contribute to the development of job skills among Negroes and other minorities, and their full utilization.

In the third field -- voting discrimination -- the Notre Dame conference strongly believes that additional legislation is not a sufficient remedy.

The problem is neither nation-wide nor region-wide. The condition which requires federal attention is the lawlessness that exists in a relatively small number of outlaw communities of the Deep South.

This condition does not pose an issue of federalism. Federalism is a system of divided power among governments, and governments are instruments whose whole purpose is to establish an order of law. In these outlaw communities where citizenship rights are flagrantly destroyed, there is no law to respect.

We have here, in short, a problem of enforcement, and the President's power is adequate, strengthened by the Acts of 1957 and 1960, to create conditions which permit every citizen, freely and without fear, to register to vote, to cast his vote, and to have it honestly counted.

This is the centennial year of Emancipation. It is also the year when Negro patience with systematized social deprivation has finally broken. It is the year for Congress to act.

Participants in Notre Dame Conference, February 8-11, 1963.

Professor Carl Auerbach
School of Law
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. John Feild
Executive Director
The President's Committee on
Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Professor Eli Ginzberg, Director
Conservation of Human Resources
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Professor Vivian Henderson
Department of Economics
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Berl Bernhard, Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington 25, D.C.

Professor Paul Norgren
Department of Economics
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn, New York

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Professor Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mr. John Silard
Attorney at Law
1631 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. McNeill Smith
Smith, Moore, Smith Schell & Hunter
Suite 700, Jefferson Standard Bldg.
Greensboro, North Carolina

Professor Michael I. Sovern
Columbia University Law School
New York 27, New York

Professor Daniel C. Thompson
Department of Sociology
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Counselor at Law
P.O. Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. Wm. L. Taylor
U.S. Com. on Civil Rts.
726 Jackson Pl. N.W.
Wash., D.C.

JAN 21 1963

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Proposals for Congressional Action

G. W. Foster, Jr.

January 14, 1963

Confidential: This memorandum is submitted privately to a limited number of persons to be used as a basis for discussion at an off-the-record conference at Notre Dame University, February 8 through 11, 1963, to recommend civil rights legislation. It is preliminary and citations or quotations from it may not be made in any public address or writing.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Proposals for Congressional Action

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RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Proposals for Congressional Action

Introduction

This memorandum is addressed to proposals for Congressional action to implement school desegregation. The material is offered as a starting place for discussion, not as a blueprint for legislation.

The memorandum is in two parts. The first deals with the problems of primary and secondary schools; the second with matters affecting higher education. Each part commences with a discussion of present federal involvement with the education process - federal grants in aid, federal services to education, and present federal practices with respect to enforcement of rights against racial discrimination.

Arguably, the federal Executive Branch has powers derived from existing laws and judicial decisions which would enable it to strike hard at the racial discrimination it presently ignores in many areas. Important practical difficulties, however, stand in the way of such action. For one, the authority to act may be unclear or, for another, the Executive may hesitate to act where Congress has apparently decreed otherwise.

Questions of unclear Executive or Judicial authority suggest the desirability of Congressional action to make the authority specific. Yet the thought of seeking additional legislation generates other problems. A refusal by the Congress to grant a specific authority can establish a legislative history which tends to negate the existence of an implied power of the Executive or Judiciary to act. Or the hurly-burly of Congressional

processes may result in restrictive legislation which expressly prohibits the use of powers which previously existed by implication.

Nor is the result always a happy one when Congress imposes mandatory duties on the Executive. Insufficient funds may be provided for doing the job adequately or responsibilities, urgent when they were declared mandatory, may in time become less important than other duties with which an agency is charged and yet will have to be carried out because of their mandatory nature. [The Commission on Civil Rights, for example, has a mandatory duty to investigate voting complaints, a matter of considerably reduced importance at present because of the active involvement of the Justice Department; the Commission could better use its limited budget in other areas but is required to continue investigation of the infrequent complaints it receives.]

Apart from considerations growing out of the distribution of power among the coordinate branches of the federal government, other complications develop out of the distribution of powers between the national government and the states. Specifically, the drive against segregation in the public schools of the North and West raises questions which perhaps must be addressed exclusively to the legislative and executive branches of the states. In particular, the demands that public officials take racial considerations benignly into account and reorganize schools to mitigate the effects of residential segregation are probably beyond the scope of duties which the courts may enforce against the states under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Some of the same demands appear also to lie be-

yond the power of Congressional action in light of the Civil Rights Cases, 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

The interplay of forces within the federal government and between it and the states must, then, be taken into account in fashioning proposals for Congressional action. Such considerations are of major importance where Congress is asked to define duties and sanctions for the enforcement of duties. On the other hand, only Congress can appropriate money and hence programs requiring financial assistance must be cast in the form of legislative action.

Detailed consideration of elementary and secondary school problems and of proposals for dealing with them follow.

PART I. ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Federal Involvement: Financial Aids

At the elementary and secondary school levels, federal involvement is not substantial. Federal financial aids reach these schools through a hodge-podge of programs which appear to have been generated independently in response to special pleading for particular situations. Administration of the programs tends to center in the Commissioner of Education and in the Office of Education which he directs although the School Lunch Program, the largest of all the aid programs, is administered by the Department of Agriculture.[1] The ad hoc character of the aid programs results in considerable overlapping of legislative authority vested in the Commissioner of Education. Viewed as a whole, federal aids for elementary and secondary schools take on a capricious appearance.

The principal federal aid programs administered by the Commissioner of Education and having some impact on elementary and secondary schools are:

(1) The "Impact-Area" Program: Furnishes aids to school districts to compensate for populations swelled by the presence of governmental establishments in the area;[2]

(2) The National Defense Education Act: Provides for matched aids to states for instruction programs in science, mathematics, and foreign languages, as well as smaller grants for research in educational media, for guidance counseling, and for development of "area vocational programs;"[3]

(3) Vocational Training: At least two other programs in addition to that provided in the National Defense Education Act, supra;[4]

(4) The Library Services Act: Provides for development of library services in rural areas;[5]

(5) Aid for the Deaf or Mentally Retarded: Provides limited aid for improvement of teaching the deaf or mentally retarded.[6]

Outside the Office of Education's jurisdiction is the independent Office of Vocational Rehabilitation (also in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare) which places federal funds in state hands for development of vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, a program likely to have some indirect benefits to programs in both elementary and secondary schools.[7]

In addition to administering grant in aid programs, the Office of Education also provides some services as a clearinghouse of statistics and information about school problems and, under the Cooperative Research in Education Act,[8] has authority for research in problems of education generally. The Cooperative Research in Education Act seems clearly broad enough to justify research into the problems and processes of school desegregation, but it does not appear that funds available under this program have yet been put significantly to work for this purpose.

Indeed, until 1962 the administration of the aid and service programs just described steered entirely clear of any concern for racial problems in education. If anything, the administrators of the programs appeared to back away from involvement in race matters. With its Statistical Report for the year 1953-54 the Office of Education even abandoned its past practice of

publishing comparative statistics on Negro and white schools. The aim behind this may have been laudable in recognizing that public agencies should not take race into account, but the practical effect of the decision was to dry up one of the few useful sources of information which revealed the inequalities between white and Negro education.

The first real evidence of an intention to face problems of segregation in facilities aided by federal educational funds came in the Summer of 1962. This came in the announcement by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare that efforts would be made to insist upon desegregation of schools in districts receiving "Impact-Area" funds. Enforcement of this policy has been handed over to the Department of Justice, which is proceeding primarily through negotiation although a test case is pending in a federal District court against officials of Prince George County, Virginia, which receives federal aid because of the military base at Fort Lee.

It was also announced in the Summer of 1962 that the Office of Education would establish a clearinghouse for information about the desegregation process, but the program shows little promise to date of any real vitality.

While these are portents of a more active concern for matters of racial discrimination in programs aided by federal funds or services, they reflect only a small beginning. And such major programs as School Lunch and those established by the National Defense Education Act appear to operate without concern for possible discriminatory use by the states of funds which the federal government supplies.

Federal Involvement: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Congress has not yet, almost nine years later, thrown its prestige behind the enforcement of public school desegregation called for by Brown v. Board of Education. Indirect support of the decision, though without any reference whatever to desegregation, has come from Congress largely as a result of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. That Act upgraded the former "Civil Rights Section" of the Department of Justice to division status and placed it under the charge of an Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights; and the Act also created the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, with authority to operate for a two-year term, which term has twice been renewed for two-year periods.

The powers of the Commission on Civil Rights are limited to fact-gathering and making recommendations for executive and legislative action where voting deprivations and denials of equal protection are involved. The Commission has been beset by numerous difficulties, despite which it has performed some useful services. The fact that Congress has renewed it for two-year terms has created an atmosphere of impermanence within the Commission that has created substantial personnel problems and the two-year terms have made it impossible to undertake more meaningful programs which can only be discharged over a longer period of time. Again, the six Commissioners - who serve on a part-time basis for a per diem of $50 and expenses - have tended to insist upon close surveillance of the day-to-day operations of the full-time professional staff, involving themselves in much minutiae of administration rather than confining their limited time to the formulation of broad policy directives. And finally, the Commission's

limited substantive powers and small budget (about $900, 000 annually) have effectively prevented it from maintaining substantial surveillance over the internal policies and administrative practices of the federal government and barred it from furnishing consultative services much needed in many areas of civil rights.

Yet with all its handicaps conceded, the Commission has made some useful contributions to problems of racial discrimination in education. From 1959 through 1962 the Commission sponsored annual conferences on problems of school desegregation. The conferences brought together educators from all over the country to exchange views. The published Proceedings of each conference contained much useful information although the circulation of the Proceedings was limited and the symbolism of Commission sponsorship curtailed their usefulness in the more resistant areas of the South.

In its 1959 and 1961 biennial reports the Commission also made careful analyses of legal problems related to school operations. Perhaps the most significant Commission contribution in education to date, however, was two volumes published in December 1962 containing reports of field studies made by a group of nine law professors in selected communities all over the country. Out of these empirical studies emerged sharp contrasts in the kinds of problems presented in the several communities examined. Broad regional differences existed, too, in both the demands made on behalf of Negroes and the legal issues raised by the demands: in the South it had been insisted that the dual system of schools be reorganized into a unitary system which operated without regard to race. In the North

and West, on the other hand, it was being insisted that race be taken benignly into account to re-shuffle school populations in ways which mitigated the effects of residential segregation. Put another way, the attack in the South insisted that public authority be color-blind; in the North and West a concept of color consciousness was sought. Between the two positions were profound differences over the scope and function of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Commission has authorized a second set of field studies of school segregation during the 1962-1963 school year, hoping to develop a better definition of problems - and differences - among the various school patterns and the demands for changing them. Assimilation of many of these differences into simple, sweeping legislative proposals will at best be difficult.

Despite these many differences there are certain obvious contributions which the federal government can make. There is need for much further study of the kind initiated by the field studies of the Commission on Civil Rights. There is need for a clearinghouse operation which can collect and distribute materials describing desegregation programs which have worked and, indeed, those which have not. Skilled consultants who could offer assistance to school authorities when requested are also needed.

Logically, the Office of Education would be the appropriate agency for undertaking to furnish many of these services. At present, however, only the Commission is making any significant contribution of this kind and currently neither the Commission nor the Office of Education is equipped to furnish consultative services.

Federal Involvement: Enforcement of Desegregation

Until 1960 the federal judiciary carried almost alone for the national government the responsibility for implementing public school desegregation. This has left to the Negroes the responsibility of initiating private litigation against school authorities and required Negroes to shoulder the costs of litigation - primarily through the machinery of the N. A. A. C. P. Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Even after a decree directing school desegregation had been obtained, the Department of Justice hesitated for a long time about acting to insure orderly enforcement of the decree. In 1956 the Department failed to intervene when Governor Shivers used the Texas Rangers to block a federal court decree at Mansfield, Texas. The same year, the defiance triggered by John Kasper of the court decree at Clinton, Tennessee, continued for months before the Department furnished any real assistance. In 1957 the Department refused once more to act when Kasper commenced a similar operation at Nashville to thwart a court decree and it came into the fray at Little Rock too late to head off a situation that finally required the use of federal troops. And the Department remained on the sidelines, too, during the 1958-1959 school year when Arkansas and Virginia closed public schools in defiance of desegregation decrees.

A major change in Justice Department policy occurred in November 1960 when the school crisis at New Orleans first came to a head. At that time the Department moved in and took over almost entirely the responsibility for enforcement of the New Orleans decree. In the federal courts the

Department attacked wave after wave of legislation which the Louisiana legislature ground out to frustrate enforcement of the court orders.

From New Orleans on, the Department of Justice has adhered to the policy of acting to preserve the integrity of federal court decrees. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, has kept a watchful eye out for the possibility that a court decree might be evaded or that disturbance might interfere with it. Where there was cause for concern, ranking officials of the Department have established close contacts with local and state officials, making it clear that local and state authorities would be expected to take primary responsibility for seeing that the decree was obeyed in an orderly manner and that federal intervention would follow if this failed.

Behind-the-scene contacts of this sort have served a useful purpose in a number of communities by compelling local authority to face its obligations. Cajolery and threats, however, do not always avoid trouble - as events at Oxford, Mississippi, and in Prince Edward County, Virginia, attest.

In addition to the activities just described, the Department of Justice has occasionally filed amicus briefs in school desegregation actions, usually on the request of the court. Cases at Hoxie and Little Rock in Arkansas, New Rochelle, and in St. Helena Parish, Louisiana, are examples.

As earlier pointed out, the present role of the Justice Department leaves to Negro plaintiffs the burden of initiating and paying for school desegregation litigation. In the Winter of 1956-1957 Attorney General Brownell advanced the proposal that the Justice Department be authorized

to initiate actions in the name of the United States on behalf of those who allegedly suffered deprivations of federally secured civil rights. The Brownell proposal became Title III of the Civil Rights Bill submitted by the Eisenhower Administration to the Eighty-fifth Congress early in 1957.

The Title III provision had much to recommend it. It would have relieved Negroes of the costly burden of litigation, would have placed the Executive Branch on the side of enforcing school desegregation, and would have relieved the continuing shortage of competent attorneys available to prosecute school cases.

Yet even among those who wished to see vigorous enforcement of desegregation, the Title III proposal raised some doubts. Such a provision would shift primary responsibility for initiating action to the Justice Department. While a sympathetic and determined Attorney General could use it for effective purpose, a foot-dragging Justice Department could slow the process almost to a halt or could settle for court orders which produced little or no actual desegregation. One of the great Negro attorneys, himself actively involved in desegregation litigation, once told me he strongly opposed the Title III proposal. "I've got too much politics in my lawsuits as it is," he added.

Other Negro leaders privately expressed concern that Title III would displace Negroes from their vanguard position in leading the battle for school desegregation. Yet another concern was expressed even by those who supported Title III: the provision could be of major significance only if Congress also expanded substantially the staff size of the Civil Rights

Division, for no one seriously urged that the already overburdened Division abandon the work it was presently doing.

The Title III proposal failed of adoption by Congress in 1957 when the President withdrew his support of it and has not been enacted to date.

It has frequently been suggested that the Attorney General has existing authority to initiate school desegregation actions, without need for further legislation. Authority for this is implied from the President's constitutional duty to "take Care that the laws be faithfully executed." Existence of such authority seems to be buttressed also by a few cases in the Supreme Court which sustain the standing of the United States to insist on proper enforcement of the Constitution and federal laws even in cases in which the United States has no proprietary or pecuniary interest. See U.S. v. San Jacinto Tin Co., 125 U.S. 273 (1888); In re Debs, 158 U.S. 564 (1895); and Securities Comm'n v. U.S. Realty Co., 310 U.S. 434 at 459-460 (1940).

In the Spring of 1961 Attorney General Kennedy publicly expressed the doubt whether the United States could initiate desegregation actions without first obtaining specific legislative authority to do so. As previously indicated, however, the Department of Justice subsequently initiated judicial proceedings against officials in Prince George County, Virginia, to bring about school desegregation. The United States does have a pecuniary interest in that case, it will be recalled, because the County schools receive federal funds under the "Impact-Area" program.

In summary, the Department of Justice has since 1960 undertaken primary responsibility for judicial proceedings required to insure effective enforcement of federal court decrees previously rendered in school deseg-

regation suits. It has also filed amicus briefs in other cases, usually at the request of the court. Finally, it has initiated desegregation proceedings in a test case against a school district which receives federal "Impact-Area" funds.

Private Efforts to Enforce Desegregation

Shortly after the Brown decisions in the Supreme Court a number of school districts in the Upper South made a start toward desegregation without waiting to be taken to court. This voluntary action soon dried up, however, and communities in the Middle and Deep South have, with few exceptions, refused to begin any desegregation until directed by a court order to act. [Interestingly, both school officials and attorneys for Negro plaintiffs have often felt need for the protection of a court order; since neither group usually got all it had asked for, each has found it helpful to shift responsibility to the court.]

It is a commonplace belief that most desegregation drives have been initiated from the national offices of Negro action groups. Numerous efforts of this kind have been attempted, but the short answer is most of the initiative has come from within the community itself and, in any case, no amount of exhortation from outside the community has been successful without enlisting dedicated and determined leadership from Negroes of the local community.

For a variety of understandable reasons, Negro parents have hesitated to use their own children as shock troops to fight the first desegregation battle in the community. Again, Negro teachers have not, as a group, been

prominently identified in efforts to promote desegregation; indeed, many Negro leaders complain privately that teachers have proven to be one of the most effective forces against school desegregation found in the Negro community.

The comparative academic inferiority of Negro schools has been another major deterrent to comprehensive desegregation, although neither Negroes nor whites have chosen to say much about this publicly. In many of the larger communities of the South, the average Negro pupil may have fallen a whole year behind the average white by the third grade and the gap may widen to four years or more by the twelfth grade. The gaps may be still greater in many rural areas.

These gaps in average achievement level between the two groups make it a practicable impossibility at higher grade levels for more than a handful of high-achieving Negroes to meet the competitive standards of the white schools at the same grade level. Tactically, of course, Negro leadership has been compelled to take a stance in support of top-to-bottom and wholesale desegregation of the school system although many privately concede that such a result would in short-run terms produce a humiliating failure for a lot of the children who would be involved.

Despite these and many other pressures upon them, strongly motivated Negroes have stepped forward at the community level to insist upon school desegregation. For communities in the South, legal representation for the Negro plaintiffs has been furnished - in all but a few cases - by attorneys affiliated with the N. A. A. C. P. Legal Defense and Education

Fund. The Defense Fund, corporately and administratively independent of the N. A. A. C. P., has been the principal source of legal assistance for all the race litigation in the country and its services are available for litigation involving not only the N. A. A. C. P. but others as well.

The Defense Fund maintains at New York a small corps of extremely skillful full-time attorneys who spend much of their lives on the road. Another group of attorneys, many of them law professors, furnish part-time help in planning strategy and tactics, as well as preparing briefs.

The attorneys working out of the New York office - about a dozen in number - are, of course, not enough to handle all the litigation with which the Defense Fund is associated. To compensate for this, attorneys - usually Negroes - are retained at the community level. The Fund will pay modest retainers to the local attorneys where it proves impossible to raise sufficient money within the community to conduct the litigation.

Fund attorneys at New York supply pleadings and briefs and usually play a major role in directing the strategy and tactics of the litigation. Thus each of the cases taken by the Fund becomes meshed into the overall strategy, which is aimed at breaking new ground wherever possible. Understandably, the substantial direction by the New York office tends to produce some tensions between Fund regulars and local Negro leaders over the questions of timing and the mode of presenting a case.

The role of the locally affiliated attorney in the Fund cases varies considerably depending upon the competence of the local man and the time he can give to the litigation. The local attorney may sometimes take preliminary depositions and may even conduct the trial at the District court

level, though he is frequently assisted or replaced in both these activities by an attorney from New York. Appeals generally are handled directly by attorneys in the New York office.

Good as the Defense Fund operation is, it is beset by numerous difficulties. The Fund conducts its own money-raising activities, but has not yet been able to raise its operating budget to the level of half a million dollars annually, thus lagging far behind the public funds which are poured in on the other side of the litigation.

Another difficulty concerns the competence of many of the locally affiliated attorneys. Only rarely are they a professional match for the opposing white attorneys, though there are some spectacular exceptions. For the most part, the affiliated attorneys have been educated entirely in segregated schools of inferior academic quality. Here and there may be found graduates of integrated law schools, but they were rarely the strong men in their classes; the better performers among the Negro law students have tended to practice in the North and West rather than the South.

Despite the deficiencies of their education, through experience some have become quite competent. It is difficult, however, for many of them to find time for study and careful preparation of their legal work. Typically they are immensely overburdened men who make a living by handling innumerable small cases which produce little income. Major demands on their time are imposed by dissolving garnishments and attachments, restoring clients to relief rolls, handling divorces, and otherwise representing impecunious clients.

The Fund's efforts at coordinating overall strategy and tactics in school cases are not always successful. The problems differ greatly from place to place, making it difficult for a standardized approach to the cases to work well in every instance. Other difficulties stem from differences of opinion among the Negroes whom the Defense Fund represents. Fund attorneys can make suggestions, but final decisions rest with their clients. I shall always remember Thurgood Marshall's reply when asked why he had not done a particular thing in one case: "You've got to have clients to have lawsuits. Those people weren't about to try that suggestion."

Even in the South some school cases have been handled by attorneys not associated with the Defense Fund. Several of these independent cases, not coordinated with Fund strategy, have produced damaging precedents.

Within the past several years a major move has developed across the North and West, attacking school segregation in the larger urban areas. Paul Zuber, a Negro attorney from New York, first won attention with his victory in the New York case of In the Matter of Skipwith, 14 Misc. 2d 325, 180 N.Y.S. 2d 852, 4 Race Rel. L. Rep. 264 (Dom. Rel. Ct. 1958). He thereafter won the celebrated New Rochelle case, obtaining some assistance from attorneys on the Defense Fund, although he is not regularly affiliated with the Fund.

The Fund is not at present, however, much involved with the desegregation drive in the North and West. Beginning in 1961 the national headquarters of the N.A.A.C.P. spurred a drive to attack the so-called "de facto" school segregation in this area. Robert Carter, formerly with the

Defense Fund and now general counsel for the N.A.A.C.P. itself, has provided guidance to local attorneys in many of these communities, and Miss June Shagaloff, education specialist for the N.A.A.C.P., has acted as a consultant to groups in these communities who intend to protest segregation in the Northern and Western schools.

In summary, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Education Fund has until recently enjoyed a virtual monopoly in handling school desegregation cases. Under Fund direction have been the cases which have made the precedents, drawn almost exclusively from experience in the South. The growing developments in the North and West, however, have not been attributable in any important measure to activities of Fund attorneys. There appears to be a tacit agreement that the Fund will continue its concentration on school and other race problems in the South while others will work at the problems of school segregation in the North and West.

Status of School Segregation

In most urban areas of the country residential patterns produce schools which are entirely, or substantially, segregated. The major judicial attack which led to the Brown decision in 1954 was aimed at the dual systems of public schools then legally required in 17 states and the District of Columbia. The central constitutional point urged upon the Supreme Court at the time of Brown was that the states could not classify schools by race, that each child was entitled to attend public schools according to criteria which did not take race into account.

The logical consequence of this argument is that schools which are segregated because of residential patterns rather than by conscious design of school authorities cannot be judicially compelled to desegregate. Indeed, some of the arguments advanced on behalf of Negroes in the Supreme Court would, had the Court adopted them, have barred public officials even from taking racial considerations benignly into account in order to mitigate the effects of residential segregation.

The Court in Brown addressed itself only to the situation in which the state legally required dual sets of schools, formally classified as "Negro" and "white." "Separate educational facilities," the Court held, "are inherently unequal" - and hence the state could not constitutionally require them.

Typically in the areas which legally required dual schools, Negro and white schools are zoned on separate maps of the community. When the two maps are examined, it appears that Negro and white school zones overlap in racially-mixed neighborhoods. In attacking the dual school systems before the federal courts in the South, Negroes have insisted that a community's schools be re-zoned into a unitary system of zones, rationally designed without regard to race. They have also made strong objection to the use of unzoned school systems which permit pupils a choice among the schools of the district; the argument is that whites will choose to run away from schools which Negroes attend and that Negroes will be intimidated into choosing segregated schools. There have also been objections to transfer provisions which either explicitly take racial characteristics into account or which, as administered, permit pupils to make choices based on race. The Supreme

Court has agreed to hear in the present term cases in which the Defense Fund is challenging a transfer rule which permits members of a racial minority to transfer to a school of their choice. See Goss v. Board of Education of the City of Knoxville, 301 F. 2d 164, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 36 (C. A. 6, 1962); and Maxwell v. County Board of Education of Davidson County, 301 F. 2d 828, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 34 (C. A. 6, 1962) [the Supreme Court granted certiorari in both cases on October 8, 1962].

The drive against school segregation in the South, then, has insisted upon rationally zoned neighborhood schools. Since a neighborhood school takes on the characteristics of the neighborhood it serves, the Negro's legal position thus far in the South has implicitly conceded that school authorities have no constitutional obligation to mitigate the effects of residential segregation.

In sharp contrast, the more recently developed drive against segregated schools in the North and West has attacked the neighborhood school as a device which produces segregation because of residential patterns. Arguing that segregated schools, whatever their cause, cannot be maintained by public authority, it has been insisted that racial considerations should be taken into account and that schools be organized to promote a maximum of integration. Numerous methods for promoting such integration have been advanced.

Around the periphery of segregated neighborhoods it has been suggested that schools be re-zoned and that new schools be located in ways which achieve substantial integration. Since the boundaries of segregated

neighborhoods tend to be unstable, however, such suggestions are likely to produce only temporary results.

For schools buried well within segregated areas the problems are more complex. The neighborhoods tend to be congested and school-age populations in them tend to be larger than was the case when whites occupied the same areas. A frequent result is that old school buildings serving these districts are seriously overcrowded and are sometimes used for two school shifts a day. Large fractions of the children suffer serious cultural and social handicaps which stem from their economic status and - often - from their recent Southern origins.

These crowded slum schools face further difficulties in attracting competent teachers. Some of their classrooms are entirely unmanned and many others are staffed with substitute and even uncertified teachers.

Collectively, the problems of the segregated slum schools furnish substantial grounds for grievances. The inequalities are frequently worsened when contrasts are made with many of the all or largely white schools in the community which may have uncrowded and even empty classrooms and generally first-rate teaching staffs.

Battles over what to do about the segregated slum schools have generated deep differences even among educators who believe that integration is a desirable educational opportunity for all involved. Many express doubts about the wisdom of transferring children substantial distances to uncrowded schools, particularly at elementary grade levels. While such policies can relieve overcrowding and promote integration, they tend to be costly both

in money and time and they afford relief from segregation for only a small fraction of the children in the slum neighborhoods.

Other objections to transferring children considerable distances from their homes raise more serious educational problems. Since the achievement levels in the slum schools fall well below averages in other neighborhoods, only the best-prepared children can meet the competition in the transferee schools. Furthermore, the widespread practice of grouping children by achievement levels tends to isolate minority-group children in an integrated classroom or in separate classrooms for low achievers. The psychological implications of such achievement grouping have provoked lusty controversy.

Dr. Conant and others have argued for strengthening the neighborhood schools rather than dispersing children over wide areas away from their homes. They stress the need for schools with a wide range of goals which can furnish materials within the child's grasp and at the same time can motivate him to set his sights higher. They also point out that the most effective remedial programs for culturally handicapped children have worked with the child not only during the school day but in his neighborhood and home as well - something made extremely difficult where the child attends school at a considerable distance from his home.

In time many of the same protests now heard in the North and West will be made in the South. For the present, however, substantial philosophical, tactical, and legal differences exist between the attacks on school segregation in the South and those in other areas of the country. And until

many problems which still exist in the South have been solved, that region will differ from the rest of the country.

Even in the South wide variations in pattern are evident when comparisons are made among the 17 states and the District of Columbia, which required dual schools at the time of Brown.

The Border area - embracing Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Delaware - today has substantial fractions of its Negro school population attending school with whites. Oklahoma, with the lowest figure for this area, now has 25.4 percent of its Negro pupils attending school with whites; the District of Columbia, with the highest figure, has almost 80 percent of its Negro pupils in schools with whites.[9] Patterns of residential segregation in urban areas and continuing resistance to much or any desegregation in some rural areas account for the variations in the percentages of Negroes in school with whites in the Border area.

South of the Border area just referred to the school desegregation picture looks quite different. There has been no public school desegregation whatever in the three Deep South states of Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina. Token desegregation at Atlanta and New Orleans represents the only change thus far in the other two Deep South states.

The balance of the region consists of Florida, Texas, and the Mid-South states of Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia. Here again only token desegregation is evident. Arkansas, lowest among the group, has only 0.23 percent of its Negroes in school with whites; and

Texas, the highest, has 2.16 percent. All these states, however, have ten or more districts in which some desegregation has occurred. Moreover, significant changes took place in these states between 1961 and 1962. In that period the number of Negroes attending school with whites almost doubled and the number of districts with at least some desegregation rose from 206 to 268.[10] Small though the actual percentages were, the changes represented a substantial speeding up of desegregation in districts which had earlier made a token beginning and some spread of desegregation into districts which previously had remained completely segregated.

It must be pointed out, however, that most of the change was confined to more urban areas. Nearly 2,000 districts, largely rural and with relatively smaller school populations, remained completely segregated. There were some rural districts in each of the states which had begun token desegregation, but they tended to be districts in which Negroes formed a comparatively small minority of the total population. The rural areas, with less sophisticated leadership both Negro and white and with generally lower levels of education - remained largely untouched.

The prospects for further speeding up of school desegregation in the Middle and Lower South in the next several years look reasonably good. Judicial decisions have cut steadily away at the restrictive effects of the widely-adopted Pupil Placement Acts, and dilatory tactics by local officials receive little support from most of the judges. Moreover, many boards through their own voluntary actions have altered the administration of the Placement programs after one or more years of desegregation. Unitary

zoning systems were thereafter introduced, discriminatory criteria for reassignment to other schools were relaxed, and operations have gone forward under increasingly simple rules which left the choice of schools largely up to the individual.

The further spread of desegregation into districts still segregated should for a time move at an accelerating rate. There has, of course, been no desegregation whatever of public schools at elementary and secondary levels in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina as yet. It appears likely that this will occur in Alabama and South Carolina in the Fall of 1963, although any serious blow-up either at the University of Alabama or at Clemson University in South Carolina beforehand may delay things in either of those states for another year. Some new districts will almost certainly be added in Georgia and Louisiana in Fall 1963.

Much will depend upon initiative taken by Negroes themselves. Should a way be found to involve the Department of Justice in the process of initiating desegregation actions generally, this should also speed things along. The federal courts, particularly at the level of the Courts of Appeal, have become much more sure-footed in handling these cases, and workable systems for inaugurating desegregation and for subsequently speeding it up are now at hand.

A few federal District judges still find it impossible to face up to their responsibilities in desegregation cases. The Courts of Appeal have, however, worked out adequate ways of dealing with such recalcitrance, although the process is slower and usually embarrassing for everyone involved. All told, the stage in the South is pretty well set for major change and the rate at which

it comes will depend largely upon the forces of initiative so far as commencing actions is concerned.

The problems in the North and West are less well worked out. There are hard questions still unresolved as to the role judicial action can play in dealing with de facto segregation. Established precedents call for judicial relief in situations created by racial discrimination which is conscious and invidious. Gerrymandering of school districts can be corrected by court action. So, probably, can be instances of overcrowding and other tangible evidences of unequal educational opportunity.

Whether, without any more, the mere existence of racial concentrations in a school resulting from residential patterns can be undone on Fourteenth Amendment grounds raises thorny questions. One involves the view which has uniformly been taken of the Fourteenth Amendment itself: while the state may act to prevent private discrimination, the Amendment imposes no positive obligation upon it to do so. In this view it appears that the state can justify existing school segregation by showing that - ignoring racial considerations - its schools are organized and operate on rational educational and geographic grounds.

For wholly understandable reasons, however, Negroes continue to insist that school authorities have the duty to mitigate the effects of residential segregation. The farthest reach of judicial language on this point came from the case in Hempstead, Long Island, in April 1962. The school board moved to dismiss the case before trial on the grounds that residential patterns, not board practices, produced the school segregation. The court denied the

motion to dismiss, indicating the board had an obligation to mitigate the effects of segregation, whatever its cause. The board's obligation, the court said, could be discharged either by doing something to relieve segregation or by "a conclusive demonstration that no circumstantially possible effort can effect any significant mitigation." Branche v. Board of Education of the Town of Hempstead, School District No. 1, 204 F. Supp. 150 at 153, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 361 at 364 (E.D. N.Y., 1962).

Apart from the serious constitutional question which the Hempstead case raises, it also appears to have narrowed the choices of school organization to the alternative likely to do most in mitigating the effects of segregation. A central difficulty with this theory is that reasonable men are in fundamental disagreement over what constitutes the best alternative. It might well be that a maximum of racial mixing in schools would not in every case be the "best" answer for education or for mitigating the effects of segregation either.

Perhaps the best answer to a Hempstead kind of problem - for some time to come at least - is to apply the more traditional division of responsibility between judicial and legislative processes.

As a judicial matter, the constitutional question would be one of a school board's intention to segregate. The earlier cases involving school segregation made it clear that plaintiffs can make a prima facie case for relief by demonstrating that segregation exists in the schools. The burden then would shift to the defendant school authorities to rebut the case made against them. Where school officials can demonstrate that the system

operates on rational educational and geographic grounds designed without an intent to preserve segregation and can show that segregation results from other forces, the plaintiffs would be denied judicial relief. Judicial relief could, of course, be granted where such justification cannot be demonstrated.

On the other hand, failure to obtain judicial relief would not exhaust the plaintiffs' opportunities to press for change. By political action they could then appeal to the legislative processes of the state and community for organization of schools in a manner which mitigated the effects of residential segregation. So long as the state confined itself to alternatives which did not significantly disadvantage any group and which dispelled any intent to segregate, it could experiment within a wide range of choice.

In short, school officials could be either color-blind or could become benignly color conscious and act to mitigate the effects of private segregation in housing. The choice between these alternatives would be a political one, not judicially enforceable.

There are numerous instances in which communities have made the political choice of taking race benignly into account. Highland Park, Michigan, Oberlin, Ohio, and Princeton, New Jersey, have consciously re-zoned schools to promote integration. San Francisco, after protests had been received, closed down a junior high school altogether in the Fall of 1962 which would have been 60 percent Negro and dispersed the pupils through other schools to produce more integration. And in October 1962 California's Board of Education adopted a policy which directed local school boards to consider the "ethnic composition" of schools in fixing zone lines and in

locating new schools, thus directing the whole state to become benignly conscious of race in the organization and operation of its schools.

What seems clear from all of this is that the problems of school segregation vary greatly from community to community and that sweeping solutions for them are not at hand. What seems needed is much more experimentation. Open enrollment and free transfer systems need more study. So do other systems which focus on holding all children in neighborhood patterns and work at creating better schools.

Proposals for Congress: Generally

Suggestions for increased federal involvement in problems of school segregation have taken numerous forms. Some of those to be considered here could probably be carried out by Executive action under powers implied from existing authority. All the suggestions, however, are appropriate subjects for Congressional action and many of them can be carried out only with further Congressional support.

For convenience of discussion the suggestions have been grouped into five categories which in some measure overlap each other. They are:

I. Explicit Policy Support by Congress of School Desegregation

II. Improvement of Machinery for Enforcing Desegregation

III. Withholding Federal Funds

IV. Funds to Aid Implementation of Desegregation

V. Federal Services to Aid Implementation

The suggestions compiled below have been drawn from many sources. They come variously from bills which have been introduced in earlier

Congresses, from recommendations of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, from suggestions advanced by both the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations, and from private sources as well. The comments upon the suggestions are my own and are intended only to initiate and stimulate discussion. There is ample room for different value judgments than those expressed here.

I. Explicit Policy Support by Congress of School Desegregation

Congress has not yet thrown its prestige behind the policy of desegregating public schools. In the years immediately following the Brown decisions the Supreme Court came under heavy attack and the failure of both the Congress and the President to support the decision was widely cited as evidence that the decision was both improper and unconstitutional. The attacks have in large measure subsided as the desegregation process matured and a sense of inevitability settled across the South.

The Executive Branch by this time has generally identified itself with support of the decision, but it would still be useful for Congress to declare itself unequivocally as well. Even a simple resolution of agreement, while not constitutionally required to validate the principle, would serve a useful purpose. In the past, however, such declarations of support have been coupled with substantive provisions which Congress failed to adopt and it has not yet been possible to place the question cleanly before Congress, unencumbered by substantive matters which divided those who supported desegregation in principle.

Perhaps it is now too late to give serious thought to an isolated declaration of support. Overt substantive backing of desegregation would speak for

itself and is needed. But if substantive support cannot be had, a declaration of agreement in principle with desegregation should be insisted upon.

II. Improvement of Machinery for Enforcing Desegregation

A. Initiating desegregation actions in the name of the United States.

The proposal that the Attorney General be authorized to initiate school desegregation actions has been advanced in several forms. The two principal ones discussed here are (1) the so-called Title III provision advanced by Attorney General Brownell in 1956; and (2) the bill introduced in 1961 by Senator Joseph Clark and Representative Emanuel Celler entitled "Public School Desegregation Act."

(1) The Title III proposal was designed essentially to provide a new remedy for a federal Civil Rights Act, known as the Ku Klux Klan Act, that dated back to 1871.[11] This Act had provided civil remedies for persons injured by those who conspired to deprive another of equal protection of the laws or of equal privileges and immunities under the laws. The principal effect of Title III would have been to permit the United States to bring actions on behalf of persons whose rights under the Ku Klux Klan Act were threatened or invaded. Since the Brown case was decided on equal protection grounds, school desegregation actions fall within the scope of the Ku Klux Klan Act and Title III would thus have authorized the Attorney General to initiate suit where there were reasonable grounds to believe children were being excluded from public schools on grounds of race. A further provision of Title III would have struck a hard blow at the Pupil Placement Acts erected by the South after Brown to delay and evade desegregation: the provision dispensed with

any requirement of exhaustion of state remedies before a federal enforcement action could be commenced. The Placement Acts created elaborate administrative remedies which under existing judicial doctrine had first to be exhausted before court action could be commenced. This produced great delay and often so heavy a burden that Negroes abandoned their efforts before completing the administrative proceedings. Only in the past several years have the courts placed substantial curbs on this feature of the Placement Acts.

(2) The Clark-Celler Bill of 1961, unlike Title III, was a comprehensive effort to deal specifically with school desegregation.[12] A companion bill introduced at the same time would have authorized the Attorney General to bring actions in the name of the United States for enforcement of other civil rights than those involving school problems.[13]

The Clark-Celler School Desegregation Bill proposed a statutory duty on school boards to desegregate. Unless a board were under a court order to desegregate or had already achieved substantial desegregation, it would be obligated to file a plan for desegregation with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare within 180 days following enactment of the bill. The plan would be required to specify a detailed program for prompt and complete elimination of racial factors from its school operations and to provide for "first-step compliance" with that program not later than the commencement of the 1963-1964 school year. Finally, each board required to submit a plan was obligated to implement it in good faith and with all deliberate speed.

Another part of the bill authorized the Attorney General to bring suits in the name of the United States to enforce the duties to adopt and implement a desegregation program. Enforcement would be directed against school boards which failed to submit satisfactory plans to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare or which did not execute the plans adequately thereafter.

Several other features of the Clark-Celler bill deserve reference.

First, the bill defined "desegregation" in terms which required school officials to adopt a color-blind attitude:

> Sec. 101. As used in this Act--
>
> (a) "Desegregation" means the assignment of all students to public schools irrespective of their race or color. No assignment system in which race or color is a factor in the initial assignment of students to particular public schools shall be deemed to have achieved desegregation even though placement or other tests or transfers or options may be available to change such assignment.

This definition stands in sharp contrast to the concept of desegregation urged on behalf of Negroes attacking de facto segregation in communities of the North and West. As discussed earlier in this memorandum, many of the demands made in those areas insist upon benign awareness of race and color in order that schools may be organized to promote integration by mitigating the effects of residential segregation. The Clark-Celler definition, if legislatively adopted, is now likely to spur protests from many Negroes. It would imply policy restrictions on integration as they are now striving for it and would curtail in any event the involvement of the federal government in many problems they insist must be solved through reorganization of schools.

Another feature of the bill carried over the proposal from Title III which dispensed with the need for exhausting state remedies as a prerequisite to federal enforcement of desegregation. As previously noted, recent judicial decisions have moved far in this direction. This has occurred in cases which hold that administrative remedies need not be followed in systems which leave dual schools in existence and merely permit desegregation for individuals who affirmatively seek it. The right secured in Brown, these courts have said, is to a unitary system of schools. See Northcross v. Board of Education of the City of Memphis, 302 F. 2d 818 at 822-823, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 40 at 44 (C.A. 6, 1962), cert. denied 370 U.S. 944 (1962); Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, 308 F. 2d 491 at 499, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 693 at 700 (C.A. 5, 1962); Augustus v. Board of Public Instruction, 306 F. 2d 862 at 869, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 669 at 674 (C.A. 5, 1962); and compare Jeffers v. Whitley, [unreported as this is written] (C.A. 4, 1962).

Another feature of Clark-Celler would appear to confine the Justice Department's initial proceedings to members of the school board, defined as any agency or person that directs or controls the assignment of pupils to public schools. Whether those who threaten to cut off state school aids or who interfere in ways not directly connected with assignment of pupils may be joined in the action prior to rendition of a decree is perhaps questionable in light of the language in the bill. The bill does, however, make provision for proceeding against successors to board members, thus dealing with the circumstance which may arise when a board resigns to evade a duty to desegregate.

Finally, the bill would authorize annual appropriations of 40 million dollars for technical assistance and financial aids to desegregation. This will be discussed further in IV, infra.

In its 1961 biennial Report, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights backed in substance the major provisions of the Clark-Celler bill discussed above.[14]

Both Title III and the Clark-Celler approach to increasing federal involvement in the enforcement of desegregation have substantial virtues. Neither seems to meet the concerns, referred to earlier on pages 12 and 13 of this memorandum, that federal involvement might displace Negroes from their vanguard position in enforcing desegregation and that federal enforcement agencies might settle for more conservative desegregation programs than could be won in the courts by more highly motivated private action. The color-blind definition of desegregation contained in the Clark-Celler bill seems evidently at odds with the benignly color-conscious concept being sought on behalf of Negroes in the North and West. Arguably, such efforts to define criteria legislatively in light of the picture as it is now understood could hamper future organic developments through the judicial process.

B. Expediting Desegregation Litigation.

Delay in court has been a serious problem in the enforcement of school desegregation. Attorneys for school officials frequently have engaged in all sorts of dilatory tactics simply to buy time. They have thus taken advantage of any procedural mis-steps by the attorneys for the plaintiffs and have re-litigated time and again questions which have been solidly put to rest

by prior precedents. Occasionally, too, some federal judges have been slow in setting motions for hearings or cases for trial. But the delay cannot in all cases be attributed to the courts and the attorneys for school officials. Attorneys representing Negro plaintiffs have in some instances been long in seeking to try actions which they have commenced, sometimes for tactical reasons and at other times because the plaintiffs themselves have proven hesitant to go forward with the case.

Numerous suggestions have been made for expediting desegregation litigation, of which four will be considered here.

(1) Use of three-judge District courts. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights suggested in its 1960 report on higher education that three-judge District courts be authorized to hear cases involving a substantial question of whether equal protection in education was being denied.[15] One advantage in this device lies in the fact that appeals from three-judge courts may be taken directly to the Supreme Court, circumventing review by the Court of Appeals.

Several good reasons exist for resisting the temptation to by-pass the Courts of Appeal. For one, the judges of the Courts of Appeal probably have as a group the most comprehensive overview of the desegregation process of any group of judges. The Supreme Court has heard few of the cases on their merits; the Circuit Courts, many from numerous places. And the experience of District judges has almost invariably been confined to cases in their own locale. Again, practical considerations of greatest importance argue against burdening the Supreme Court with working out the de-

tails of the transition; the Courts of Appeal have been forceful, imaginative, and effective in developing implementing details and resolving conflicts among the District courts. Finally, the principal justification for side-stepping the Courts of Appeal is to save time. Since ways exist for mitigating the delaying effects of an appeal, these should be explored before adding to the burden of an overloaded Supreme Court.

(2) Declaring a priority for desegregation cases. Numerous provisions exist for speeding exceptional cases ahead of ordinary litigation in federal courts. The calendar practices and rules for advancing cases to trial vary from one judicial district to another, as do the calendar practices in the Courts of Appeal. But it is generally safe to say that on motion and for cause shown any kind of judicial proceeding may be advanced in time in both the District courts and the Courts of Appeal. And under Rule 43 (4) of the Supreme Court of the United States it is provided that "Cases may be advanced or postponed by order of the court, upon motion duly made showing good cause therefor."

A general declaration of policy by Congress that school desegregation proceedings are presumptively entitled to priority in handling over the general run of federal litigation would bring these cases within the ambit of the various rules for advancing the time of hearing and determining of particular kinds of issues. Probably the priority status should be available on motion rather than assigned automatically; speed is not in all cases helpful and the parties should have the option of requesting a priority position. It might also be well to provide that an order denying a motion to advance

a proceeding growing out of a school desegregation action should be accompanied by findings of fact and conclusions of law which constitute the grounds for denying the motion; this would simplify proceedings for a writ of mandamus from the next higher appellate court.

(3) Denying stays pending appeal from desegregation decrees. Where District courts have entered orders directing desegregation there has been a marked tendency to withhold relief until the final appeal has been put to rest, regardless of the nature of the objections which the losing party may have advanced. This practice has tended to encourage appeals simply because of the added delay occasioned.

A policy of withholding relief pending appeal had considerable justification in the period immediately following the Brown case. The federal courts at every level were feeling their way toward workable solutions for a host of substantial questions which grew both out of the complexities of school administration and out of the widespread adoption of evasive devices. By this time, however, a great many of these earlier questions have been settled. The District courts have not displayed much tendency to decree more desegregation than the higher courts thought was called for under the circumstances.[16] Experience has been that a District court desegregation order has either been affirmed on appeal or altered to require more, rather than less, desegregation. And, finally, a wide variety of court approved desegregation plans is at hand and the choice of one of these will reduce virtually to zero the chances that such a plan will be set aside on appeal for going farther than the Constitution requires.

Already there are precedents for putting desegregation plans into effect in advance of an appeal where there are no substantial questions left for appeal. As long ago as the Autherine Lucy case the Supreme Court ordered reinstatement of a District court injunction against racial discrimination by officials at the University of Alabama after the District court had granted the defendants a stay of injunction pending appeal. The Supreme Court's order reinstating the injunction came down before the appeal had been heard by the Court of Appeals and the cases cited by the Court suggested that the petitioner's rights to immediate enrollment had been made clear by earlier decisions and the taking of an appeal by the defendants in her case could not operate to impose a further delay. Lucy v. Adams, 350 U.S. 1 (1955). Similarly, in the Meredith case Mr. Justice Black declined to permit a stay of the order admitting Meredith when the University of Mississippi asked for delay in order that it could seek review in the Supreme Court. Meredith v. Fair, 83 S.Ct. 10 (1962).[17]

It may be useful for Congress to declare that desegregation orders of District courts shall take immediate effect, regardless of the taking of an appeal, in the absence of a showing either (a) that there is substantial likelihood the appeal will invalidate the relief granted; or (b) that the issues posed for appeal are substantial and of such novelty that the enforcement of the decree should be withheld pending their final resolution on appeal.

Considerable care will be required in framing such a rule. If it were too inflexible, its tendency might be to discourage entry of any but the most token kinds of desegregation decrees, or still more likely, would result in fixing time limits which would enable taking an appeal before the District

court decree was due to become effective.

But any rules which encourage putting District court orders immediately into effect will discourage taking appeals, and will surely speed the process substantially. Such a practice of immediate enforcement might also tend to encourage greater compliance since the Supreme Court has suggested in another context that dismissal of an appeal may be an appropriate sanction against an appellant shown to be in contempt of the court for violating orders of the court below. See National Union of Marine Cooks v. Arnold, 348 U.S. 37 (1954).

(4) Sanctions against dilatory tactics. Typically in American litigation a victorious party does not recover all his out-of-pocket expenses for conducting litigation. He will get a judgment for his damages (if any), plus some statutory "costs" which reimburse him for but a small part of his attorney's fees and other expenses of litigation. There are, however, some exceptions to this general rule. Some federal statutes expressly authorize recovery of actual costs of litigation[18] and an equitable doctrine recognized by the federal courts permits recovery of out-of-pocket expenses where another's conduct has put the party to the burden of having to litigate frivolous issues.[19]

I have earlier discussed with a number of Negro attorneys the question of seeking recovery of out-of-pocket costs in school litigation in cases where the defendants have continued to litigate well-settled questions. They have generally indicated that they were concerned about the tactics of this and somewhat fearful that the practice might be used against them by prejudiced

judges. Interestingly, however, attorneys for Negro plaintiffs in a Virginia school case recently asked the court for award of full attorneys' fees on the grounds that the defendants were deliberately evading the plaintiffs' constitutional rights and the plaintiffs were without funds to employ counsel.[20]

It is perhaps worthwhile considering whether to recommend adoption of a federal statute authorizing litigation costs in school cases where completely frivolous issues are inserted for purposes of delay or harassment.

C. Mediation and Conciliation Services.

Early in 1959 then Senator Lyndon Johnson proposed the formation of an independent federal agency to be known as the "Community Relations Service." The duty of this agency would be to "provide conciliation assistance in communities where (1) disagreements or difficulties regarding the laws or Constitution of the United States, or (2) disagreements or difficulties which affect or may affect interstate commerce, are disrupting, or are threatening to disrupt, peaceful relations among citizens of such communities."[21]

In a similar vein, the Commission on Civil Rights has twice recommended that it be given authority to establish a conciliation service to assist in the process of school desegregation.[22]

The proposals for federal mediation or conciliation services to assist school desegregation do not appear to have won much support anywhere. Surely the use of such a service should not be required as a preliminary condition for bringing judicial action; to do so would simply introduce another instrument of delay. Perhaps the proposal could serve a worthwhile purpose in communities of the North and West, but in the resistant

areas of the South the symbol of federal intervention is regarded with hostility for the most part and the federal courts, accepted for many purposes, seem better equipped to handle the matter with dispatch. The use of technical and consultative services, to be supplied on request from local communities, is discussed in V, infra, and appears to be a more acceptable approach.

III. Withholding Federal Funds

As pointed out at the beginning of this memorandum, federal funds reach directly and indirectly both public and private elementary and secondary schools through a number of programs. There have been numerous proposals for cutting off these funds where they are being employed in schools which persist in racial segregation. The proposals have been advanced both on grounds of general policy and of illegality in using the funds in segregated situations.

The legality of using public funds to promote segregation seems clearly to be in doubt, but the question - so far as elementary and secondary schools are concerned - is whether to cut off the funds or to permit them to be used and employ other machinery to enforce desegregation of the schools which employ them.

Over the dissent of one of its members, the Commission on Civil Rights recommended a partial withholding of federal grants for elementary and secondary schools in states which still operated completely segregated school districts.[23] The Commission formula would have cut the aids in half for states in which no desegregation had occurred. States partially desegregated would receive half their allotment plus a share of the balance

represented by the ratio of desegregated districts to all the biracial districts in the state.

The Commission's proposal would presumably qualify a district which had undertaken even the barest token desegregation to count for purposes of receiving full federal funds, and thus would not directly encourage more substantial desegregation. Yet the problem of allocating federal funds according to the extent to which desegregation has taken place would appear to be an almost impossible task in view of the widely variable patterns of school organization and the still unresolved question of what constitutes a "desegregated" school in constitutional terms.

A more general difficulty with proposals for withholding funds from elementary and secondary schools is the direct effect they have on children in the areas affected. Children at these grade levels usually attend schools near their homes; there is not the mobility which exists among students in obtaining higher education. Moreover, the districts which still remain entirely segregated at present tend to operate what are academically and otherwise the poorest schools and these districts need all the help they can get. The larger urban districts of the South, with their generally better schools, have for the most part experienced at least some token desegregation.

All told, withholding of federal funds from elementary and secondary schools to enforce at least token desegregation appears to be a harsh sanction which penalizes Negro and white children alike. Incidentally, the Clark-Celler bill of 1961 did not contain such a proposal.

IV. Funds to Aid Implementation of Desegregation

Other proposals have suggested making federal funds available to assist in meeting some of the special problems which grow out of efforts to implement desegregation. The Commission on Civil Rights has made general recommendations to this effect[24] and the Clark-Celler bill would have authorized annual appropriations of 40 million dollars for this purpose. The bill authorizing general federal aid to education which passed the Senate in 1961 would have permitted states to use approximately 10 percent of their annual allotment for purposes of special education projects, a provision which might have furnished further funds for remedial and other kinds of programs which would have assisted problems related to desegregation.[25]

The 40 million dollar authorization in the Clark-Celler bill for special federal aids would have permitted grants to be allocated for any of the following purposes:

(1) Employing additional personnel such as teachers and community counselors;

(2) in-service training programs for school personnel;

(3) replacing funds withheld from schools or teachers by local or state authorities because of desegregation [the Commission on Civil Rights alternatively recommended the use of loans rather than grants for this purpose; the Commission proposal appears more sound since the availability of grants might simply have encouraged the cutting off of local and state funds when schools desegregated];[26]

(4) construction or alteration of school facilities; and

(5) other costs directly related to the process of eliminating segregation.

The general federal aid bill would have authorized annual appropriations of 850 million dollars for each of three succeeding years in the form of grants to states, restricted to use in public schools, which could be employed both for school construction and teacher salaries, in addition to use in special education projects as earlier mentioned. State aids were to be based on a complex formula which would have produced an average grant of $18.54 per child within the 5 to 17 year age group. No state would receive less than half the national average per child ($9.27) nor more than half again the average ($27.81). Between those extremes the states would receive an amount roughly equal to the inverse ratio of its per capita income per child compared to the national average per child.

The poorer states would, of course, have been the principal beneficiaries of the legislation had it passed.

Without entering the debate over the propriety of turning to federal sources for such aid, the need for further assistance to elementary and secondary education seems manifest. The general provisions of both the Clark-Celler bill and the Federal Aid bill would appear to make good sense as one way of meeting urgent problems, especially as they grow out of the cultural and social deprivations which lie so heavy on many children of minority group and rural extraction. Certainly school desegregation is severely handicapped by the relative position of disadvantage of many Negro children who have simply not had the training required to permit them to

compete on equal terms with most white children at the same grade levels. And there is need, too, for specialized training of teachers who work with disadvantaged children; part of this can be furnished by in-service training programs but it is of at least equal importance that schools of education prepare a substantial fraction of would-be teachers to handle the distinctive problems of the disadvantaged child.

In short, real need exists for the financial aids contained in both the Clark-Celler bill and the general federal aid bill.

V. Federal Services to Aid Implementation

Apart from direct federal aids to the states which can assist school desegregation, there appear to be distinctive services which can best be performed at a national level. Four such activities will be suggested.

A. Surveillance of Racial Problems in Education.

Under the authority thus far granted it in the three two-year terms of its existence, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has been able to devote some attention to questions of equal protection as they relate to education. Earlier the Commission's operations in the field of education were confined to detailed legal studies relating to education, or to conferences and public hearings which tended to focus on spectacular, big picture evidences of discrimination rather than detailed consideration of the impact of economic and social discrimination, education theory and practices, and law upon segregation in schools. In its two recent series of field studies of school segregation the Commission has turned more attention to these problems but much more inquiry of this kind is needed.

Another function, almost untouched by the Commission, involves surveillance of federal administrative policies and practices in agencies which have some impact upon education. There is good reason to believe that the administration of the existing federal aid and service programs affecting elementary and public schools has been largely indifferent to, and even fearful of, questions of racial discrimination. At best this kind of indifference merely fosters the continuation of state practices of discrimination and may in subtle ways serve to encourage them.

The problem of internally policing the policies and practices of the federal government - the largest business in the world - is of course much broader than merely the concern over federal involvement with public education. With federal activities touching so many facets of national life, it seems imperative that conscious surveillance of federal practices be undertaken by some agency of the government, seeking to understand what goes on, and trying to fashion ways of correcting discrimination where it is found to exist.

Whether a reconstituted Commission on Civil Rights is an appropriate vehicle for achieving the kind of federal housekeeping that is required presents a difficult question. The more important point, however, is not the question of determining which agency undertakes the job but, rather, that some agency be created to do the housekeeping. Some thought and discussion can usefully be given to the needs and shape of such an agency.

B. Research into Segregation Problems; School Censuses by Ethnic Composition.

Good reasons can be mustered for placing in the hands of the Office of Education responsibility for sponsoring both public and private research into problems of school segregation and reporting on various processes which have been at work aimed at mitigating its effects. Thus far, the work of the Commission on Civil Rights appears to represent about the only federal contribution to this needed area.

If, as it is probably not possible to do, we could write on a clean slate, a good case can be made for abandoning the Office of Education (and much of its personnel perhaps) and starting anew with an agency into which could be consolidated the responsibility for the myriad federal aid and service programs to education. That agency could also be charged with primary responsibility for being consciously on guard against the existence of discriminatory policies and practices in these programs. Whether the same agency could also have a hand in administration of the countless programs which pour research funds into institutions of higher education for such things as health, defense and space programs is probably impossible. Nevertheless, the impact of these programs on institutions of higher learning is tremendous and raises not only questions of racial discrimination but many others as well which require far more thought than they get.

But without attempting something so extravagant as a major overhauling of the agencies which have impact on American education and a re-thinking of their roles, there are some lesser things which can be done that will

help. With its annual summary for 1953-1954, the Office of Education abandoned the practice of keeping its school statistics by race. Surely this would be restored and enlarged to embrace periodic and extensive school censuses by race. Information based on head counts furnishes aid which is often invaluable in locating discriminatory practices. Nowhere is this kind of thing comprehensively available. The Commission on Civil Rights has recommended such census taking and it makes good sense.[27] Moreover, the Office of Education should undertake a present hard-headed look at the programs it administers and see to it that some of the funds it administers for studies of school problems go into racial problems affecting education. Whether Congressional action is needed to spur this is perhaps questionable, but it may be the only way for this to be achieved.

C. Clearinghouse Services for Materials Related to Desegregation.

There is urgent need for a clearinghouse activity to distribute materials relating to problems of school segregation. This function should include materials from public sources and, where permission can be obtained, from private sources as well. It should also furnish bibliographic services. The Commission on Civil Rights has recommended that such a function be given to it,[28] but the Office of Education has recently announced the intention of undertaking some function of this kind. It is too early to evaluate the program in the Office of Education and perhaps there would be some utility in having both agencies work at the job. The job, in any case, should be done.

D. Consultative Services.

As previously noted in II, C, supra, the Commission on Civil Rights has twice requested authority to undertake mediation and conciliation services to assist desegregation. There are good reasons to believe that a more useful function would be to supply, on request, the services of consultants who could assist communities in planning to meet racial problems which arise in education. There is real need for these and if furnished, it is probably desirable that they come from the Office of Education rather than the Commission on Civil Rights simply because it appears likely that resistant communities would be more willing to accept them from the Office of Education.

Part II, dealing with problems of higher education, follows.

PART II. HIGHER EDUCATION

Federal Involvement: Generally

Federal involvement in higher education is substantial. An extensive report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at the end of 1960 estimated that federal expenditures affecting higher education at that time ran between 1.5 and 2 billion dollars annually.[29]

The patterns of federal involvement in higher education differ in significant respects from that for elementary and secondary schools. There is little centralization of the total effort: a bewildering array of programs is administered by numerous agencies which tend to work independently of one another. Nor are federal contributions confined largely to public institutions; rather, the programs tend to flow either to individuals or to non-profit institutions both private and public. Again, a major fraction of the funds is concentrated either on research or upon the improvement of academic standards in mathematics, languages, and the biological and physical sciences, with emphasis focused on the merits of particular projects.

A few of the programs overtly contribute to racial discrimination, most notably in the explicit legislative approval of separate Negro and white land grant colleges. More indirectly, racial discrimination is fostered by programs which go into institutions which either practice complete segregation or permit only token desegregation. The heavy emphasis upon merit in the selection of particular projects also works to the Negro's disadvantage because of the generally inferior academic quality of all-Negro institutions and the usually poorer training of Negroes at every level of education.

Discussion of the major federal programs affecting higher education follows.

Federal Involvement: College Housing

Title IV of the Housing Act of 1950 provides direct long-term loans at low interest rates to assist private and public institutions of higher learning in the development of housing and related facilities for students and faculty. The program is administered by the Community Facilities Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. With the year ending June 30, 1961, the total of outstanding loans was authorized to reach a ceiling of 1,675 million dollars. Legislation subsequently effective provides for increasing the lending power annually by 300 million dollars through the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1964.

Loans have gone to colleges and universities, both private and public, which practice racial discrimination in their admission or dormitory policies or both. The President's Executive Order for housing, signed November 20, 1962, appears - literally at least - to apply nondiscriminatory requirements as to all future loans made under the program. The fact that the Executive Order does not apply retroactively leaves unresolved the question of discrimination in facilities provided for by previous loans.[30]

Federal Involvement: Improving Educational Quality

(1) National Defense Education Act. The Commissioner on Education administers at least four programs authorized by the National Defense Education Act to provide grants for use by private and public institutions of higher learning:

(a) National defense fellowships, designed to enlarge the supply of college teachers and to promote a broader geographic distribution of graduate training facilities;[31]

(b) Institutes to enhance training of high school guidance counselors;[32]

(c) Advanced training in foreign areas and languages, including training centers, language institutes, and research in foreign language training;[33] and

(d) Research in educational media.[34]

(2) National Science Foundation "Institutes." The National Science Foundation, an independent agency established by Congress in 1950,[35] operates an extensive program which sponsors institutes to improve the competence of teachers in the fields of science, mathematics and engineering. The institutes are operated by colleges and universities under NSF grants which support the operating costs and provide stipends for those who attend the institutes. The institutes provide training for teachers at all levels and thus benefit elementary and secondary schools as well as institutions of higher learning. The types of institutes vary considerably in content and time. Some run for an entire academic year, others over the course of the summer, and still others provide for in-service training of teachers. All told approximately 70 million dollars was available for these during 1961 and more than 33,000 persons were involved as participants. In 1960 the National Science Foundation thus described to the Commission on Civil Rights the criteria it followed in awarding grants for the institute program:

In general, awards are made in support of those programs judged to be most meritorious. However, in cases of substantially equal merit, factors such as geographic and subject matter balance in the program are considered, and institutions which do not practice discrimination are given preference over those in which discrimination is believed to exist. As in the case of Foundation-supported research, unilateral action by the Foundation could result in a substantial geographic gap with respect to strengthening of education in the sciences throughout the nation.[36]

Federal Involvement: Agricultural and Mechanical Arts

The Morrill Act of 1862[37] represented the first major federal commitment to higher education and was apparently done with the design of democratizing the process by installing programs which furnished training in agricultural and mechanical arts that would be useful to a larger segment of the people. Aid was furnished in the form of grants of public lands to the states to create a perpetual fund for support of at least one college in each state which could have as its leading object the promotion of "liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."[38]

Direct annual financial aids to the land grant colleges were inaugurated with passage of the second Morrill Act of 1890 and later amendments over the years have increased the amount of aid and enlarged the scope of the program.[39] The second Morrill Act reflected the spirit of its time and specifically authorized use of the funds for separate Negro and white schools, provided the funds were equitably divided among the races; this separate but equal provision remains on the books today.[40] As the Jim

Crow movement swept across the South in the 1890's and the early 1900's, separate land grant colleges were designated for Negroes, although elsewhere in the country only a single college (presumably desegregated) was designated for each state.

The Office of Education today administers the program of direct financial aids to land grant colleges. These grants total approximately 2.5 million dollars annually and in the states which continue to operate two land grant colleges apparently divide the funds equitably between the Negro and white schools.[41]

Two other programs affecting the land grant colleges appear to operate to the considerable disadvantage of Negroes in the Southern states. The older of the programs, first established by the Hatch Act of 1887,[42] provides for grants which help support an agricultural experiment station to be operated in connection with a land grant college in each state. The second program provides support for agricultural extension services to be operated by a land grant college in each state.[43] Federal statutes in both instances permit the legislatures of the states which operate both Negro and white land grant colleges to designate which of the schools shall operate the experimental station and provide the extension services. And the Southern states have uniformly designated the white rather than the Negro land grant college to perform these functions in the state. The fact that segregation substantially persists in many of these two-college states means of course that Negroes pretty well lose out on participation in both the experiment station operation and in the extension activities.

Funds to land grant colleges for operation of agricultural experiment stations and providing agricultural extension activities are administered by the Secretary of Agriculture. For 1960 some 30 million dollars went to the land grant colleges for operation of the experiment stations and more than 52 million for extension activities.

Federal Involvement: Research

The major fraction of federal funds going annually to higher education institutions, both private and public, consists of grants or contracts for research. These come from numerous sources and are administered by different agencies. Because these programs seek primarily to promote particular research ends and call for placement of funds in hands most likely to get the best results, the agencies which administer the programs generally concede that they ignore racial considerations. Funds thus may go to institutions which do engage in various discriminatory practices. Moreover, research programs which require substantial physical plants or large numbers of specially qualified people tend to by-pass the all-Negro colleges and universities because of the limitations which so many of those institutions suffer.

The Armed Forces, the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Health and the Department of Agriculture - among others - administer large sums of money which go into grants or contracts for both basic and applied research.

Federal Involvement: Direct Aid to Students

Reference has already been made to programs administered by the National Science Foundation and under the National Defense Education Act which provide for grants to teachers and would-be teachers in such fields as mathematics, languages, the natural and physical sciences, and engineering. The National Science Foundation also administers a highly competitive program of merit graduate fellowships aimed at creating a reservoir of trained scientists; the recipient of the award is free to use it at the institution of his choice, whether private or public.[44]

Apart from these specialized stipends and awards to individuals there are at least three other kinds of financial assistance to students:

(1) Student loans under National Defense Education Act. This program makes annual contributions of nearly 60 million dollars for loans to students enrolled in generally accredited colleges and universities, both private and public.[45] The Commissioner of Education allocates the funds among the states according to the ratio between college students enrolled in the state and all such students enrolled in the nation. A given institution, to participate in the program, must contribute an amount available for loans equal to one-ninth of the federal contribution it receives. The allocation made to each state is in turn distributed proportionately among the locally eligible institutions according to their enrollment. Students may obtain low-interest loans of as much as $1,000 annually up to an amount not to exceed $5,000 per individual. Need and ability are the criteria for dispersing the loans and students enrolled in any recognized

academic program are eligible (i.e., loans are not restricted to those majoring in science or other specialized areas). In 1961 some 145,000 students obtained loans through 1,400 different institutions of higher education. The program appears to operate without racial discrimination, although institutions which practice discrimination participate in it.

(2) Education of Korean Conflict Veterans. The Korean G.I. education program is dropping off sharply at present. An estimated 100,000 Korean veterans received college benefits in fiscal 1961 and the number was expected to drop to half that level in 1962.[46] The veteran may select any generally accredited school and discrimination appears to enter the picture only insofar as he may be barred from private or public institutions.

(3) War Orphans' Educational Assistance. This 1956 legislation provides financial support for 36 months of education to children of persons who died as a result of service-connected disabilities sustained in World Wars I or II, or in the Korean conflict.[47] Support becomes available when the child reaches 18 or has completed secondary school, whichever comes first. The recipient may use the aid either to complete his secondary education, to go on to college, or for special vocational training. The number of orphans receiving benefits in fiscal 1962 was estimated at about 12,000 and the overall number is expected to rise. As in the case of the earlier G.I. bill, the recipient may use the support at any generally accredited school of his choice. The Veterans Administration administers this program, as it does the Korean veteran educational program.

Proposals for Congress: Generally

Discrimination in institutions of higher learning poses some considerations different from those encountered with respect to elementary and secondary education.

Substantial federal funds go into private, non-profit institutions, the operation of which, without more, appears to be free of controls imposed by either the Fifth or Fourteenth Amendments. Decisions under the Fourteenth Amendment have, however, barred the use of public funds in private schools which practice segregation, notably in the instance of Prince Edward County, Virginia. On the other hand, it does not yet seem clear that judicial relief can be obtained to enforce desegregation of institutions which accept public funds; and it may well be that judicial action is confined to cutting off public funds for institutions which persist in discriminatory practices.

Again, it would appear that it lies within the power of Congress to condition expenditure of public funds upon the requirement that institutions may receive them only if they abandon discrimination. It is also reasonable that an institution which accepted public funds upon such a condition could also be subjected to judicial action to compel desegregation. Whether, without the declaration of such a condition by Congress, coercive judicial action may be employed to enforce desegregation because federal funds have been employed is - as previously indicated - still an open question.

Where public institutions are concerned there is of course an existing obligation imposed either by the Fifth or Fourteenth Amendment to abandon discrimination, regardless of whether federal funds are accepted

by them. Until now, however, there have been few suggestions that the Attorney General bring actions in the name of the United States to enforce desegregation of public institutions of higher learning. The Clark-Celler School Desegregation Bill, previously discussed, spoke only to actions by the United States against secondary and elementary schools, although a companion proposal introduced with it would have provided general authority to enforce civil rights of individuals in the name of the United States. This presumably would embrace rights to non-discriminatory admission in public institutions of higher learning. Recommendations from the Commission on Civil Rights have not thus far suggested the use of actions by the Attorney General to enforce desegregation at the college or university level, however.

The question of authorizing actions in the name of the United States to enforce desegregation of both private and public institutions of higher learning is one which this conference can appropriately discuss.

I. Explicit Federal Policy Against Racial Discrimination

As in the case of elementary and secondary schools, Congress has not declared a federal policy against discriminatory practices by institutions which receive federal assistance. The power to declare such a policy seems clear in light of prevailing views of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendment. Nor should such a declaration be inconsistent with a strongly marked Congressional policy of insisting that federal aids not be conditioned upon federal control over the administration, curriculum or personnel of the institution which receives them. It must be conceded that the

two policies in some measure conflict but insistence that racial discrimination not be practiced in making choices respecting administrative, curricular or personnel decisions.

At a minimum Congress should at least remove explicit statutory recognition of the separate but equal doctrine. This, it will be recalled, still exists in the provisions of the second Morrill Act with respect to the establishment of racially separate land grant colleges. [The School Lunch Program, available only at secondary and elementary levels, also contains a provision requiring equitable distribution of funds by states which operate segregated schools, a point which should have been raised in the previous part of this paper.[48]]

Apart from statutes explicitly recognizing the right to pursue racially discriminatory practices, however, there remains good reason for Congress broadly to declare itself against the practice of discrimination by those who administer or receive federal funds.

From Attorney John Silard has come a comprehensive proposal for declaring and implementing a federal policy against discriminatory practices in education.[49] He would declare a policy in favor of using federal funds to promote desegregation in colleges and universities. He questioned the recommendation, twice made by the Commission on Civil Rights,[50] which called for withholding federal aids from public institutions which practiced discrimination, arguing that this would cut off aids to all-Negro schools which operated under state laws requiring segregation. Mr. Silard would permit funds to go into these all-Negro schools where it could

be shown that the result was likely to strengthen their programs, thus improving prospects for their ultimate desegregation and also helping Negroes prepare themselves to compete in desegregated situations.

At the same time, Mr. Silard would employ the sanction of withholding funds where they were unlikely to promote desegregation. He would also encourage selective use of funds to promote desegregation in other ways. In programs based upon merit he would choose - where cases of comparable merit were submitted - the institution which had done most to desegregate, hopefully to encourage schools which had undertaken only token desegregation to speed up the process.

The difficulty involved in withholding funds is the same here as in the case of elementary and secondary schools, discussed on pages 43 and 44 of this memorandum. Nevertheless, Mr. Silard's proposal is an interesting one which merits discussion.

II. Funds to Aid Implementation of Desegregation

Inadequate prior training and generally lower academic levels in all-Negro colleges impose severe handicaps upon many Negroes at the college level. Both the National Defense Act and the National Science Foundation are directed at broadening the geographic distribution of and strengthening educational programs at the college and graduate levels. Both programs, however, place stress on specialized areas such as mathematics, languages, science and engineering.

An interesting proposal has come from the House Committee on Education and Labor for expanding the concept employed in both those programs

of contracting with colleges and universities to conduct institutes for elementary and secondary teachers to improve their skills in teaching all general academic subjects.[51] Responsibility for the program would be in the hands of the Commissioner of Education, who would also be given enlarged powers under the Cooperative Research in Education Act to encourage development of remedial programs. While this House Committee proposal would only indirectly affect higher education, it would assist in ultimately preparing more culturally disadvantaged children for college and surely work to the Negro's advantage if adopted.

How much more, in the form of federal aids, can be done to implement desegregation at the university level should be discussed. Without question many all-Negro colleges both private and public need much strengthening. So for that matter do many other colleges which do not practice discrimination. How far this strengthening process can be aided by federal funds over a short time base is a real question. Factors of prestige and the greater general resources of the better known universities tend to attract the most competent professors and the question of shoring up the weaker schools is a problem likely to haunt us for some time to come.

FOOTNOTES

1. Total federal funds involved in the School Lunch Program reached something more than 300 million dollars in 1962, while state and local contributions (largely payments by children) amounted to more than three-quarters of a billion dollars. Conceived as a benefit to children, the program is available to private and sectarian schools as well as public ones and all told nearly one-third of the nation's school children participate in the program. See generally 42 USC §§1751-1760.

2. The "Impact-Area" program is authorized in 20 USC §§631-645. Between 1951 and 1961 something more than one billion dollars was expended for more than 50,000 classrooms housing about 1.6 million pupils. Appropriations for fiscal 1961 amounted to about 60 million dollars. Since a portion of these funds was used to furnish assistance to districts for children whose parents worked on federal reservations but resided elsewhere, the Administration recommended in 1961 a reduction of the Impact-Area program to less than half this amount for 1962 on the grounds that Congress should reconsider this phase of the program if it undertook to enact general federal aid to education. The proposals for general federal aid of course failed in the last Congress.

3. The National Defense Education Act appears generally in 20 USC §§401-589. The Act more directly benefits institutions of higher education than it does the elementary and secondary schools. Some 50 million dollars was available in fiscal 1961 for grants to states and loans to nonprofit private schools for the development of programs for teaching science, mathematics, and foreign languages [funds must be used either for acquiring equipment, minor remodeling of laboratories, or for administration of the program]. Another 15 million dollars was available for grants to states for development of guidance counseling and a further 9 million was available for development of area vocational programs.

4. The George-Barden Act and the Smith-Hughes Act, codified at 20 USC §§11-34, provide something more than 40 million dollars for matching grants to states for training students and teachers in agriculture, home economics, trades and industry, distributive occupations, practical nursing, and the fishing trades. The specific provisions of the two acts have a strong rural flavor and the earmarked authorizations for the various vocations suggest that the farmers and home economists walked off with the largest shares of the funds.

5. See 20 USC §§351-358. The amount appropriated for fiscal 1961 was 7.5 million dollars. According to the 1961 Education Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, p. 147, the formula for distribution of grants to the states weighed heavily in favor of the Southern states because of their rural character and they received 43 percent of the granted funds. The Commission Report also found substantial evidence that these states, or some of them, had systematically discriminated against Negroes in the use they made of the funds.

6. Grants for teaching the mentally retarded are authorized in 20 USC §§611-617 and appropriations for 1961 came to one million dollars, more than half of which was available for grants to states for training personnel to supervise educational programs for the mentally retarded. Grants for teaching the deaf go directly to both public and private nonprofit institutions, See 20 USC §§671-676. An appropriation of 1.5 million was authorized for the program in fiscal 1961, the first year of the program.

7. For 1961 appropriations of 56.2 million dollars were available for matching grants to states to provide both training and medical restoration of the handicapped; and an additional 15.4 million for research and teacher training involving the handicapped. See 29 USC §§31-42.

8. The Cooperative Research in Education Act, 20 USC §§331-332, with appropriations for fiscal 1961 of 3.4 million dollars, would appear to afford an excellent vehicle for conducting studies of school segregation and for evolving programs to aid the desegregation process. It has not at this time been put to work for such an end in any material sense.

9. See Table 1, "Segregation-Desegregation Status," reproduced from Southern School News, Dec. 1962, p. 1, which appears here immediately following these footnotes.

10. See Table 1, referred to in note 9, supra. Between 1961 and 1962 the number of Negroes attending school with whites in these six states rose from 6,882 to 12,066.

11. The Ku Klux Klan Act presently appears as 42 USC §1985.

12. The Clark-Celler Bill was introduced in the Senate as S. 1817 and a summary of the bill's contents appears in the Congressional Record, 87 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 7457. This summary is reproduced as Appendix C of this memorandum.

13. S. 1818, summarized in the Congressional Record, 87 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 7458.

14. See the Commission's "Recommendation 1" which is set forth in Appendix A of this memorandum.

15. See the Commission's "Recommendation 2" which is set forth in Appendix B of this memorandum.

16. But see Rippy v. Borders, 250 F.2d 690 (C.A. 5, 1957) [where a rather startling order at an earlier stage of the Dallas case was reversed in

the Court of Appeals on the ground that it failed to provide school authorities with adequate time to prepare]; and Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, 308 F. 2d 491, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 693 (C. A. 5, 1962) [scaling down the District court's order to embrace fewer grades but enlarging the scope of desegregation at the grade levels affected].

17. When, following Meredith's admission to the University of Mississippi, his case came before the Supreme Court for review, the Court declined to hear it, thus leaving in effect the order of the Court of Appeals which had directed his admission. Fair v. Meredith, 83 S. Ct. 49 (1962).

18. A partial list of federal statutes making special provision for recovery of litigation costs in particular situations is found in 6 MOORE, FEDERAL PRACTICE, 2d ed. pp. 1318-1322. In state courts, wives - even when unsuccessful - may usually recover reasonable attorney fees in actions for separation or divorce; and states in numerous other instances make special provision for reimbursement of litigation costs.

19. See generally Sprague v. Ticonic National Bank, 307 U. S. 161 at 164-166 (1939); and Rolax v. Atlantic Coast Line R. Co., 186 F. 2d 473 (C. A. 4, 1951) [a case involving racial discrimination in which Negro plaintiffs were allowed to recover the full amount of their attorneys' fees because the defendants had forced them back into court by asserting frivolous defenses.

20. The request for attorneys' fees in the Virginia case is reported in Southern School News, Dec. 1962, p. 9. The case in question is Bell v. Powhatan County School Board, not reported as this is written.

21. The Johnson conciliation proposal was introduced into the Senate as S. 499, 86 Cong., 1st Sess. (1959).

22. The recommendation first appeared as Recommendation 1 (b) in the REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, 1959, p. 326. The proposal was renewed as Recommendation 6 (b) in the Commission's 1961 biennial report, reproduced in Appendix A of this memorandum.

23. See the Commission's "Recommendation 2" which is set forth in Appendix B of this memorandum. The Commission's "Recommendation 9," appearing in the same Appendix, also recommended withholding funds under the Library Services Act where districts using them practiced racial discrimination in the use of their public library facilities.

24. See the Commission's "Recommendations 4, 5 and 10," which appear in Appendix B of this memorandum.

25. The Federal Aid to Education bill, entitled "School Assistance Act of 1961," passed the Senate May 25, 1961, as S. 1021, 87 Cong., 1st Sess. See also Sen. Report 255, Calendar No. 228, 87 Cong., 1st Sess. The legislation was thereafter killed in the House. The provision for special education projects appeared in Section 109 of the bill as it passed the Senate.

26. See the Commission's "Recommendation 5," which appears in Appendix B of this memorandum.

27. See the Commission's "Recommendation 12" which appears in Appendix B of this memorandum.

28. See the Commission's "Recommendation 6 (a)" which appears in Appendix B of this memorandum.

29. EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS IN PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION, 1960, p. 266. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The report, it will be noted, is confined to the impact of federal programs on public higher education. The limitation was the product of a deep-seated division among the then members of the Commission over the scope of the authority granted the Commission by Congress. All the Commissioners apparently conceded Congress might have authorized inquiry into discrimination attending the use of federal funds by private institutions, but three of the six Commissioners felt that Congress had not given them authority to do so.

30. See President's Executive Order 11063, entitled "Equal Opportunity in Housing." The College Housing Program is authorized under the provisions of 12 USC §1749 and the same section ear-marks a small portion of the loan funds for use by hospitals in providing similar housing facilities.

31. Approximately 20 million dollars was authorized to provide 1,500 graduate fellowships with the aim of strengthening some 570 graduate programs. The scholarships are awarded to meritorious individuals but the grants for each scholarship are made to the institution in which the recipient is enrolled.

32. For fiscal 1961 some 6.2 million dollars was authorized for contracts with colleges and universities under which training institutes for guidance counselors were operated. An estimated 3,356 persons attended such institutes during that year. This fund is separate from the grants made directly to states for creation of improved guidance counseling programs in secondary schools (see footnote 3, supra).

33. More than 12 million dollars was authorized for fiscal 1961, divided among 843 individuals who received stipends for working on

language and foreign area studies, 4,333 participants in language institutes, and for some 95 or more contracts for research in foreign language instruction.

34. A total of 120 grants or contracts was made during 1961, amounting to approximately 3.8 million dollars, to provide for research in developing new media for education.

35. The powers and duties of the National Science Foundation are set forth in 42 USC §§1861-1881.

36. EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS IN PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION, 1960, p. 209. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

37. Act of July 2, 1862, 12 Stat. 503, as amended 7 USC §§301-308 (1958).

38. See 7 USC §304.

39. Act of August 30, 1890, 26 Stat. 417, as amended 7 USC §§321-329.

40. 7 USC §323 (1958). Earlier than the Morrill Act there had been legislation which established the principle of using proceeds from the sale of public lands to create school funds. The so-called Survey Ordinance of 1785 contemplated this for states that in time were carved out of the Northwest Territory and various acts of Congress admitting new states had specified a reservation of public lands for creating a fund to establish a state university.

41. EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS IN PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION, 1960, p. 213. Washington: Commission on Civil Rights. The

Commission reported that, as of 1960, most of the Southern states divided the funds between Negro and white colleges according to the ratio of the two groups in the total population. The two exceptions, Florida and South Carolina, were even more generous to the Negro college in that they divided the funds equally between the two groups despite a white preponderance in the population of both states.

42. The Hatch Act, 24 Stat. 440, now appears as amended and expanded by later legislation in 7 USC §§361-385.

43. Present legislative authority for aid to extension services appears in 7 USC §§341-349.

44. For 1960 the National Science Foundation awarded some 13 million dollars for some 3,600 merit fellowships.

45. See 20 USC §§421-429 for authorization of student loan program.

46. Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act, 72 Stat. 1174, 38 USC §§1601-1669 (1958).

47. War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act of 1956, 72 Stat. 1193, 38 USC §§1701-1768 (1958).

48. 42 USC §1760(c), part of the School Lunch Act, provides in part: "If a State maintains separate schools for minority and for majority races, no funds made available pursuant to this chapter shall be paid or dispersed to it unless a just and equitable distribution is made within the State, for the benefit of such minority races, of funds paid to it under this chapter." Two bills introduced in the last Congress, H.R. 11665 and H.R. 11707, 87 Cong., 2d Sess., would respectively provide for elimination

of the separate but equal provisions presently found in the School Lunch Program and in the Morrill Act.

49. John Silard, Federal Aid to Segregated Universities and Colleges: Suggestions for a Remedial Program, 2 Journal of Intergroup Relations 115 (1961).

50. See the Commission's "Recommendation 11" which is set forth in Appendix B of this memorandum and its "Recommendation 1," which is set forth in Appendix A.

51. H.R. 11888, 87 Cong., 2d Sess., House Report No. 1752.

TABLE 1

From Southern School News, December 1962, p. 1

Segregation-Desegregation Status

State	School Districts Total	School Districts With Negroes & Whites	School Districts Deseg.	Enrollment White	Enrollment Negro	In Desegregated Districts White	In Desegregated Districts Negro	Negroes In Schools With Whites No.	Negroes In Schools With Whites %††
Alabama	114	114	0	527,075**	280,212**	0	0	0	—
Arkansas	417	228	12	320,204***	108,841***	58,993	13,801	250	.230
Delaware	87	87	87	74,417	17,073	61,045	11,684	9,460	55.4
Dist. of Columbia	1	1	1	22,141	110,759	22,141	110,759	87,749	79.2
Florida	67	67	10	917,557	219,380	531,946*	99,292*	1,168	.532
Georgia	198	182	1	668,548	327,656	58,629*	51,991*	44	.013
Kentucky	206	167	150	610,000*	43,000*	460,000*	34,000*	22,765**	52.9
Louisiana	67	67	1	451,778*	297,427*	39,352	59,428	107	.036
Maryland	24	23	23	515,093*	152,667*	510,219	152,667	62,121	40.7
Mississippi	150	150	0	297,419**	288,089*	0	0	0	—
Missouri	1,633	214*	203*	766,800*	85,200*	NA	75,000*	35,000*	41.1
North Carolina	173	173	16	802,188	339,841	165,621	78,305	901	.265
Oklahoma	1,180	240	195	513,064*	41,600*	301,430*	34,493*	10,555**	25.4
South Carolina	108	108	0	361,162	250,058	0	0	0	—
Tennessee	154	143	25	671,348*	161,000*	289,096*	96,095*	1,817	1.13
Texas	1,461	919	174	1,951,613*	310,341*	1,100,000*	125,000*	6,700*	2.16
Virginia	134	132	31	679,230**	221,037**	355,229	100,913	1,230	.556
West Virginia	55	43	43	412,878*	25,250*	412,878	25,250	15,500*	61.4
TOTALS	6,229	3,058	972	10,562,515	3,279,431	4,366,579†	1,068,678	255,367	7.8

*Estimated **1961-62 ***1960-61 †Missouri not included

††Proportion of Negroes in schools with whites to total Negro enrollment.

Southern Education Reporting Service

APPENDIX A

Findings and Recommendations for Higher Education, Commission on Civil Rights, 1960

Introductory Note: The material set forth below is copied in its entirety from Part IX of Equal Protection of the Laws in Public Higher Education, United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1960.

General Findings

1. The Commission's statutory directives to "study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution" and to "appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution" have limited the Commission's study in the field of higher education to colleges and universities which are controlled by States or political subdivisions thereof. Discrimination by such colleges on grounds of race, religion, or national origin is a denial of equal protection of the laws.

2. Such unconstitutional discrimination by public colleges and universities, while it has diminished substantially in the past generation, remains a serious national problem. Seventy percent of the public institutions of higher education in the United States, by means of inquiries on their admission forms or other requirements connected therewith, provide themselves with information susceptible to use for discrimination in admission on the grounds of race, religion, or national origin. Some institutions, both North and South, in fact, use the information so acquired to effect such discrimination.

In addition, in the academic year 1959-60, 6 years after the United States Supreme Court held that racial segregation in public education is of itself a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution, at least 86 of the 211 public higher educational institutions formerly for white students only in the 17 Southern States continued to exclude Negro applicants on the ground of race in violation of the law of the land.

3. Unlawful discrimination today in the admission policies and practices of public colleges and universities is principally directed against the American Negro, who comprises more than 10 percent of the total population of the Nation; the proportion is much higher in the region of the country where such discrimination is most prevalent.

4. The responsibility for conforming their admission policies and practices to constitutional requirements rests initially with the publicly controlled institutions of higher education themselves, and with the States which support them. Insofar as these continue to fail to recognize their constitutional duties, however, the Federal Government has an obligation to take appropriate measures to prevent discrimination. The types of action which the Federal Government

can and should take in this regard include measures to assure that no action or policy of the Federal Government increases the effect of the unconstitutional acts of others; to help those deprived realize their constitutional rights promptly, without undue individual burden or delay; and to assist in overcoming the cumulative effects of past deprivations.

Federal Funds in Support of Higher Education

Findings

1. The Federal Government is deeply involved financially in the higher education of its citizens. Its expenditure for general support of colleges and universities; for aid to students, teachers, and institutions for specific educational programs; and for research in or by colleges and universities is estimated to be $1.5 to $2 billion a year.

2. Insofar as applicants to publicly controlled colleges and universities are denied admission on such arbitrary grounds as their race, religion, or national origin, they not only are denied equal protection of the laws under the Constitution, but also are denied the opportunity to participate, directly or indirectly, in the benefits resulting from the use by such institutions of Federal funds.

3. Insofar as the Federal Government, whether by allotment, grant, or contract, disburses funds to publicly controlled colleges and universities practicing racial exclusion, whether of Negro students or white, it is supporting operations in violation of the Constitution.

4. The Supreme Court has held that the Federal Government is prohibited by the Constitution from maintaining racially segregated educational institutions. It is not sound policy for the Federal Government to subsidize the unconstitutional operations of others; to do indirectly what it is not permitted to do directly.

5. It is not a sound policy for the Federal Government to disburse public funds in such a manner that it increases the adverse effects on some citizens of denials of equal protection of the laws by States and political subdivisions thereof.

6. In its study of Federal programs of aid to higher education, the Commission has found that programs of direct assistance to individual students on the basis of merit (NSF fellowships), need (National Defense Education Act students' loans), and Federal obligation (VA and War Orphans assistance) are not administered so as to be discriminatory on grounds of race, religion, or national origin.

7. Other Federal programs in support of higher education, however, by reason of the failure of the Federal Government to give any consideration to the presence or absence of discriminatory practices by the recipient institution,

have the effect of supporting racial segregation, and continue the educational deprivation of those excluded from such institutions. In five of the programs studied by the Commission, college housing, national defense fellowships, national defense education act, educational media, NSF institutes, and agricultural research and extension, 62 percent or more of the funds expended in seven selected Southern States went to institutions which exclude applicants solely on the basis of race. In five other such programs, National Defense Education Act counseling and guidance institutes, National Defense Education Act language institutes, NIH grants under contract, NSF grants in support of basic research, AEC grants for research fellowships and other training, 40 to 50 percent of the funds expended in the seven States were received by such institutions.

8. The disbursement of Federal funds under these and other programs to segregated white institutions in the four States maintaining complete segregation at the higher education level increases the disparity between the public financial support of colleges for white students and colleges for Negroes. In fiscal year 1958, for instance, the amount of Federal funds expended in support of public white institutions, per student enrolled, exceeded the amount expended for public Negro institutions by $130.99 in Alabama, $171.33 in Georgia, $179.50 in Mississippi, and $141.89 in South Carolina. The effect of this discrepancy is to contribute to the continuation of inferior segregated institutions and to magnify the disparity between the quality of the public higher education offered to white students and that offered to Negro students in such States. The same situation exists in other States, but, owing to desegregation in some degree of one or more public colleges or universities, the effect on a Statewide basis is not so great.

Recommendation No. 1

1. Therefore, the Commission recommends that the Federal Government, either by executive or, if necessary, by congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education are disbursed only to such publicly controlled institutions of higher education as do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin.

The Commission agrees that in any such Federal action taken it should be stipulated that no Federal agency or official shall be given power to direct, supervise or control the administration, curricula or personnel of an institution operated and maintained by a State or a political subdivision thereof.

CONCURRING STATEMENTS

Vice Chairman Storey: This recommendation seems to assume that executive or administrative action to withhold such funds might be proper under some existing laws because broad powers are conferred upon some agencies or officials without legislative prohibition of such administrative action. Strong arguments can be made for the opposite point of view, namely, that had Congress intended to curtail the distribution of federal funds to institutions which discriminate in admission policies, it would have delegated such powers expressly and would have set forth specifically the conditions under which such funds should be withheld. It is reasonable to conclude that not having delegated such power Congress did not intend it to be assumed or exercised.

Commissioner Rankin: I sincerely support the orderly and gradual achievement of equal protection of the laws for all citizens, and I recognize that the Federal Government has a responsibility to assure that the funds it disburses for any general welfare purpose are available on equal terms to all without regard to race, religion or national origin. However, I must express my concern that this recommendation, if put into effect in an immediate and drastic fashion, would be interpreted by many citizens as a punitive measure rather than one in support of proper constitutional objectives. I am interested in promoting sound public education; I seek compliance with the Constitution, not the imposition of penalties. Additionally, if the conditioning of Federal funds were to result in widespread refusal to accept Federal assistance, those who would suffer would not be those who made the decision but the students who directly or indirectly benefit from Federal grants-in-aid to education.

I, therefore, concur in this recommendation in principle but could not support certain procedures that would, in my mind, be unwise means of implementation.

DISSENTING STATEMENTS

Commissioner Doyle E. Carlton: I join the Commission in commending the Staff on the detailed and well-documented study of the legal developments in connection with the matter of denial of rights in public higher education. The report reflects great progress made in this area over the last twenty years. However, much remains to be done. Our real question is how best to obtain our objective.

As to recommendation 1, it is my opinion that this objective will not be attained by any action which has the effect of withholding public funds from institutions that do not conform to a Federal pattern. The withholding of such funds is to me unsound from a political, governmental and moral standpoint. I cannot approve the withholding of money, coming as it does to the Federal

Government from the taxpayers of the several States, as a club to forge any fixed pattern set forth by a Federal agency. Such action would impede rather than advance public higher education. It would also create resentment and ill will to the injury of both races. Progress can be made on the basis of good will without such arbitrary action.

Enforcement of Constitutional Rights

Findings

1. The long process of eliminating segregation in the public colleges and universities of the 17 Southern States began at the graduate and professional school level in 1936. In the following 18 years the State universities in three States opened their graduate divisions voluntarily to all qualified students without regard to race. The graduate divisions, or specific schools therein, were similarly opened in certain public institutions in eight additional States by court action. Likewise, the undergraduate division of some 4-year colleges and junior colleges, formerly for white students only, in four States were voluntarily opened on a nondiscriminatory basis before the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases in 1954. Undergraduate students were also admitted by Federal court order to certain public colleges in four States prior to 1954.

2. In 1954 and 1955, following the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases, six States and the District of Columbia officially and voluntarily abolished all racial designations for their State colleges and universities and declared them open to all qualified students. Voluntary desegregation since 1955 has been limited to such action by individual colleges and universities after a court order had required desegregation of another public institution in the same State. However, in the academic year 1959-60 racial segregation was still maintained in at least 86 public colleges and universities in Southern States. Further extension of voluntary compliance with constitutional requirements does not now seem probable; future gains will depend increasingly upon individual court suits to compel the dropping of racial barriers.

3. At present, action to secure admission to a public college or university by court action is a long, arduous, and costly affair. The average length of such suits in Federal district courts (excluding the few cases in which the defendant did not file an appeal from an order admitting the plaintiff) in all cases finally determined since May 1954 is slightly more than 2-1/2 years.

4. An individual should not be subjected to such delay in securing a judicial determination of his constitutional rights. In the case of a college applicant, the delay causes irreparable harm to the individual and also to the Nation that needs to realize the highest potential of its manpower.

5. The application of a State law, custom, or practice in such a way as to deny constitutional rights involves a question of State-Federal relationship of delicacy and importance comparable to that involved in a challenge to the constitutionality of a State statute. In the latter case the Congress, in order to assure an adequate hearing and full deliberation of the issue, has provided for an expeditious hearing by a court composed of three judges, and a direct appeal to the United States Supreme Court. Such a procedure, long established and familiar to judges and lawyers alike, could be extended to include cases presenting a factual issue of denial of equal protection of the laws and would promote the speedy and correct determination of such cases.

Recommendation No. 2

Therefore, the Commission recommends that Congress consider the advisability of authorizing the use of three-judge courts under section 2284 of the United States Judicial Code (U.S.C., title 28) to cases presenting a substantial factual issue as to whether persons are being denied equal protection of the laws with respect to public education. [1]

DISSENTING STATEMENTS

Vice Chairman Storey: This recommendation affects jurisdiction of the Federal courts which should not be disturbed. Delays in litigation are often due to causes other than jurisdiction. In vesting a fact-finding function in the three-judge Federal court for all public education cases it is, in effect, recommending the transferal of the duties of the United States District Courts to other Federal courts.

Commissioner Carlton: I see no reason for this recommendation. Our courts are ample and are proving repeatedly that the problem is being handled efficiently.

Affirmative Federal Action to Alleviate Academic Handicaps

Findings

1. The overall effect of segregation in public education, at both the college and the public school levels, has been to give a substantial portion of the population the opportunity to obtain only an inferior education. Moreover, the effects of such deprivations are self-perpetuating; that is, students from inferior schools can attend only inferior colleges, where they are often trained as inferior teachers, and from which they return to teach in the same inferior schools.

2. It is the national interest in this time of world crisis to educate and train all citizens to the utmost of their abilities and talents.

3. The Federal Government sponsors various programs having as their general objective improvement of the quality of education and other programs which are designed to identify and assist talented students. These have been of little value to Negroes in some Southern States because of the discriminatory admission policies of the institutions in which they were sponsored. Recommendation 1 above, if implemented effectively, should eliminate discrimination in such programs in the future, but it would not wipe out the cumulative effects of years of educational deprivation. Affirmative attack against inferior educational opportunities is needed to break the vicious circle of self-perpetuating inferiority.

4. Programs could be designed that aim at raising the quality of education throughout the Nation by giving assistance to persons, both teachers and students, who have potential talent but are academically handicapped as a result of the inferior educational opportunities that have been available to them. Such programs might include, among others: (1) Institutes to improve the competence of public school teachers in English, history, and social sciences, similar to those now sponsored in science, mathematics, and foreign languages; (2) summer institutes conducted by public colleges for incoming students of potential ability whose academic preparation is inadequate for college-level work; (3) special academic-year institutes conducted by colleges and universities or by outstanding secondary schools for talented but academically deficient high school graduates to prepare them for college.

Recommendation No. 3

Therefore, the Commission recommends that the Federal Government sponsor in the several States, upon request from the several States, educational programs designed to assist public school teachers and students of native talent and ability who are handicapped professionally or scholastically as a result of inferior educational opportunity and training.[2]

ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS OF CHAIRMAN HANNAH AND COMMISSIONERS HESBURGH AND JOHNSON

I.

Federal Funds to Private Colleges

The Commission has recommended that the Federal Government, either by executive or, if necessary, by congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education are disbursed only to such publicly controlled institutions of higher education as do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin. This recommendation has our complete endorsement, but we believe it does not go far enough.

Private colleges and universities that may discriminate in their admission policies on the grounds of race, religion, or national origin also receive Federal aid in building dormitories and facilities for research, and for the conduct of special educational programs, institutes, and research.

Our colleagues contend that recommendations concerning private institutions that are not subject to the requirements of the 14th amendment are beyond the jurisdiction of the Commission, although they agree that Congress may constitutionally condition any grant of public funds to either a public or private university upon a stipulation that the recipient does not discriminate among applicants for admission on the ground of color, race, religion, or national origin.

The effects of exclusion on the grounds of race, religion, or national origin by a private college that receives Federal funds, although such exclusion is not unconstitutional, are exactly the same as exclusion on such grounds by a public institution. The individual arbitrarily excluded is deprived of the benefits flowing from public funds that those not so excluded receive. It should not be possible for public funds, collected from all of the taxpayers of the Nation to promote the general welfare of all citizens, to be so disbursed that any group or groups of the population may be precluded arbitrarily from any possibility of benefiting therefrom. The imposition of such a condition upon the recipient of public funds in no way constitutes Federal supervision or control of the recipient institution; those that cannot or will not conform to the national policy of nondiscrimination merely forego the benefit of Federal funds.

The problem of the proper use of public funds by private colleges and universities is too closely tied to such use by public institutions to direct a recommendation only to the latter on the sole ground that there is not yet a court decision holding that the mere receipt of substantial public funds by a private institution brings it within the purview of the 14th amendment.

Therefore, we propose that the Federal Government, either by executive or, if necessary, by congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education are not disbursed to any public or private institution of higher education which discriminates on grounds of race, religion, or national origin.

Enforcement of Constitutional Rights

II.

Additional Powers for the Attorney General

The individual enjoyment of constitutional rights is a matter of public interest: The burden of vindicating such rights should not rest solely on the individual deprived nor on private organizations. The Federal Government should assume an active role in the prosecution of legal action to achieve such rights as well as enact legislation to expedite the judicial process. The President has in the past unsuccessfully requested the Congress to give the Attorney General general authority to institute civil action to enforce constitutional rights of individual persons. Such requested authority would not have been limited to the power to protect the rights of persons not to be denied the equal protection of the laws with respect to public education. Since the Commission's present study has been concerned only with this constitutional right, our proposal is limited thereto.

Therefore, we propose that the Congress consider the advisability of granting the Attorney General statutory authority to institute, or intervene in civil actions to enforce the constitutional rights of individual persons not to be denied equal protection of the laws with respect to public higher education.

SEPARATE STATEMENTS OF VICE CHAIRMAN STOREY AND COMMISSIONERS CARLTON AND RANKIN WITH REGARD TO GRANTING ADDITIONAL POWERS TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Vice Chairman Storey: This proposal differs little from some previously considered and rejected by the Congress. Additional specific powers were given the Attorney General by the Civil Rights Act of 1960. No additional powers should be considered until these are fully tested.

Commissioner Carlton: I also am opposed to arming the Attorney General with any additional authority to institute civil suits. We have ample laws to meet this situation, as is being proven day after day.

Commissioner Rankin: I know that existing procedures place a great burden both financially and personally upon the individuals seeking to realize their constitutional rights. But I cannot support the proposal because it would vest unlimited power in the Attorney General to bring legal action in the name of the United States to enforce the rights of individuals whenever and wherever he might decide such action was appropriate. Without some express limitation this would grant excessive power to a single member of one branch of the Federal Government.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Commissioners understand that under usual circumstances the judges appointed to a three-judge court are selected from among the federal district courts and court of appeal of the circuit in which the case arises. They believe this to be sound practice and in cases involving factual questions of denial of equal protection of the laws would be of great importance. The delicate questions of Federal-State relationships in this type of case can best be resolved by those having an understanding of local attitudes and problems as well as a knowledge of governing constitutional principles.

2. The Commission believes that local authorities can best plan and develop educational programs appropriate to their needs without Federal interference, and agrees that this recommendation can and should be implemented without direction, supervision, or control by any Federal agency or official of the personnel, curricula or administration of any education institution not operated and maintained by the Federal Government.

APPENDIX B

Recommendations for Higher Education,
Commission on Civil Rights, 1961

Introductory Note: The material set forth below is copied in its entirety from Chapter 12 of Education, United States Commission on Civil Rights Report, Book 2, 1961.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Federal action to speed desegregation

Recommendation 1. --That the Congress enact legislation making it the duty of every local school board which maintains any public school from which pupils are excluded on the basis of race, to file a plan for desegregation with a designated Federal agency within six months after the adoption of such legislation, said plan to call for at least a first step toward full compliance with the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases at the beginning of the following school year, and complete desegregation as soon as practicable thereafter. Further, that Congress direct the Attorney General to take appropriate action to enforce this obligation.

Recommendation 2. --That the Congress provide that any and all Federal grants-in-aid to the various States for educational programs in elementary and secondary public schools be allocated so that States wherein all school districts are operated on a nondiscriminatory basis shall receive the full amount computed under the applicable statutory formula; that States wherein no school districts are so operated shall receive only 50 percent of such funds; that States wherein school districts have initiated desegregation programs shall receive 50 percent of such sum plus the same proportion of the remaining 50 percent as the number of pupils enrolled in all school districts in the State which have initiated a program of desegregation bears to the total number of pupils enrolled in all school districts in the particular State which have a biracial school population.

Dissent to Recommendation 2 by Commissioner Rankin

Although this recommendation does not provide for the withholding of all funds from public schools, its purpose is similar to that of the "Powell Amendment" and its net effect might be punitive. I do not believe that school children should be made to suffer for the errors of their elders.

Recommendations requiring the withholding of funds from States which are not completely desegregated would warrant serious consideration only if there were no other way to achieve conformity with the Constitution without penalizing students. Many of the other recommendations in this report are designed to bring about desegregation without harming education.

Thus I dissent from Recommendation 2 because I believe it to be unnecessary and potentially punitive.

Recommendation 3. --That Congress consider the advisability of adopting measures to expedite the hearing and final determination of actions brought in Federal courts to secure admission to publicly-controlled educational institutions without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. [1]

Federal assistance to desegregating school districts

Recommendation 4. --That the Congress enact legislation authorizing a Federal agency, upon request, to provide technical or financial assistance to local school systems at any time within 5 years after the initiation of a desegregation program, or to local citizens' groups attempting to help solve problems arising from such desegregation, in any of the following ways: (1) financial aid to school districts on a 50-50 matching basis for the employment of social workers, or specialists in desegregation problems, or for inservice training programs for teachers or guidance counselors; (2) technical assistance to school districts or citizens' groups to train school personnel or community leaders in techniques useful in solving desegregation problems, including the establishment of home study programs for the academically and culturally handicapped; provided, however, that the desegregation program and its execution shall have been found by the agency administering the program to meet constitutional requirements.

Recommendation 5. --That the Congress enact legislation authorizing loans to local school districts from which State or local financial aid has been withdrawn as a result of desegregation, or whose ability to borrow funds from commercial sources has been cut off by State or local action, said loans to be repayable by the borrower upon the receipt of the State or local aid withheld or the restoration of commercial credit.

Recommendation 6. --(a) That the President direct, or the Congress enact legislation authorizing, the Commission on Civil Rights, if extended, to serve as a clearinghouse to collect and disseminate information concerning programs and procedures used by school districts to achieve an organization and operation of their schools in accordance with constitutional principles, including data as to the known effects of such programs on the quality of education and the cost thereof; (b) That the Commission further be authorized to establish an advisory and conciliation service to assist local school officials in developing plans designed to meet constitutional requirements and local conditions, and to attempt to mediate and conciliate disputes between school officials and school patrons, upon the request of either, as to desegregation of schools--proposed plans for desegregation, or the implementation of plans already in operation. The Commission agrees that the use of such an advisory and conciliation service should not be a prerequisite to the bringing of legal action in a Federal court nor a ground for delay in the prosecution of

a pending action; that its purpose is to obviate the necessity of legal action where possible and, in the case of pending suits, to speed, not delay, a final determination.[2]

Federal protection to school officials and citizens

Recommendation 7. --That the President or the Congress direct the Attorney General to take such action as may be appropriate, in any case where a school system is operating under a plan to bring it into conformance with the requirements of the 14th amendment, to protect the school board members carrying out such plan, supervisory officials and teachers in school systems executing the orders of such school boards, school children of both races attempting to attend schools affected by the plan and their parents, and citizens helping such children or their parents, from bodily harm, harassment, intimidation, and/or reprisal by officials or private persons.

Education of dependents of military personnel

Recommendation 8. --That the President direct the Department of Defense to make a complete survey of the segregated-desegregated status of public schools attended by dependents of military personnel living on-base or in the absence of sufficient housing on-base, living in the vicinity of a base, and report its findings to him. Further, that insofar as such dependents are found to be attending compulsorily racially segregated schools, the President instruct the Commissioner of Education to make suitable arrangements for their education in public schools or on-base schools open to all such dependents without discrimination because of color or race.

Recommendation 9. --That the President direct the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to make a survey of the practices of all public libraries receiving Federal financial aid under the Library Services Act of 1956 to determine whether or not they are offering free service to all residents of the community as required by the terms of that law and by the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment of the Constitution. Further, that the Commissioner, as provided in the law granting such Federal aid, withhold Federal funds from States which include under the State plan libraries not serving all residents of the community or not serving all of them in a manner consonant with constitutional principles.

Alleviation of academic handicaps

Recommendation 10. --That the Federal Government sponsor in the several States, upon their application therefor, educational programs designed to identify and assist teachers and students of native talent and ability who are handicapped professionally or scholastically as a result of inferior training or educational opportunity.[3]

Higher education

Recommendation 11. --That the Federal Government, either by executive or by congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education are disbursed only to such publicly-controlled institutions of higher education as do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion or national origin.

The Commission agrees that in any such Federal action taken it should be stipulated that no Federal agency or official shall be given power to direct, supervise or control the administration, curricula or personnel of an institution operated and maintained by a State or a political subdivision thereof;[4]

School census by ethnic classification

Recommendation 12. --That the President or the Congress direct a Federal agency or agencies to conduct an annual school survey to determine the number and ethnic classification of all students enrolled in all public educational institutions in the United States and compile such data by States, by school districts, by individual schools, and by individual institutions of higher education within each State.[5]

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1. Recommendation 3 reaffirms in principle one made by the Commission in its Higher Education Report. At that time the Commission suggested the use of three-judge courts to expedite final determinations in desegregation cases at the college level. Since there are additional ways that desegregation cases may be expedited, the Commission has now framed its recommendation in general terms and expanded it to include desegregation cases at the elementary and secondary school levels as well.

2. Recommendation 6 is similar to a recommendation made by the Commission in its 1959 Report.

3. Recommendation 10 reaffirms a recommendation made by the Commission in its Higher Education Report.

4. Recommendation 11 reaffirms without change one made in the Higher Education Report. Four Commissioners believe, however, that as a matter of sound public policy the same principle should be extended to privately controlled institutions.

5. Recommendation 12 reaffirms a similar recommendation made by the Commission in its 1959 Report. The Commission reemphasizes its position that this recommendation does not contemplate the establishment of school records by race or ethnic classification. The trend toward the elimination of such identification on student records should, in fact, be accelerated.

APPENDIX C

Section-by-Section Analysis of Clark-Celler Bill, Entitled "Public School Desegregation Act"

Title I - Definitions

Section 101(a): "Desegregation" is achieved only when race or color is completely eliminated as a factor in assigning students to public schools.

(b) "Public school" is defined to include any elementary or secondary school operated principally or substantially from or through the use of governmental funds, or funds derived from a governmental source.

(c) "School board" includes any agency or person that controls or directs the assignment of pupils to public schools.

(d) "First-step compliance" means the affording of desegregated education to a substnatial number of students at each public school within the jurisdiction of the school board, not later than the commencement of the 1963-64 school year.

Title II - Duty to Adopt and Implement Desegregation Plans

Section 201 requires every school board which, on the date of enactment of this act, has failed to achieve desegregation in all public schools within its jurisdiction to adopt a desegregation plan and file it within 180 days after enactment of this act with the Secretary of Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Section 202: Such a desegregation plan must provide for two things:

1. A program of ultimate desegregation to be attained with all deliberate speed, pursuant to a schedule setting forth the time when and the manner in which desegregation is to be achieved for each class, grade, school and district within the jurisdiction of the school board, and

2. A program for "first-step compliance" not later than the commencement of the 1963-64 school year.

Section 203 requires every school board adopting a desegregation plan pursuant to this act to implement it in good faith and with all deliberate speed until desegregation is fully achieved in its district.

Section 204 provides that the duties required of a school board under this act shall devolve immediately upon any successor should the school board's authority be relinquished. This is aimed at obviating slowdowns

resulting from the resignation of school boards or from the elimination of such boards. It means that any public body, local or State, that assumes control over local schools, can be made subject to the provisions of this bill.

Section 205 provides for the joint exercise of obligations under the bill by school boards, the jurisdiction of which might overlap. Prevents a situation arising where nothing would be done under this bill because neither of two school boards would desire to exercise its jurisdiction.

Section 206 provides that this bill shall not apply to any public school which on the date of enactment of this bill, is subject to a court order providing for or approving a desegregation plan for said school.

Title III - Technical Assistance by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to Facilitate Desegregation

Section 301 authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, upon application therefor, to render technical assistance to school boards in preparing, adopting, or implementing desegregation plans required by this bill. Such assistance might include dissemination of information, appointment of advisory councils, the holding of conferences, etc.

Title IV - Financial Assistance by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to Facilitate Desegregation

Section 401 requires the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to review every desegregation plan filed under this bill to ascertain that it complies with the provisions of the bill. Permits the Secretary, in the case of such plans that qualify and upon application therefor, to make grants to school boards, States, etc., to assist in meeting costs which the Secretary determines to be reasonably necessary for the implementation of a desegregation plan. Grants can be made to meet the costs of (1) employing additional personnel such as teachers and community counselors, (2) in-service training programs for school personnel, (3) replacing funds withheld from schools or teachers by local or State authorities because of desegregation, (4) construction or alteration of school facilities, and (5) other costs directly related to the process of eliminating segregation.

Section 402 authorizes the Secretary to provide grants to school boards, States, etc., to assist in meeting costs he determines to be reasonably necessary for the implementation of court-approved desegregation plans not subject to the requirements of this bill.

Section 403 requires the Secretary to prescribe regulations governing the granting of funds under this title and requires each application for such a

grant to conform to the requirements of the Secretary. Provides that the Secretary might require that a grant be conditioned upon the local authority contributing similarly of its own funds.

Sets forth criteria to guide the Secretary in making the grants funds available, financial condition of applicant, etc.

Section 404 provides that grants can be paid by way of reimbursement for expenses already undertaken by a school district, or in advance for expenses to be undertaken.

Section 405 authorizes the appropriation of $40 million each fiscal year to carry out the grant provisions.

Title V - Enforcement of Duty to Adopt and Implement Desegregation Plans

Section 501 provides that when a school board or its successor violates any of the obligations required by this bill (filing desegregation plans and implementing them), the U.S. Attorney General is authorized to institute in the local U.S. district court, in the name of the United States, a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief against such school board or its successor. Upon finding that there has been a violation of title II of this bill, the court may require the school board or its successor to adopt a school desegregation plan or to implement any other school desegregation plan which the court may find appropriate and consistent with the terms of this bill, or to issue such other orders or grant such other relief as will most expeditiously achieve first-step compliance and desegregation.

Section 502 provides that the jurisdiction of U.S. district courts shall extend to such proceedings regardless of whether administrative or other remedies provided by law have been exhausted.

Title VI - Miscellaneous

Section 601 provides that nothing in the bill shall be construed to impair any right guaranteed by the Constitution or laws nor prevent individuals or private organizations from acting to enforce or safeguard any constitutional right or remedy.

Section 602: Saving clause in the event any provision is held invalid.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT:

Proposals for Corrective Action

Notre Dame Conference

February 8-11, 1963

January, 1963

Daniel H. Pollitt
Professor of Law
University of North
Carolina

I.

INTRODUCTION

Item. In 1946 Jackie Robinson broke the color-bar in organized baseball and became the idol and inspiration of athletic-minded Negro youth. By 1962, eight of the top ten batters in the National League were members of the Negro race.

Item. On the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, Governor Terry Sanford announced the formation of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council with a two-fold mission: (1) to encourage merit employment without regard to race, and (2) to urge youth to become better trained and qualified for employment. The Governor stated that "Reluctance to accept the Negro in employment is the greatest single block to his continued progress and to the full use of the human potential of the Nation and its States".[1]

Item. The R. J. Reynolds tobacco company recently integrated its modern $32,000,000 Winston-Salem plant. Negro forewomen supervise the work of white employees, and the only signs of segregation are the rest rooms, still kept separate under North Carolina law. Officials report that the workers at the 115-acre industrial complex "responded well to desegregation," and this comment is borne out by the remarks of white and Negro employees who work side by side on the same machine, share the cafeteria line "like salt and pepper," but generally, though not always, tend to segregate at the tables.[2]

Item. Negroes Step Up Use of Boycotts to Back Drive for Better Jobs. A & P Is Hit in Philadelphia; Campaigns Start in Detroit, Baltimore and New York. So reads the headline to an article summarizing the "selective patronage" technique originated by the Philadelphia Negro clergy nearly three years ago.[3] A & P is the twentieth company directly affected by the Philadelphia program, all of whom ultimately have met the Negro demands. Some concede that in retrospect

they are not entirely unhappy. An oil company reports that prior to the boycott there were few if any Negro job applicants because "No intelligent Negro will apply to a lily-white company because he doesn't want to get turned down. Since the boycott," continued the spokesman, "we're now getting some crackerjack Negro salesman" and sales have been stronger. One Negro minister commented in explanation that "The Negro community speaks with its dollars to show it has no resentment."

Item. Discrimination in Cook County (Chicago) can be conservatively computed to cost $70 million per year. So testified the Director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid. This is the amount spent for the Aid to Dependent Children program, one designed to take care of children whose mothers have been deserted by their fathers. Almost all the recipients of the aid program in Chicago are Negro women who came to Chicago from the South some 15 or so years earlier, and who remain on the program for an average time of between two and three years. The director of the program testified to a Congressional Committee that the principal reason for this was the unavailability of employment for Negro girls and women:

> The white woman whose husband dies or disappears usually finds work; the Negro woman in the same predicament is denied work; she has one and only one job possibility available and that is day-work -- the dismal, grinding drudgery of finding, not one, but five or six different jobs, then accommodating herself to the diverse personalities of five or six different employers, and then dragging herself home with one of the lowest wages being paid in today's market. In addition, even before she considers the bleak prospect of day-work, she must contrive to make suitable arrangements for the care of her children.[4]

Item. Mayor Stan R. Brookshire of Charlotte, North Carolina recently called upon the business community to help the Negro help himself by providing better employment opportunities. "Second-class citizens," he said, "are a liability and a drain upon the resources of the community. Because of them our per capita income is low and our governmental and

welfare costs are high." The Raleigh News and Observer editorialized favorably upon this call for action with the comment that "second-class citizens mean a second-class South for everybody in it."[5]

The above random-selected items illustrate the tragic waste of Negro potential, the community burden of job discrimination, the growing unrest within the Negro community, and a determination by thoughtful political and industrial leaders to rid America of its "second-class" heritage.

Despite encouraging but isolated "break-throughs"[6] the Negro remains at the bottom of the economic pyramid. Used to the run-around, fearing rebuff, lacking incentive, denied fair union representation, closed from job and training opportunities, his is the job with the broom and shovel, with pay approximately half that of the white.[7] The johnny-come-lately in most industries, he is the first to be fired and he is the victim of every cyclical, seasonal, residual, technological, ethnic, and economic maladjustment of the economy.[8] Moreover, his prospects are worsening, not getting better. Factory "automation" has resulted in one white man with a machine doing the work done a few years back by twenty, thirty, or forty blue-jeaned Negroes.[9] Changes in working conditions have denied the Negro jobs which were once his exclusive province. The locomotive fireman that once shoveled coal was Negro; the fireman that now tends the diesel engine is usually white. Changes in social customs have also adversely hit the Negro. The Negro artisan once had a near monopoly in the Southern building trades, but more and more he is relegated to work in the "Negro" community. Census reports for ten Southern states reveal that from 1920 to 1950 Negro carpenters declined from 23% to 10% of the total; painters, from 25% to 13%; bricklayers, from 54% to 37%; and plasterers, from 66% to 57%.[10] And the decline is accentuating with the decrease in apprenticeship opportunities.

The employment problem is not confined to any one region. In North Carolina, over 90% of all Negroes (but less than 30% of all whites) employed through the State Employment Security Commission in 1959 were placed in "service" or "unskilled" jobs.[11]

In California, a Congressional Committee received undisputed testimony that Negroes were virtually excluded from all jobs as bellboys in Los Angeles and San Francisco hotels, from jobs as waiters, from the San Francisco bottling industry (except as strikebreakers), from all but the most menial jobs on the railroads, from the maritime industry (except in the "stewards department"), among the longshoremen, from the white-collar and craft jobs in the movie industry, from the printing, building and construction trades industries, from the petroleum industry (with few exceptions), from white-collar positions in the retail stores, and even from the better paying jobs in agriculture.[12]

Similar testimony was made about job discrimination in Illinois. William Karp, chairman of the Committee on Merit Employment in the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, testified that a study of over 100,000 job orders for white collar jobs showed that 98% of them were "restricted" as to race.[13] He further testified that top representatives of the Meat Packing Industry denied "pen" jobs to Negroes on the theory that they "laugh, sing, and dance and distrub the cattle."[14] N.A.A.C.P. representatives cited job discrimination in Illinois by chapter and verse. The following typifies the testimony of Dr. Lucien H. Holman, State President of the Illinois Conference of the N.A.A.C.P.: "In Aurora a few manufacturing plants under UAW and other union contracts hire Negroes on a generally fair basis... On the other hand, there are a number of companies that do not hire qualified Negroes. They are Richard-Wilcox Manufacturing Co., the National Brush Co., Sears, Roebuck & Co., ...and Thor Equipment Co. The Aurora Chamber of Commerce has passed the following resolution... "Resolved, that the Board of Directors...

declare it to be a policy that all members are encouraged to voluntarily maintain merit employment practices..."[15]

The situation in New York is not much better. Professor Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University testified that the big employment opportunities for Negroes since 1940 have been in the semiskilled industrial jobs, the jobs hardest hit by automation.[16] Representatives of the N.A.A.C.P. cited the specifics of job discrimination, for example: "In the city of New York, the major industry, as a matter of fact, the basic source of manufacturing in this city, is the garment industry. Negroes still work here on the lowest economic levels, unskilled jobs and the lowest paid jobs."[17] Otis E. Finley, Jr., of the National Urban League, told of a survey in a slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, where a sampling of the youth population showed that roughly 70% of the boys and girls aged 16 to 21 were out of school and unemployed. "Too many of these young people are able but frustrated In other cases, the spark of ambition has been all but snuffed out."[18]

II.
PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

This mass betrayal of the American Dream, the national denial of the individual's right to be, has been condemned from many a rostrum[19] and pulpit,[20] from street-corners[21] and from national political conventions.[22] Remedial proposals have come to us from the city hall,[23] state houses,[24] and from the White House in Washington, D. C.[25] The national problem of racial job discrimination has been particularized, and the current situation in the various areas of racial discrimination are discussed below.

A. Federal Employment.

The federal government maintains the nation's largest payroll, employing approximately 2.3 million civilian

employees.[26] Since 1940 the appropriate Congressional statutes have mandated merit employment without regard to race, creed, or color,[27] and Negroes, denied private employment, have flocked to the government in disproportionate number. They are found, again in disproportionate number, clustered in the lower grades of the civil service. For example, in Los Angeles approximately 14% of the total population, but over 55% of the Postal employees, are Negro. The explanation given for this is simple: "Most of the Negroes come to the Post Office because it is hard for them to get employment anywhere else."[28]

Yet only 14% of the supervisors in the Los Angeles Post Office are Negro (generally found in "Negro" sections of the city) and there are many complaints of discrimination in up-grading and promotion, viz: "There is the case of a clerk of Japanese extraction who bid on the position of general clerk, foreign records unit, airport mail facility, a level 5 position. Placed No. 2 on the list according to the specifications of the job, and seniority, Clerk Tsukahira did not receive the courtesy of an interview. The No. 4 man was selected.[29]

There is no question but that much remains to be done if the theory of "merit" employment is to become an everyday fact of governmental operation. The United States Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1961 that "patterns of Federal employment...do not differ significantly from local employment patterns," and further stated that recent improvements in the federal employment situation were paralleled by similar improvements in the private employment situation.[30]

Under the personal leadership of President Kennedy,[31] the top governmental officials have made a determined effort to stamp out discrimination in federal employment.

All agencies made a survey of their own employment patterns to (1) spot discriminatory practices, and (2) serve as a bench-mark for future surveys.[32] Each agency appointed a Deputy Employment Policy Officer with the fixed obligation to concern himself with minority employment problems.[33] A complaint procedure has been strengthened, and those complaining of job discrimination are sometimes provided with counsel from the Department's legal staff.[34] The Civil Service Commission and many of the agencies have sent high-ranking representatives to "sell" federal employment to the graduates of leading Negro colleges.[35] The agencies have barred discrimination in agency-sponsored recreational programs, and some of

the agencies (Post Office and Veteran's Administration) have notified all field stations that management will not deal with employee unions maintaining segregated locals or which practice any other form of discrimination.[36] The Treasury Department appointed the first Negro professor at the Coast Guard Academy.[37] All agencies have made progress reports to the President's Committee, thereby ensuring that some action will be taken to further the President's Executive Order. The report of the Department of Justice, briefer than most, is representative of them all:

> "Shortly after taking office, the Attorney General reviewed the numbers of minority personnel employed by the Department. The statistics showed that a very small number of Negro lawyers had been employed by the Department in responsible positions.
>
> "Mr. Kennedy directed that a study be made to determine the causes. This disclosed that at least one major cause was a lack of applications particularly from qualified Negro lawyers.
>
> "In May 1961 the Attorney General wrote letters to the deans of approximately 50 leading law schools asking for the names of qualified Negro lawyers of their acquaintance, and of qualified Negro law students who would be interested in a career in the Department. The letter stated that the Department did not employ on the basis of race but was seeking lawyers of ability to serve in it particularly as career employees; that the Attorney General was anxious to take some steps to break down the race barrier which had apparently existed...
>
> "Affirmative steps were also taken with respect to the field offices of the United States Attorneys.... Two Negro United States Attorneys were appointed and

a substantial number of Assistant United States Attorneys and Deputy Marshals who were Negroes.

"...In early 1962 Maceo Hubbard, a career lawyer in the Department, was appointed as Employment Policy Officer....

"A new complaints procedure was recently instituted...."[38]

The big problem lies in transmitting the spirit of Washington to the field offices. Within some areas of Government employment "racial discrimination is deeply entrenched and widely practiced."[39] Moreover, even a conscientious field director, especially one policing a statute--such as the minimum wage law or the National Labor Relations Act--unpopular with the vested community interests, might hesitate to risk the effectuation of his program by hiring Negroes to positions where they deal with the outside public.[40]

Those who would resist the desegregation of federal employment find a handy justification in the "rule of three." Appropriate statutes require that the Civil Service Commission maintain a roster of eligible employees (resulting from an open examination) and that federal agencies fill their vacancies from among the highest three persons on this roster.[41] An illustrative abuse of the "rule of three" was recently presented to a Congressional Committee:

"In California, Negroes are discriminated against in civil service employment. One Negro female, after passing the test for clerk-stenographer, in San Francisco, with scores above 90 in shorthand, typing, and general clerical aptitude, was called in by nine different agencies for interviews and each time the job was given to another one of the 'top three names' on the roster. The applicant had prior civil service

experience and some 7 years of secretarial experience.

"Several of the interviewers told the applicant that she was 'over-qualified' for the job, inasmuch as she had a college degree in secretarial science. In one case the interviewers told applicant, 'I just don't feel you would be happy in this job.'"[42]

Discretion in employment, especially at high levels, is undoubtedly required when job efficiency demands an intense and intimate interchange of ideas, which interchange may be dammed by personality difficulties. It is doubtful that the "rule of three" provides this necessary discretion. In any event, the necessity for a "rule of three" is dubious when the job effectuation does not require continued intimacy of intellectual exchange. Most federal employees can and do dictate a memo to anyone sent from the secretarial "pool," regardless of a potential personality conflict. Similiarly, most federal employees can and do work in harmony, office-to-office or desk-to-desk, with persons they choose not to see after office hours.

It follows that there is much to commend in legislative action abolishing the "rule of three," the device which makes discriminatory employment practices possible. Lacking such legislative action, the Civil Service Commission could minimize its harmful potential by giving less weight to the "oral," as contrasted with the written, examination. Or, additionally, the Civil Service Commission could require a written explanation of why the agency selected the second or third person, rather than the applicant first on the list.

Recent innovations requiring only administrative determination--a periodic head count of minority group employees, the addition of Employment Policy Officers to look for trouble spots, an expedited complaint procedure, the permeation of a spirit from on high to make progress in this area--may make the Congressional mandate of "merit employ-

ment" a felt reality.

The United States Civil Rights Commission has recommended, in line with the 1960 Republican Party platform,[43] that "Congress grant statutory authority to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity."[44]

B. Federal Contract Employment.

The United States government is the world's largest purchaser. It contracts with mines for the purchase of metals; with manufacturers for the fabrication of airplanes, missiles, ships, clothing, shoes, and other munitions of war; with farmers for the food set before the soldiers, the patients in the Veterans' Administration Hospitals, the school children who receive "hot lunches"; with universities for the supply of knowledge and skills; with utilities for the service of electric energy; and so on, almost infinitum. Lightbulbs, ink, books, automobiles, desks, new buildings, maintenance and repair services, telephones, radios, pocket knives, candy, chewing gum, and entertainment services, all are purchased in sizeable quantities by the federal government. In fiscal 1961 between $25 and $30 billions were expended for federal contracts; and ten million persons were employed by the 100 largest defense contractors and subcontractors alone.[45]

Anxious that the money it spends not be utilized to perpetuate racial job discrimination, the federal government has, since 1941, adhered to a "fair employment" policy. In that year, President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Committee, with its initial assignment being to ensure "merit" employment in the "defense" industries.[46] The FEPC came under Congressional fire, and in 1944 an amendment offered by Georgia's Senator Russell was tacked on to the annual Independent Offices Appropriation Act, providing that no appropriation could be allotted to any agency established by executive order and in existence for more than one year "if the Congress has not appropriated any money specifically for such agency...or specifically authorized the expenditure of funds by it."[47] The next day, the FEPC was granted a specific appropriation for the current fiscal year, but in the following year, 1945, it was told to liquidate its affairs. It issued its final report and went out of business on June 28, 1946.[48]

In 1951, following the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, President Truman issued a series of Executive Orders directing certain government agencies to include non-discrimination clauses in their procurement contracts. Truman also established a Committee on Government Contract Compliance, whose primary duty was to study and assess the effectiveness of the existing program. This committee began operations in April, 1952 and issued a report the following January with the change in administration. It noted that the "non-discrimination" clause was "almost forgotten, dead and buried under thousands of words of standard legal and technical language in government procurement contracts."[49]

President Eisenhower, on August 13, 1953 declared the public policy to be one of promoting "equal employment opportunity for all qualified persons employed or entitled to employment on government contracts." He established a Committee on Government Contracts under the leadership of Vice President Nixon to keep an overall eye on the program operation. The committee concerned itself primarily with education and persuasion, and not much was achieved. A survey of representative cities in 1961 by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights disclosed that "in most industries studied, patterns of Negro employment by federal contractors conformed to local industrial employment patterns... In Atlanta, the two automobile assembly plants contacted employed no Negroes in assembly operations. Except for one driver of an inside power truck, all Negro employees observed were engaged in janitorial work -- sweeping, mopping, or carrying away trash."[50] No company was ever placed on an "ineligible" list, or denied a contract, on the basis of its employment policies, no matter how flagrant the violation of the "non-discrimination" contractual provision. At times, there was outright defiance. Some public utility companies flatly refused to furnish the government with necessary services rather than adopt a policy of non-discriminatory employment. The government backed away from this challenge by "waiving" the non-discriminatory

requirement. Similarly, in some industries, such as textile, where the percentage of government contract business is not large, the management would rather forego this business than change longstanding employment practices. Thus, shortly after the announcement of the new Kennedy executive order, the Wall Street Journal reported that "textile manufacturers have practically stopped bidding on military contracts for the past few weeks."[52] It is ironic, and almost unbelievable, that public utilities, monopolies chartered by the public and regulated by the state, and the textile industry, hard hit and seeking additional tariff protection, should be able to defy an important government policy.

On March 6, 1961, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 designed, like its predecessors, "to promote and ensure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race...employed or seeking employment with the federal government and on government contracts."[53] The standard non-discrimination clause now requires all contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and the employees are treated...without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." The "affirmative action" contemplates, as a minimal, that all "want ads" must specify that all qualified applicants will be considered without regard to race.[54] The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under the leadership of Vice President Johnson, was established to monitor this program and given authority to enforce the program by use of these sanctions, some of which were denied its predecessors:

1. conference, conciliation, mediation, or persuasion;
2. publicizing the names of contractors or unions which have either complied, or failed to comply;
3. recommending action by the Department of Justice, including injunctions against individuals or groups interferring with compliance and criminal proceedings against those furnishing false information;

4. terminating all or part of any contract for failure of the contractor to comply; and
5. requiring that contracting agencies of the government refrain from entering into new contracts with any non-complying contractor until he complies.[55]

The Johnson Committee has entered into a "Plans For Progress" program with many of the top industrial concerns of the nation. Typically, the ten point plan for progress initiated in the case of Lockheed Aircraft Co. binds the employer to:

1. provide all management levels with an up-to-date statement of its non-discrimination policy;
2. "aggressively seek out more qualified minority group candidates" for many job categories, including engineering, technical, administrative and clerical positions, and factory operatives;
3. instruct State Employment Officers and other recruitment sources that job applicants are to be referred irrespective of race, creed, color or national origin;
4. re-analyze its available salaried jobs to be certain that all eligible minority group employees have been considered for placement and upgrading;
5. re-examine personnel records of minority group employees to determine whether those qualified and eligible can be used for filling job openings;
6. institute a program of familiarizing universities with employment needs and opportunities, to include hiring teachers who are members of minority groups for summer work and arranging plant tours for teachers and student counselors;
7. support the inclusion of minority group members in all its apprenticeship and other training programs including supervisory and pre-supervisory training classes;

8. encourage the establishment of vocational training programs and the participation of minority group employees in such programs;
9. maintaining eating facilities, rest rooms, and recreational facilities on a nonsegregated basis; and
10. institute periodic checks to insure that the policies and objectives of the plan are being carried out.

How well is the Kennedy program functioning? A study of North Carolina federal contractors, issued six months after the Kennedy program was initiated, indicates that the program got off to a very slow start indeed.[56] The survey concerned the recruitment, the employment, the promotion, the on-the-job training, and other personnel practices of 262 North Carolina firms holding government contracts. In essence, the employment patterns in these government-contract firms paralleled those in firms without government contracts. This is how the survey summarized its findings:

> There appears to be a significant under utilization of Negro manpower in North Carolina firms holding contracts with the federal government. The patterns of under utilization are reflected in the significant number of firms that hire no Negroes, in the occupational levels at which Negroes are hired, in the narrow and limited representation of Negroes in white-collar positions, in the upgrading patterns, and in the use of Negro female resources.[57]

The almost uniform refusal of North Carolina federal contractors to utilize Negro manpower, either at all or at a level above the menial job, is significant for these reasons: (1) firms hiring Negroes reported in overwhelming number (77%) that their Negro employees were as efficient or better than their white employees; (2) those companies which utilized Negroes reported in overwhelming number (90%) that they had no difficulty because of this;[58] and (3) the largest proportion of firms indicated that they have no minimum educational requirement for hiring in the lower occupational categories, so the extent to which Negroes are wholly excluded is not a reflection on the lack of qualifica-

tions on the part of Negroes. Probably the most significant disclosure for present purposes is the following:

> Twenty-one of the 22 firms without Negro employees indicated that they have never discussed the matter of employing Negroes with any federal agency. Eighty-seven of the 100 responding firms that do employ Negroes indicated that they had never discussed the problem with any federal agency.[59]

Thus it would appear that six months after the Kennedy program was launched in Washington, it still remained a dead letter in North Carolina.

It is not fair to place all the blame on management. Unions must take the onus of sharing in and even initiating racial discrimination. Numerous unions have denied Negro employees a right to union membership, and thereby deprived them a voice and a vote in the policy decisions which affect their wages, their hours, and other conditions of employment.[60] Many other unions have established separate and segregated locals for Negro employees where they have scant more voice than if totally excluded, and still others have negotiated contracts wherein Negro employees were relegated, as a class, to unskilled and unpromotable positions. These separate racial seniority lines in collective bargaining agreements are especially galling. Negroes are hired in classifications designated as "common laborer," or "yard labor," or "non-operating department," or "maintenance department," and limited to promotion within the departments. Thus, a Negro with 20 years seniority can look forward to being promoted from "toilet attendant" to "sweeper."[61]

These union practices violate the Supreme Court's requirement that unions represent <u>all</u> employees "without hostile discrimination, fairly, impartially, and in good faith."[62]

These union practices have been recently condemned by the AFL-CIO Executive Council: "Resolved, That racially segregated local unions be eliminated by national and international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO";[63] and by the 1961 AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention: "We welcome the nationwide agreements

entered into by the Bricklayers...the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and other unions with respective national contractors' associations, to make non-discrimination on account of race, creed, color and national origin a standard to be observed in all apprenticeship training programs. Many of the major industrial unions have adopted "Plans for Progress to eliminate these practices."[64]

The National Labor Relations Board, which has original jurisdiction over these practices, recently indicated that it would countenance them no longer. Denying a discriminating union the normal protection against the necessity of participating in a representation election during a reasonable contractual period, the Labor Board, citing the Supreme Court school decision,[65] made this comment:

> Consistent with clear court decisions in other contexts which condemn governmental sanctioning of racially separate groupings as inherently discriminatory, the Board will not permit its contract bar rules to be utilized to shield contracts such as those here involved from challenge or otherwise appropriate election petitions. We therefore hold that, where the bargaining representative of employees in an appropriate unit executes separate contracts, or even a single contract, discriminating between Negro and white employees on racial lines, the Board will not deem such contracts as a bar to an election.
>
> We are not confronted in this proceeding with any attack on the validity of the Intervenor's (discriminating union's) outstanding certification in consequence of the separate contracts which it executed on the basis of race. Although the execution of such contracts is in patent derogation of the certification and would warrant revocation of the certification, we deem it unnecessary to take such action at this time in view of the impending election which we here direct.[66]

In short, union discrimination in industrial employment opportunities seems on the wane. "It is unfair and inaccurate to leave the impression that President Kennedy's Committee has not made progress," Duane Greathouse, a vice president of the United Auto Workers, testified to a Congressional Committee.

> Through the work of the Committee in these few months there are Negroes in technical skills in the oil industry in the St. Louis, Mo. area where there had been none before. There are minority group members now employed as seamstresses in a South Carolina textile plant for the first time. There are Negro tobacco workers in integrated production operations in North Carolina. Government contract facilities in Nashville, Tenn., and in Nevada, are employing integrated work forces because of the Committee's efforts. Negroes are now employed in skilled jobs on electronics in Dallas, Texas--jobs previously closed tight against them. The Committee opened government contract jobs for Negro carpenters in Miami, Fla.[67]

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity now has the "tools."[68] If it can get the money and the staff, all it needs is determination to get the job done.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights correctly points out that the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, established only by executive action, is necessarily limited in budget and legal authority. Its jurisdiction over labor unions is indirect and tenuous. Therefore, the Commission recommends:

> That Congress grant statutory authority to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity or establish a similar agency to encourage and enforce a policy of equal employment opportunity in all federal employment and all employment created or supported by government contracts and federal grant funds."[69]

C. Federal Grant-in-Aid Employment

Grants-in-aid to state and local government, to public institutions, and to private nonprofit institutions are a method of federal subsidization of employment second in importance only to government contracts. In fiscal 1961 the federal grant-in-aid programs cost the taxpayers (white and Negro alike) some 7.5 billion dollars.[70] The largest expeditures went for the construction of hospitals ($154 million), schools ($63.3 million), public airports ($83.3 million), highways ($2.7 billion), and public housing, slum clearance, and urban redevelopment (over $300 million).[71]

Thousands upon thousands of skilled construction jobs were thereby created, and by and large they were denied to Negroes. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights made a field study of

employment created by these grants-in-aid programs in the cities of Detroit, Baltimore, and Atlanta. The results of this study showed: (1) Negro employment was greatest at the unskilled level, in every case outnumbering white employment at that level on these jobs. (2) As the skill level increased, the percentage of Negro employment decreased. (3) There was little difference in Negro employment patterns among the three cities surveyed; although in Atlanta almost all the skilled Negroes worked in the trowel trades (cement finishers, bricklayers) while in Detroit and Baltimore skilled Negroes were working as carpenters, operating engineers, and labor foremen as well.[72]

During the 1930's, the New Deal "pump-priming" make-work programs--the WPA, the PWA, the NYA, etc.--contained non-discriminatory clauses. The Unemployment Relief Act of 1933, for example, provided that "in employing citizens for the purpose of this Act no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color or creed;"[73] and the Hatch Act of 1939 contained a proviso making it unlawful to deprive any persons of employment or other benefit made possible "by any Act of Congress appropriating funds for work relief or relief purposes, on account of race, creed, color, or any political activity."[74] When Congress failed to ban discriminatory hiring practices, as in the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, those administering the public works program issued regulations designed to end job discrimination, and punished the violators.[75]

During the 1960's, we find no such general governmental policy in grant-in-aid employment. The Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent agencies which administer the Low Rent Housing and the Urban Redevelopment programs, construe grant project agreements to be government contracts within the meaning of Executive Order 10925 and accordingly require a "non-discriminatory" clause in all contracts.[76] The Urban Redevelopment Program has three steps: first, the local government, with federal financial assistance, acquires and clears slum areas; second, the local government, without

federal assistance, then improves the site; and third, the cleared land is then sold to private contractors for redevelopment. The non-discriminatory clause applies only in the first process, i.e., acquiring and clearing the land.

The Federal Aviation Agency has, since April 1961, required non-discrimination in employment created by airport grant projects,[77] but due to staff limitations leaves enforcement to the local sponsors.[78]

The Bureau of Public Roads, within the Department of Commerce, which administers grants for highway construction has, since 1941, inserted a "short-form" non-discriminatory clause in all contracts. The Bureau has not adopted the more meaningful provisions of the Kennedy Executive Order "for fear that any change in the clause would call attention to it."[79] There is no machinery for its enforcement.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which administers the hospital and impact-school construction programs, makes no requirement that employment on these projects be non-discriminatory.

The federal grants-in-aid are conditioned upon compliance with specified standards, and certainly for purposes of equal protection have no different standing than the ordinary government contract.[81]

In 1961, Congressman William Fitts Ryan introduced a bill, H.R. 7143, to establish the Civil Rights Commission as a permanent agency with broad powers to end employment discrimination on federal grants-in-aid programs. The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that:

> the President issue an Executive Order making clear that employment supported by federal grant funds is subject to the same non-discrimination policy and the same requirements as those set forth in Executive Order 10925 applicable to employment by government contractors

and that both the "federal contract" and "federal grant-in-aid" anti-discrimination programs be given congressional sanction and approval.[82]

D. The State Employment Services.

A special grant-in-aid program, created by the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933[83] is the Federally subsidized "national system of public employment offices." The function of these offices is (1) to assist unemployed workers in finding jobs, and (2) to assist employers in securing qualified workers. In fiscal 1961, approximately $107 million in Federal grants were spent for this purpose.[84]

The persons in these local offices man the gates: they can open the door to "merit" employment, or, alternatively, they can bar Negro access to the better paying jobs. Indications are that they do the latter.

The North Carolina Employment Security Commission operated in 1960 on a budget of $5,555,960.00, entirely paid for by the Federal government. The headquarters agency in Raleigh employed a total of 10 Negroes: one maid, two elevator operators, five janitors, and two janitor messengers. Some thirty-nine Negroes (and 681 whites) were employed in a professional capacity throughout the state to serve the Negro applicants for employment. When a job order is received, it is sent to the offices manned by whites if the order specifies white employees. If the order specifies Negro employees, it is handled by the Negro-manned divisional offices. If the order does not specify race, it is sent to either the white or Negro office according to "local knowledge of customary hiring requirements." In case of doubt, the employer is requested to indicate a preference. The result of this system is that in 1960, 95,576 whites were directed to employment, largely in professional, clerical, sales, skilled and semi-skilled jobs; and 73,473 Negroes were placed, largely in service and unskilled positions. By this system, the employer is denied both the opportunity and the responsibility to hire on the basis of merit.[85]

The experience in North Carolina is not unique. "If a known Government contractor insists on a discriminatory job order in Atlanta, it will be honored, as will a discriminatory request from a Federal agency."[86] An employee of the Michigan

Employment Security Commission explains: "I get rated by the number of people I place. If I don't place enough, I get called upstairs. Therefore, I send people to places where I think they will be employed, and this means that I send them by race."[87]

When Secretary Goldberg assumed office, the Department of Labor "determined that one objective in its relationship with state employment services, in line with the President's national policy, would be the making available of equal employment opportunities through the 1800 local employment offices. It therefore set about encouraging the states to review their staffs, giving greater understanding toward the national policy of equal employment opportunity." Additionally, the Department of Labor prohibited the processing of "discriminatory" job orders -- not only from Federal agencies and Federal contractors as was formerly the rule -- but from private employers as well.[88] But the basic cause for racial job assignment, i. e., basing promotions and allocations of funds according to the number of job placements, has not been changed.

A basic policy of the United States Employment Service is to promote employment for all applicants "on the basis of their skills, abilities and job qualifications."[89] This policy would be better effectuated if promotions and the allocation of funds were based, at least in part, according to the number of Negro job applicants placed in "non-traditional" positions. This is one of the recommendations of the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

"Recommendation. 7.--That steps be taken, either by executive or congressional action, to reaffirm and strengthen the Bureau of Employment Security policy, in rendering recruitment and placement services, of encouraging merit employment and assisting minority group members in overcoming obstacles to employment and in obtaining equal job opportunities. In this connection, consideration should be given to changing the method utilized to determine Federal appropriations to State employment offices, presently keyed

primarily to the number of job placements made, to reflect other factors (such as the greater degree of difficulty and time involved in placing qualified minority group workers), so that the budgetary formula used will encourage rather than discourage referral on a nondiscriminatory basis. In addition, regulations and statements of policy with respect to the operation of State employment offices should be reexamined to insure that such regulations and statements conform to the overall USES policy of discouraging employment discrimination and encouraging merit employment.

"Recommendation 8.--That the President direct the Secretary of Labor to grant funds for the operation of State employment offices only to those offices which offer their services to all, on a nonsegregated basis, and which refuse to accept and/or process discriminatory job orders."[90]

E. Apprenticeship Programs.

A skilled trade is a must in today's job market. Technological changes and the replacement of new industries for old have been largely responsible for increased unemployment. But even in a "depressed" area like Detroit, "jobs... are going begging for lack of skilled workers to fill them." [91] The demand for skilled workers will continue to grow. It is estimated that for every 100 skilled workers the nation had in 1955, it will need 122 in 1965, and 145 in 1975: "The New York State Department of Labor indicates, in a survey of jobs in 1960 to 1970, that 46,000 additional craftsmen will be needed annually if the State's needs for skilled workers in the 1960's are to be satisfied."[92] Yet today the apprenticeship training programs are not even producing enough skilled workers to replace those who retire, and Negroes are experiencing "a major crisis in unemployment because it is almost impossible as a result of discrimination for them to make the jump from unskilled jobs being wiped out by automation to the skilled ones that the new technology creates."[93]

1. Discrimination In Building Trade Apprentice Programs.

Uncontradicted testimony bears this out. "Open access to

plumbing and pipe-fitting apprenticeship controlled by the Plumbers Union is a very rare experience for young Negroes in the North as well as in the South ....

"Among the most important of the building trades craft unions is the Carpenters Union which has severely limited the opportunities of colored craftsmen by organizing segregated Negro locals (in those instances where Negroes are permitted to join) and giving them jurisdiction over areas where there was little or no construction....

"A recent study made by the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco revealed that Negroes are not participating in the electrical, plumbing, and carpentry apprenticeship training programs in that city and that only one Negro served as an apprentice in the metal trades.

"A report made by the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission indicates the exclusion of Negro youth in the structural steel, sheet metal, lathers, and tile setters apprenticeship programs in Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, and Muskegon.

"The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights has published a study which concludes that a similar condition exists in virtually the entire State of Connecticut.

"In a study entitled 'Negro Employment Practices in the Chattanooga Area' it is found that there was an absolute ban on apprenticeship opportunities for Negroes in the building trades.....

"In Newark, N. J., where there are 3,523 apprentices currently participating, not a single Negro apprentice is to be found in electrical installation, plumbing, painting, and other building trades apprenticeship programs....

"An examination of available data makes evident that less than 1 per cent of the apprentices in the building and construction industry throughout the United States are Negro."[94]

The absence of Negroes from the construction crafts is not, as one offical of an electrical union would have it, due to the fact that "Negroes fear electricity."[95] At the end of the Civil War, 100,000 of the 1230 artisans in the South were Negroes.[96] In 1920, in 10 states of the old South, 23 per cent of the carpenters, 25 per cent of the painters, 54 per cent of the bricklayers, and 66 per cent of the plasterers were Negro.[97] Today, Negroes have a hard time getting a toehold in the apprentice programs. The reason for the total absence of Negro plumbers was explained by a Plumbers Union official, who said that the apprenticeship program -- jointly administered by the union and management -- gave priority to the sons and relatives of those in the trade:

Mr. Rhodes (Business Manager of Local No. 4 of the Plumbers Union): It is true our local union favors, gives preference to sons, employees' sons and members' sons, and the like of that, you know, kinfolks....

Congressman Pucinski: What is the reasoning ---

Mr. Rhodes. What is the reason? Well, No. 1, your membership. You have got an 800-man membership. They all have boys that want to become plumbers. And they insist that the apprenticeship committee take care of their people, their own people... After all, how could a committee tell a member that we are going to take somebody else other than his son before we take his son?

Congressman Roosevelt: Will the gentleman yield? What you are saying, though, is that a plumbers' local is the same thing as a private club or a private school ... is it right to be able to make that union into what in essence tends to become pretty much a private club?

Mr. Rhodes: That is not what we are attempting to do, or not what we are doing. We take boys other than plumbers' sons. However, we give plumbers' sons preference.

Congressman Roosevelt: But only when you don't have enough sons?

Mr. Rhodes. Well, that has happened. There were a few years back when there were not enough plumbers' sons....

Congressman Roosevelt. If a Negro did apply, and was qualified, can you tell me honestly that you think he would be given a fair chance to enter the apprenticeship training?

Mr. Rhodes. He would be processed the same as any other candidate.

Congressman Roosevelt. What is the total membership of your union?

Mr. Rhodes. 824.

Congressman Roosevelt. Is this a mixed racial union, or are they all white?

Mr. Rhodes. As far as I know, they are all white."[98]

President George Meany of the AFL-CIO testified that: "There is racial discrimination in apprenticeship and vocational training programs, and we in the AFL-CIO have opposed and do oppose it. We want it ended."[99] J. C. Haggerty, President of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, testified that "It would be fruitless to deny that discrimination exists in the building and construction industry."[100] Both gentlemen urged the enactment of H. R. 8219, introduced by Congressman Powell, which is designed to bar the Secretary of Labor from fostering discriminatory apprenticeship training programs. The proposed legislation has several facets.

First. The Davis-Bacon and the Walsh-Healy Act require government contractors to pay "prevailing," and the Fair Labor Standards Act requires all employers in interstate commerce to pay "minimum," wages to their employees. Each statute, however, permits the Secretary of Labor to authorize "exemptions" from the wage requirements in the case of apprentices. The proposed legislation would prohibit the Secretary of Labor from "exempting" any apprenticeship program where discrimination is practiced. This proposal would

have limited impact, as only sixty-six exemptions were issued in the United States last year;[101] and in any event, former Secretary of Labor Goldberg announced that "exemptions" will not be granted to apprentice programs that discriminate.[102]

Second. The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor currently "certifies" apprenticeship programs which meet agreed-upon standards. The purpose is to upgrade the programs and assure uniformity of training. Certificates are awarded those graduating from these programs. Approximately half (160,000) the current apprentices are in a "certified" program.[103] The proposed legislation would bar the Secretary of Labor from certifying a program if it discriminates. The Secretary of Labor, by administrative action, has already taken this course.

Third. Most apprenticeship programs involve both on-the-job training and class-room work. The class-room work is supported by federal funds; and the legislative proposal is to withhold these funds from the apprenticeship programs which discriminate. There is a question as to how effective this would be in achieving its objective. Prior to 1954, when Washington, D. C. schools were segregated, most of the major craft unions utilized public schools for the class-room aspects of their apprentice programs. Subsequent to the desegregation of the schools, "many of the unions set up their own separate training facilities,"[104] and this is a trend that is nationwide, "more so where the unions have the resources to do it."[105]

A more direct approach has been taken to the problem of racial discrimination in on-the-job apprenticeship programs. The union, whose membership is closed to Negroes, is not permitted by the Courts to restrict employment opportunities to its members.[106] The Supreme Court has ruled that a union representing a majority of the employees in an appropriate craft or unit may not use its bargaining power to the detriment of minority Negro employees within the craft,[107] or to the detriment of Negro employees in a sister craft or unit. "Bargaining

agents who enjoy the advantages of the Railway Labor Act's provisions must execute their trust without lawless invasion of the rights of other workers."[108] All these decisions concerned job restrictions by unions against Negroes then on the job. However, the National Labor Relations Act requires unions to give "fair representation" to "employees"; job applicants have come within the meaning of the term "employees" in other contexts; and a good case has been made for the proposition that it is an unfair labor practice for a union, controlling job access, to discriminate against job applicants on the basis of race.[109] The issue, however, has not yet been decided, although it is now pending before the National Labor Relations Board.[110] Should the Labor Board deny statutory authority to rectify the situation, federal legislation modeled on the Ohio Code (making it unlawful for any labor organization to discriminate against any person, <u>or limit his employment opportunities</u>, on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry)[111] seems appropriate.

The Civil Rights Commission does not go this far. It recommends only that "Congress amend the Labor-Management and Disclosure Act of 1959 to include in title 1 thereof a provision that no labor organization shall refuse membership to, segregate, or expel any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin."[112]

2. <u>Discrimination in Industrial Apprenticeship Programs</u>. Thus far, the discussion has concerned discrimination in the building craft apprenticeship programs administered (at least jointly) by the craft unions. But an equally invidious type of discrimination is found in the industrial apprenticeship programs administered by management.

"In industrial apprenticeship training programs the opportunities for Negroes appear to be no greater than in the construction crafts."[113] Thus, a study of the auto industry's apprenticeship training program reveals that "Chrysler Corp. had 350 apprentices in its Detroit area plants, not one of

whom was a Negro. General Motors Corp. showed a slight improvement in that they had one Negro apprentice out of the 289 apprentices in training in its Detroit area plants. However, at the General Motors Institute in Flint which enrolls 2,400 students in a five-year work and training program, there is not a single Negro student."[114] "In the apprenticeship training program conducted jointly by the Automotive Tool & Die Manufacturers Association and the UAW, there are approximately 370 apprentices, all white. Only one Negro has ever participated in this program."[115]

Private employers who discriminate in industrial apprenticeship programs can be reached by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity if they have Government contract employment. The typical "Plan for Progress" requires the employer to "support the inclusion of minority group members in all its apprenticeship and other training programs."[116] If the private employer does not have a government program, his discriminatory practices can be curbed only by enactment of a Fair Employment Practices Law.

F. Vocational Education.

The greatest resources of any nation are the skill and know-how of its people. This philosophy has been embedded in federal law for many years. A subsidized program of vocational education was instituted in 1914 with the Smith-Hughes Act with the stated purposes: "To conserve and develop our national resources, to permit a productive and more prosperous agriculture, to prevent waste of human labor, to provide a supplement to apprenticeship; to increase wage earning power; to meet the increasing demand for trained workmen; to offset the increased cost of living; to serve as a wise business investment; and to promote our national security and economy."[117]

The import of vocational education as it relates to the need for highly skilled and technically trained manpower for the space age, has been underscored by the enactment of title

VIII of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 which makes provisions for area vocational educational programs "to train highly skilled technicians in fields necessary for national defense." [118]

The vocational education programs operate in the following manner: states willing to match federal funds and accept federal supervision receive grants from the federal government to help pay "the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects, and teachers of trade, home economics, and insustrial subjects."[119]

The Office of Education within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare administers the programs. The long-time policy of the Office of Education was "to fit persons for useful employment and, hence, training would be offered only when it was evident that those trained could reasonably expect to find employment locally. Since Negroes were denied employment in certain occupations, ... there was no use to train a Negro for an occupation in which he could not find employment; i. e., to train Negroes as electricians in most States would have been a waste of money and the time of the persons so trained."[120] Since 1948, the Office of Education has adopted the policy that "in the administration of federally aided programs of vocational education there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color." However, the present position of the Office of Education is that "the Commissioner does not have the power to withhold funds because schools are segregated."[121] The result of this approach is as may be expected: Negroes are excluded, segregated, and usually placed in training for "Negro" jobs.

"In Louisiana, there are twenty-seven state supported trade and technical schools -- twenty-three for whites -- four for Negroes.... Recently I visited two trade schools in New Orleans, one for Negroes and the other for whites. The Orleans Area Vocational and Technical School, which is for Negroes, offers only seven courses. The other school... offers forty-seven."[122]

In Atlanta, "the use of segregated public schools for vocational training produces a marked difference in the types of programs available to different racial groups... At Carver School, Negroes are trained for 'jobs traditionally open to them'. These are the most menial, requiring the lowest level of skills. They are precisely the ones for which the national economy has less and less need."[123]

In North Carolina, the situation is not so extreme. A survey of nine Industrial Education Centers reveals racial segregation in some: "in at least three this includes separate courses of study."[124] Instruction is available on the basis of job opportunities, and in some instances this is construed to mean job opportunities within the community. Thus, "if it was known not to be the custom for Negroes to be employed as upholsterers in the area served by the Center" then there was not job opportunity for Negroes and they were denied the training unless a "specific job" was assured.[125] Generally, however, the stated admission policy was to exclude race as a factor. The preponderance of white students (over 90 per cent) was explained by the lack of Negro interest and qualifications. One administrator stated that he had "recently shown forty-seven Negro men through the school and invited them to take courses; that only four applied, and of these only one completed the necessary examinations and he did so poorly that he was not admitted."[126]

Lack of motivation and ability, of course, is itself the product of long-suffered discrimination. The vicious circle of discrimination in employment opportunities is clear; the Negro is denied, or fails to apply for training for jobs in which employment opportunities have traditionally been denied him; when jobs do become available, there are consequently few, if any, qualified Negroes available to fill them; and often, because of lack of knowledge of such newly opened opportunities, even the few who are qualified fail to apply.

The United States Civil Rights Commission has recommended that Congress and the President take appropriate measures to meet the manpower needs of the coming years by:

(1) Providing that, as a condition of federal assiatance, all such programs be administered on a nondiscriminatory, nonsegregated basis; and

(2) Amending present regulations regarding admission to vocational classes;to provide that admission be based on present and probable future national occupational needs, rather than, as presently interpreted, on traditional and local needs and opportunities.

Additionally, of a more positive nature, the Commission recommended action:

(3) Expanding and supplementing existing programs of federal assistance to vocational education;

(4) Providing for retraining as well as training and for funds to enable jobless workers to move to areas where jobs are available and their skills in demand; and that Congress enact legislation to provide equality of training and employment opportunities for youths (aged 16 to 21), and particularly minority group youths, to assist them in obtaining employment and completing their education;

(5) Through a system of federally subsidized employment and training made available on a nondiscriminatory basis; and

(6) Through the provision of funds for special placement services in the schools in connection with part-time and cooperative vocational education programs.

Finally, the Commission recommended "That the President direct that appropriate measure be taken for the conduct, on a continuing basis, of an affirmative program of dissemination of information:

(7) To make known the availability on a non-discriminatory basis of jobs in the Federal Government and with Government contractors; and

(8) To encourage all individuals to train for and apply for such jobs, and particularly those jobs where there is currently a shortage of qualified applicants."[127]

G. Private Employment.

All the above programs and proposals have no immediate and only indirect impact on private discriminatory employment practices. A national program--prohibiting discriminatory employment practices by employer and union alike -- is needed. Federal legislation on this score has been introduced in each Congress since the 78th and supported by religious leaders of all persuasions, constitutional authorities, sociologists, economists, businessmen, and leaders of organized labor. Every report that has issued from a House or Senate Committee has recommended the enactment of fair employment legislation.

In the absence of final Congressional action, the states have moved in. New York first, under the leadership of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, next New Jersey, and today some twenty-four of the most populous states in the North, in the North Central, and in the West have enacted some type of fair employment practice legislation.[128] This, however, is not adequate to the occasion. First, there is some doubt that the Constitution permits the application of these state laws to "Interstate Commerce."[129]

Second, these state laws have no applicability in the area of the country where the need for such laws is the greatest. Finally, the problem is national in scope as populations migrate from one section of the country to another.

National legislation is a must. As one witness put it: "FEPC is a workable, sound, tested instrumentality that is good for 110 million people in twenty states; surely, gentlemen, it is good for 180 million people in fifty states."[130] Or, to quote George Meany:

> I could speak at length about the physical loss of good brains and strong bodies we suffer because of those who judge a man by other standards than his abilities. That would be tragic enough in an era when we need every ounce of our strength, and the fullest development of our resources, to secure our nation against attack.
>
> But the greatest loss to America is moral and spiritual. If a citizen of this country finds his way blocked, if he cannot achieve his highest degree of usefulness, only because he is a Negro or a Jew, a Catholic or an Asiatic; because he is an Italian or a Pole; because he is thirty-five or forty or forty-five, those who are responsible for blocking him are betraying the American ideal in the eyes of the world."[131]

III

Summary and Conclusion

Is this, the year of the Emancipation Proclamation, the year for an FEPC? The defeat of those who sought to amend Senate Rule 22 and thereby avert the threat of a filibuster is not a happy harbinger of civil rights legislation. But ours is a rapidly changing world. Six years ago, there was no sputnik, and the word "Astronaut" was unknown. Five years ago Governor Faubus was an obscure southern Governor, and a liberal one to boot. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a young and obscure southern minister, with no particular mark for greatness. Three years ago, the first Negro youth had yet to walk into a white lunch counter and ask for a cup of coffee. Three months ago, no governor of South Carolina had ever asked for the peaceful acceptance of an integrated state university. One month ago, no governor of North Carolina had ever asked for a Good Neighbor Council to end employment discrimination. The segregationist may think he is fighting John Kennedy, Earl Warren, and the NAACP. Actually, he is fighting Marconi, macadam, and Henry Ford -- in short, the Twentieth Century. The outcome of this unequal struggle is not for a moment in doubt. If FEPC legislation comes not this year, it comes soon. But much remains to be done, and on many fronts.

Within the federal civil service there are pockets of racism; aided and abetted by the use and abuse of the "rule of three." Energetic transmission of the Washington spirit to the field offices is necessary if federal employment and employment opportunities are to be based solely on factors of "merit." Periodic "headcounts," the addition of "minority specialists" to employment staffs, good communication, and Congressional approval and ratification of the guiding agency -- the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity -- will keep this program on sound footing.

The "fair and equal employment" clause in the standard government contract has for too long been forgotten, "dead

and buried under thousands of words of standard legal and technical language." President Kennedy has unearthed this provision and appointed a Committee under Vice-President Johnson to enforce it. Sanctions are available, and the Plans for Progress, if implemented, give great hope of progress. The entire program would be strengthened by Congressional authorization, support, and appropriations.

The anti-discrimination clauses contained (and enforced) in the 1930 grant-in-aid programs are not present in today's programs. The consequence is that thousands of Negroes are denied good jobs on projects created by Federal funds. There is no valid Constitutional reason why Federally created job opportunities under grant-in-aid programs should be treated differently from Federally created job opportunities under Federal procurement contract programs. The Civil Rights Commission recommends that the grant-in-aid program be brought within the protection and requirements of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

The United States Government finances the world's largest employment agency; and this agency in turn often stands as a barrier between the Negro and better job opportunities. Operating through segregated offices, the state employment services, at least until lately, processed discriminatory job requests under the federal spurt which based promotion and appropriations on the number of unemployed persons put back to work. The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that (1) consideration should be given to changing the method utilized to determine federal appropriations, presently keyed to the number of job placements made, to reflect other factors (such as the greater degree of difficulty and time involved in placing qualified minority group workers) so that the budgetary formula will encourage, rather than discourage, referral on a nondiscriminatory basis; and (2) that the President direct the Secretary of Labor to grant funds only to state employment

services which offer their services on a non-segregated basis and which refuse to accept and/or process discriminatory job offers.

America suffers from a surplus of unskilled and a dearth of skilled employees. And thousands of youths, age 16 to 21, are out of school, out of work, on the streets headed for trouble, petty crimes, and ultimately to public relief. The federal government seeks to give skills, work, and hope to these citizens by training in federally sponsored apprenticeship programs and federally financed industrial training centers. Yet these programs are not only woefully inadequate in size and number; they also discriminate against the Negro entirely, or at best train him for "traditional" jobs which are rapidly passing from the industrial scene. The Civil Rights Commission recommends corrective action in the federally supported apprenticeship programs by withholding federal aid and support from those which discriminate. It recommends corrective action against federally supported industrial training programs through similar techniques. And it recommends a positive approach to the total problem of creating skills needed in the coming years, of rekindling belief in the sceptical youth, through a program of guidance counseling, making the youth aware of federal and federal contract employment opportunities; through a program of extensive training in useful and challenging skills; and through a program of mass training and retraining akin to that of the Civil Conservation Corps during the 1930s -- a domestic Peace Corps if you will, permitting a simultaneous experience of education, skill gaining, and helping others to help themselves.

We find ourselves at another frontier. Do we retreat, vacillate, or press on? The problem is grave, the challenge a thrill, and the promise of solution a reward without measure.

On to Appomattox.

Footnotes

1. The initial reaction was very favorable. Only five of the first hundred letters were hostile, and three of these came from outside the state. Raleigh News and Observer, Jan. 21, 1963, p. 1, col. 3.

2. New York Times, Oct 15, 1962, p. 1, col. 1.

3. Wall Street Journal, Jan. 8, 1963, p. 1, col. 6.

4. Testimony of Raymond M. Hilliard, Equal Employment Opportunity, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee On Labor, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87 Cong., 1st Sess. (1961), pp 10, 13.

5. Jan. 8, 1963, p. 4, col. 2.

6. The State Department now has 35 Negroes in responsible posts and has named Carl T. Rowan, present deputy assistant Secretary of State, as ambassador to Finland. Mr. Rowan will be our third Negro ambassador. The National Observer, Jan. 15, 1963, p. 3, col. 1.

There are now 81,000 Chicago Negroes employed in professional, managerial, sales, and craft positions, up from 50,000 a decade earlier. New York Times, Dec. 8, 1962, p. 25, col. 1.

7. The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States, Bulletin s-3, U. S. Department of Labor (1960), pp. 5-17.

8. In August, 1962, Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed 11.4 per cent of the Negro work force unemployed as compared with 4.6 per cent of white workers. In Detroit, 60 per cent of the workers currently unemployed are Negroes, although Negroes constitute only 20 per cent of the population. A. Philip Randolph, "The Unfinished Revolution," The Progressive, Dec., 1962, p. 24.

9. "The extent to which the Negro unemployment rate is traceable to automation is suggested in the statistics on chronic unemployment, most of which involves victims of technological displacement. At present, among those unemployed for more than fifteen weeks, 23.8 per cent are non-white." Ibid.

10. Statement of A. Philip Randolph, Equal Opportunity In Apprenticeship Programs, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Labor, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87th Cong., 1st Sess. (1961), p. 121.

11. Operation of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, Report by the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Dec. 27, 1960, p. 2.

12. Statement of William E. Pollard, Chairman, Labor and Industry Committee, West Coast Region, NAACP. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra. pp. 389, 392-394.

13. Id. at p. 77.

14. Id. at p. 78.

15. Id. at p. 138.

16. Id. at p. 611.

17. Id. at p. 635.

18. Id. at p. 713.

19. The AFL-CIO Fourth Constitutional Convention in 1961 proclaimed that: "A real democracy has no room for second-class citizenship....When we as trade unionists seek equal opportunity for all Americans in employment, training, education, services and housing, we do so because we believe that America's good neighbor policy begins at home."

20. Representatives of the National Council of Churches of Christ, U. S. A., of the American Jewish Congress, and of the National Catholic Welfare Conference testified in January of 1962 on behalf of a fair employment practices law.

21. The Black Muslim movement makes capital out of the inability of Negro youth to secure suitable employment. "If our Government and the leaders of our communities will not give us the democratic tools to deal with these young people, and deal with them fairly, and honorably, I think the only thing that is left is Elijah Mohammed for them to go to...." Statement of Edwin C. Berry, Executive Director, Chicago Urban League, Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 178.

22. The Democratic Party platform of 1960 expressly pledged: "The new Democratic administration will support Federal legislation establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission to secure effectively for everyone the right to equal opportunity for employment."

The Republican Party platform of 1960 promised: "Continued support for legislation to establish a commission on equal job opportunity to make permanent and to expand with legislative backing the excellent work being performed by the President's Committee on Government Contracts."

23. See e.g. the testimony of New York City's Mayor Wagner: "We have established a city contract compliance policy under which all companies doing business with the city must adhere to our anti-discrimination laws...." Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra. at p. 624.

24. A description of state fair employment practices laws is appended hereto.

25. Over twenty years ago President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Commission. See text at note 46 infra.

26. An additional 2.48 million persons are employed in the Armed Forces. Employment, a Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1961), p. 19.

27. Congressman Ramspeck of Georgia fathered this bill. 54 Stat. 1211 (1940), 5 U. S. C. sec. 631(a) (1958).

28. Testimony of Perry C. Parks, Jr., Vice President, 10th District, National Alliance of Postal Employees, Equal Employment Opportunities, note 4 supra., p. 381

29. Id. at p. 373.

30. Employment, note 26 supra. at p. 38.

31. On March 6, 1961, shortly after inauguration, the President issued Executive Order No. 10925 establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, with jurisdiction "to promote and insure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, employed or seeking employment with the Federal Government and on Government contracts. 26 Fed. Reg. 1977 (1961).

32. The First Nine Months, Report of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (1962), p. 1.

33. Ibid.

34. This is true, at least, within the Department of Labor. Id. at p. 25.

35. Id. at p. 16.

36. Id. at pp. 27, 31.

37. Id. at p. 29. There is no indication that the Departments of Army, Navy or Air Force have followed suit at their respective academies.

38. Id. at p. 32.

39. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 177-178.

40. Secretary Goldberg announced that the Department of Labor hired its first Negro employee south of the Potomac River: a Wage and Hour Investigator working in Miami. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., p. 25.

41. 58 Stat. 389 (1944), 5 U. S. C. sec. 857 (1958).

42. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 391.

43. See note 22, supra.

44. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 161.

45. Id. at p. 55.

46. Executive Order No. 8802, 6 Fed. Reg. 3109 (1941).

47. 58 Stat. 387 (1944), 31 U. S. C. sec. 696 (1958).

48. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 12.

49. Id. at p. 56.

50. Id. at p. 65.

51. Id. at p. 59.

52. Apr. 28, 1961, p. 1, col. 1.

53. 26 Fed. Reg. 1977 (1961).

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Equal Protection of The Laws in Employment by Federal Contractors, Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Sept. 23, 1961.

57. Id. at p. 8.

58. Only three firms reported difficulty arising from the refusal of their white employees to accept Negroes as fellow workers. Only three others indicated that their relationships with labor unions had an adverse effect on the utilization of Negro manpower.

59. Id. at pp. 25-26.

60. There is legislative history to support the conclusion that the Taft-Hartley Act intended to permit Negro exclusion from union membership, with the caveat that unions which take this course cannot then require their dismissal from employment pursuant to a "union security" agreement which requires all employees to join the union within 30 days of employment. See sec. 8(a)(3) of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947.

The Courts, to date, have accepted this construction of the statute. See e.g., Oliphant v. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, 262F. 2d359 (6th Cir., 1958), cert. den. 359 U. S. 935 (1958).

61. Statement of Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the NAACP, before the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Jan. 15, 1962.

62. This doctrine was announced in Steele v. Louisville & N. R. R. Co., 323 U. S. 192, 204 (1944) and given further amplification in Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen v. Howard, 343 U. S. 768 (1952); Conley v. Gibson, 355 U. S. 41 (1957); and Syres v. Oil Workers, 350 U. S. 892 (1956).

63. Statement of George Meany, Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., p. 11.

64. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., p. 62.

65. Brown v. Board of Education, 359 U. S. 294 (1954).

66. Pioneer Bus Company, Inc., 140 NLRB No. 18 (1963).

67. Equal Employment Opportunities, note 4 supra, p. 156.

68. See text at note 55, supra.

69. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 161-162.

70. Id. at p. 55.

71. Id. at pp. 84-88.

72. Id. at p. 92.

73. 48 Stat. 22. No longer in existence.

74. 58 Stat. 1148 (1939), 18 U. S. C. sec. 601 (1948).

75. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 8.

76. Id. at p. 78.

77. 26 Fed. Reg. 3144 (1961).

78. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 86.

79. Id. at p. 87.

80. Both the Hill-Burton hospital construction program, and the impact-school construction program, contain "nonintervention" provisions, i.e. no Federal official shall exercise "...any direction, supervision, or control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction of any school or school system of any local or state educational agency," but these prohibitions against intervention in "operation" seem to have no bearing on control over the composition of the work force used in construction. Id. at pp. 58-59.

81. In a related context, the Supreme Court announced almost 100 years ago that "It is not doubted that the grant by the United States to the state upon conditions, and the acceptance of the grant by the State, constituted a contract." McGee v. Mathis, 71 U. S. 143, 155 (1866).

82. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 162.

83. 29 U. S. C. sec. 49 (1958).

84. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 115.

85. Operation of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Dec. 27, 1960.

86. Employment, note 26, supra., p. 117.

87. Id. at pp. 118-119.

88. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., pp. 57-58.

89. 20 C. F. R. sec. 604.1(b) (1961).

90. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 163-164.

91. Time, Mar. 10, 1961, p. 90.

92. Statement of A. Philip Randolph, Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10, supra., p. 123.

93. New York Times, Oct. 17, 1962, p. 22, col. 1, quoting Herbert Hill, the NAACP's Labor Secretary.

94. Statement of Herbert Hill, Equal Opportunity in

Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., pp. 89-91.

95. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 130.

96. The Unfinished Revolution, note 8 supra., p. 21.

97. See text at note 10, supra.

98. Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., pp. 139 ff.

99. Id. at p. 4.

100. Id. at p. 127.

101. Statement of Assistant Secretary of Labor Jerry R. Holleman, Id. at p. 28.

102. Ibid.

103. Id. at p. 43.

104. Id. at p. 158.

105. Id. at p. 113.

106. James v. Marinship Corp., 25 Cal. 2d 731, 155 P. 2d 329 (1944).

107. Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., 323 U. S. 192.

108. Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen v. Howard, 343 U. S. 768, 774 (1952).

109. See Sovern, The National Labor Relations Act and Racial Discrimination, 62 Col. 1. Rev. 563, 584-587 (1962).

110. New York Times, Oct. 17, 1962, p. 22, col. 1.

111. Sec. 4112.02 of the Ohio Revised Code (1959). Section 1777.6 of the Labor Code of California makes it unlawful "for an employer or a labor union to refuse to accept otherwise qualified employees as indentured apprentices on any public works, solely on the ground of the race, creed, or color of such employee."

112. Employment, note 26 supra. at p. 164.

113. Id. at p. 109.

114. Statement of Horace L. Sheffield, Vice President,

Trade Union Leadership Council, Detroit, Michigan. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 218.

115. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 107.

116. See text following fn. 15, supra.

117. Statement of Francis A. Gregory, Assistant Superintendent of Education, Washington, D. C. Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., p. 111.

118. Integration in Public Education Programs, Report of the Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Public Education Programs of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87th Cong., 2d Sess. (1962), p. 92.

119. 20 U. S. C. sec. 11 (1958).

120. Integration in Public Education Programs, note 118 supra., p. 94.

121. Ibid.

122. Statement of Clarence A. Laws, Southwest Regional Secretary of the NAACP before the Special Subcommittee on Labor, U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 16, 1962.

123. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 97.

124. Operation of Industrial Education Centers of North Carolina, Report of the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, May 3, 1962, p. 7.

125. Id. at p. 4.

126. Id. at p. 6.

127. Employment, note 26 supra, pp. 162-163.

128. The various laws, taken from the testimony of AFL-CIO President George Meany, are set forth in the appendix.

129. See, e.g., Colorado Anti-Discrimination Comm. v. Continental Air Lines, __Colo.__, cert. granted, __U. S. __, 31 Law Week 3116 (1962).

130. Statement of Edward Howden, Executive Officer and Chief, California FEPC, Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra., p. 302.

131. Statement before the Special Labor Subcommittee

of the House Committee on Education and Labor on Equality of Employment Opportunity, Jan. 15, 1962.

APPENDIX

STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LAWS

Key: (Kind of Discrimination Outlawed)

RA = race AN = ancestry
RE = religious creed
CO = color NO = national origin

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Alaska	Alaska Comp. Laws Ann., sec. 43-5-1 (Supp. 1958)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 1 or more; labor organizations, employ. agencies	Non-profit enterprises Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by courts	Commissioner of Labor
California	Cal.Lab.Code sec. 1412	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 5 or more; Labor Organizations Employment agencies The State and its political subdivisions	Non-profit, social, fraternal, charitable, educational or religious associations or corporations. Persons employed by family Domestic servants Agricultural workers residing on farms where employed	By the Courts	Division of Fair Employment Practices
Colorado	Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann., sec. 80-24-1 (1953)	RA, RE, CC, AN, NO	Employers of 6 or more Labor Organizations Employment Agencies The State and its political subdivisions	Persons employed by family Domestic servants Educational Institutions and school districts	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission

APPENDIX (continued) (2)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Connecticut	Conn. Gen. Stat. Rev., Sec. 31-122 (1958)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	All enterprises, including charitable and non-profit, employing 5 or more Labor organizations Employment agencies The State and its political subdivisions	None	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Commission on Civil Rights
Delaware	Laws of Delaware ch. 337, Vol.52, 1960	RA, RE, CO NO, AGE	All employers Employment agencies Labor organizations	(By Commission ruling) religious, fraternal, sectarian or charitable association, corporation or society, in re occupational qualifications as to race and creed	By courts: fine and imprisonment	Division Against Discrimination Labor Commission
District of Columbia	Commissioners' policy orders: Nov. 25, 1953 April 9, 1958 Amended: May 9, 1961	RA, RE, CO, NO	District of Columbia government employment Employers holding D.C. contracts On complaint, may investigate discrimination by private employers		Contract Cancellation in case of contractors	D. C. Commissioners' Council on Human Relations

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Idaho	Idaho Sess. Laws (1961) Ch. 309	RA, RE, CO, NO (including AN)	"Every person"	Not specified	Misdemeanor No enforcement machinery	No agency
Illinois	S.B. 609 (1961)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	1961-64: Employers of 100 or more 1965 on: Employers of 50 or more Labor organizations Employment agencies	Not specified	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Fair Employment Practices Commission
Indiana	Indiana Ann. Stat., sec. 40-2307 (1956)	RA, RE, CO,	All enterprises conducted for profit, employing 6 or more; Labor organizations, Employment agencies	Non-profit enterprises Persons employed by family Domestic servants Employers of less than 6	Agency has subpoena power but no other enforcement power	Division of Labor
Kansas	Kan. Gen. Stat., Ann., sec. 44-1001 (supp. 1959) Amended, April 14, 1961 Effective July 1, 1961	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; All departments of state, county & municipal governments; Persons acting as employers; Employment agencies; Labor organizations	Non-profit, religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, sectarian associations or corporations	Cease and desist orders enforceable by courts	Anti-Discrimination Commission

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Kentucky	Laws of 1960, ch.76 (Also, July, 1961)	RA, Ethnic Group or members	"Any discrimination" State employment		None	Commission on Human Rights
Massachusetts	Mass. Ann. Laws, ch. 151B, sec. 1-10 (1957)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	Employers of 6 or more in all enterprises conducted for profit: Employment agencies; Labor organizations; The State and its political subdivisions	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family: Domestic servants	By the courts	Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
Michigan	Mich. Stat. Ann., sec. 17.458 (1) (1960)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; Employment agencies; Labor Organizations; The State and its political subdivisions; Contractors and subcontractors with the State or its political subdivisions.	Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission
Minnesota	Minn. Laws 1961, Ch. 428	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 8 or more; Employment agencies; Labor organizations; The State and its political subdivisions	Persons employed by family Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Minn. Fair Employment Practices Commission

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Missouri	S.B. 257 (1961)	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 50 or more; Employers holding state contracts: State agencies, Labor Unions, Employment agencies	Corporations & associations owned and operated by religious or sectarian groups	Commission orders, enforceable in the courts	Commission on Human Rights
New Jersey	N.J. Stat. Ann. sec. 18: 25-4 (supp. 1960)	RA, RE, CO, NA, Liability for military service	Employers in all enterprises employing 6 or more. The State and its political subdivisions Labor organizations Employment agencies	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Division Against Discrimination, N.J. Department of Education
New Mexico	N.M. Stat. Ann., sec. 59-4-1 (supp. 1961)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 4 or more The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Religious corporations or associations; Non-profit social or fraternal clubs; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	None	Fair Employment Practice Commission
New York	N.Y. Executive Law, sec. 290	RA, RE, CO, NO, AGE	Employers in all enterprises conducted for profit and employing 6 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies; Licensing agencies with respect to age qualifications.	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Ohio	Ohio Rev. Code Ann., Sec. 4112.01 (Page supp. 1959)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 4 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Religious, educational & charitable organizations; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Ohio Civil Rights Commission
Oregon	Ore. Rev. Stat., sec. 659.010 (1959)	RA, RE, CO, NO, AGE	Employers of 6 or more; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit social, fraternal, charitable, educational or religious associations or corporations; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Civil Rights Division Oregon Bureau of Labor
Pennsylvania	Penna Human Relations Act, Pa. Laws	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	Employers of 12 or more; The state and its political subdivisions; Employment agencies; Labor organizations	Religious, fraternal, charitable or sectarian corporations or associations unless supported in whole or in part by public appropriation	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Pa. Fair Employment Practice Commission
Rhode Island	R.I. Gen. Laws, Ann., sec. 28-5-1 (1956)	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 4 or more; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, sectarian	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	R.I. Commission Against Discrimination
Washington	Wash. Rev. Code, sec. 49.60.030 (1959)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit religious or sectarian organizations; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Washington State Board Against Discrimination

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
WISCONSIN	Wis. Stat. Ann. sec. 111.31 (1957)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	All employers; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit social clubs, fraternal or religious associations. Persons employed by family	Cease and desist order enforceable by the courts	Wisconsin Fair Employment Practices Division, Industrial Commission

REGISTRATION AND VOTING IN THE SOUTH

Wiley A. Branton

This paper is intended to serve solely as a background paper for discussion on proposed civil rights legislation at the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights Legislation to be held at Notre Dame, Indiana, February 8-11, 1963. It deals with problems of registration and voting. None of the material contained herein should be quoted or printed without the express consent of the author.

Notre Dame Conference

REGISTRATION AND VOTING IN THE SOUTH
Proposals for Congressional Action

Introduction

Shortly after the White Primary was outlawed in 1944,[1] voter registration by Negroes in the South rose rapidly from a few hundred thousand so that by 1947, there were 595,000 registered Negro voters in the eleven southern states.[2] By 1952, there were slightly over a million registered Negroes in the South, and by 1956, the number stood at 1,238,038. Prior to the White Primary case, there was little incentive for Negroes to register and vote in the South because the whole area was solidly Democratic, and Negroes could not vote in the Democratic Primary elections where nomination was tantamount to election. Prior to 1944, the few persons of color who were registered to vote could only participate in the general elections, and most times, the Republican party offered no candidates or only token opposition. Because of rejection by the Democrats, Negro political leaders in the South maintained their loyalty to the Republican party, and became Republican party leaders in most of the states, and even took control of party affairs in such states as Mississippi and Georgia.

Subsequent to the 1956 registration figures mentioned above, Congress adopted the first legislation dealing with civil rights since the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957[3] and 1960[4] both have provisions designed to protect

the right to register and vote. Even though several suits have been brought by the Department of Justice to protect the rights of Negroes to vote under the Civil Rights Acts, and there has been a continued increase in Negro registration, nevertheless, registration figures are much too low, and additional measures must be taken to remove the barriers from Negro registration.

Current Statistics

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council recently compared notes with other agencies and individuals interested in Negro registration, and the best estimates and official figures are listed below:

Negro Registration in the South in December, 1962

State	Negroes Registered	Percent of Total Registration*	Negroes Unregistered**
Alabama	90,000	9%	418,731
Arkansas	75,000	13%	127,593
Florida	195,000	11%	300,420
Georgia	185,000	14%	471,047
Lousiana	152,000	14%	392,997
Mississippi	24,000	6%	425,296
North Carolina	211,000	11%	375,219
South Carolina	91,000	19%	305,848
Tennessee	185,000	11%	144,630
Texas	280,000	14%	369,512
Virginia	110,747	10%	349,334

*Represents percentage of Negro registration to total registration.
**Unregistered Negroes of voting age.

Abstract of Present Federal Laws Protecting the Right to Vote

Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States

Section 1 - The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2 - The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Civil Rights Act of 1957

Title I. Created Commission on Civil Rights composed of six members who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not more than three of whom shall be from the same political party.

Empowered the Commission to investigate allegations that certain citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin.

Title II. Authorized the appointment of one additional Assistant Attorney General in the Department of Justice.

Title III. Extended the jurisdiction of the federal district court to include any civil action begun to recover damages, or secure equitable relief under any Act of Congress providing for the protection of civil rights, including the right to vote.

Title IV. Prohibits attempts to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote in general or primary elections for federal officials.

Empowered the Attorney General to seek an injunction when any person is about to engage in any act or practice which would deprive another of his right to vote.

Gave district courts jurisdiction of above proceedings, and provided that administrative remedies need not be first exhausted.

Provided for right of counsel and production of witnesses for any person cited for contempt.

Title V. -

Provided punishment by fine or imprisonment upon conviction in criminal contempt cases arising from provisions of Civil Rights Act of 1957.

Set maximum fine for an individual under these provisions at $1,000 or six months in jail, or both.

Allowed the judge to decide whether defendent in a criminal case involving voting rights would be tried before the court, or with a jury.

Provided for trial de novo before a jury for any defendent found guilty in trial before the court, and given a sentence in excess of forty-five days, or fined in excess of $300.

Civil Rights Act of 1960

Title I.- Provided that anyone who attempts to prevent, obstruct, impede, or interfere with the due exercise of rights, or the performance of duties under any order of a court of the United States shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisioned not more than one year, or both. Such acts could be enjoined by private suits seeking court injunctions, even though acts may be criminal in nature.

Title III.

Required every election official to preserve for a period of twenty-two months following all federal elections, including primaries, all papers requisite to registration and voting for that election. Provides fine up to $1,000 or imprisonment up to one year, or both, for any person convicted for violation of requirement, or for anyone convicted for willfully stealing, destroying, concealing, mutilating, or altering the registration records.

Required that such records be turned over to Attorney General or his representative upon demand in writing for inspection, reproduction and copying at the office of records custodian.

Prohibits disclosure of information regarding records by Justice Department except to Congress, governmental agencies, or before a court or grand jury.

Vests district court in district where demand for records is made with jurisdiction to compel the production of such record or paper.

Title IV. Enpowered the members of the Civil Rights Commission to administer oaths and take sworn statements.

Title VI.

Provided that where the court finds that any person has been deprived of the right to register or vote in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, Attorney General may then ask court to make a finding whether such deprivation was or is pursuant to a pattern or practice.

If court found such a "pattern or practice" of racial discrimination, then any person of such race (Negroes) living in the affected area could apply to the court for an order declaring him qualified to vote if he proved (1) he was qualified to vote under state law; (2) he had tried to register after the "pattern or practice" finding; and (3) he had not been allowed to register or had been found unqualified by the registrar.

The application for such an order shall be heard within ten days and any order for actual registration shall be effective for as long as applicant would have been qualified if registered under state law. Election officials would be furnished copies of order and disobedience of same would constitute contempt of court.

To carry out the provisions of the order, the court may appoint one or more voting referees, who must be qualified voters in the judicial district. Referees would receive the applications for registration and hear the applicants testimony ex parte,

including answers to any literacy questions required by state law, and make a report to the court. A copy of the report of the referee shall be served upon the State Attorney General and on each party, any of whom must show cause within ten days, or shorter time as the court may fix, why an order of the court should not be entered in accordance with such report. If exceptions to the report are filed on issues of facts, then it must be supported by a verified copy of a public record, or by affidavits of persons having personal knowledge of such facts or matter contained in the report; those relating to matters of law shall be supported by a memorandum of law. Issues of fact and law shall be determined by the court (or by referee if court directs) and a hearing shall be held only if it appears that there is a genuine issue of material fact. If the exceptions are dismissed, then the court or referee could issue a certificate declaring the applicant qualified to vote.

If an applicant applies for such a certificate twenty or more days prior to an election which is undetermined by the time of such election, the court shall issue an order authorizing the applicant to vote provisionally, provided applicant shall be qualified to vote under state law. Such an order is discretionary with the court where application is filed within twenty days prior to an election.

Voting referees would have the powers conferred upon a master by Rule 53(c) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure (right to

subpoena records, administer oaths, hear testimony, etc.) Court may take any action necessary or appropriate to enforce its decrees and is not limited solely to the order allowing an applicant to vote.

In any action instituted under these provisions, the discriminatory acts or practices of state officials shall be deemed that of the state and the state may be joined as a party defendant. If official resigns or is relieved of office and no successor has assumed such office, the state itself could be sued.

Legislative Problems

Minority groups have depended principally on judicial decisions for implementing the basic guarantees of civil rights. These judicial decisions prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1957 resulted largely from slowly expanding liberal interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Congress passed a number of civil rights acts during the first ten years following the Civil War, but, unfortunately, most of these civil rights laws were nullified by other laws or narrowly constructed or struck down by the courts. It was only by a more liberal construction of the Fourteenth Amendment and its application to the point in question that many of the decisions favorable to civil rights came into being. Although Congress was empowered to enforce the provisions of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments "by appropriate legislation," it was not able to get a single civil rights act passed until 1957. Anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, FEPC and other proposals had been introduced repeatedly, but all had failed to get the necessary votes to even kill the filibusters of southern Congressmen.

President Roosevelt set up a civil rights section in the Justice Department in 1939 by adminstrative action. All of the party platforms since 1944, of the Democrats and Republicans, have included fairly good civil rights planks. Many people feel

that the ballot is the most powerful weapon which minorities can use and that if enough Negroes are given the right to vote that many civil rights problems will be settled at the ballot box.

Southerners are more unified in their fight against civil rights legislation than on any other proposal. The question of states' rights is invariably raised against any legislation dealing with civil rights by contending that such legislation interferes with rights reserved to the states under the Tenth Amendment.

When the 1957 Civil Rights Act was being considered, it originally included the now famous Title III which would have provided power for the Attorney General to bring injunctive actions against the deprivation of any civil right. Congress not only rejected Title III, but also restricted the courts in punishing those who violated the voting rights laws, by requiring jury trials under certain conditions. Senator Strom Thurmond (D., S.C.) established a record filibuster when he carried on a marathon speech against the 1957 act which lasted more than 24 hours.

The only real legislative problem, as this writer sees it, is the one involving the attitudes of all southern Congressmen regarding any civil rights legislation. The voting procedure in the House is such that favorable action can be taken on proposals before that body in a relatively short time. It is in the Senate where liberal legislation runs into all sorts of delaying tactics

and the powerful filibuster.

HOUSE VOTING PROCEDURE

The House generally resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole when it is considering any major legislation and frequently does so on other bills upon acceptance of a motion by a member. The Speaker appoints a chairman and the rules of the House permit the Committee of the Whole to meet with any 100 members on the floor and to act on legislation or amendments with the quorum of 100 members present. An agreement is reached regarding the time to be spent in general debate on the bill and this time is equally divided between the proponents and opponents of the bill. When the time for general debate has expired the bill is then read section by section for amendments. Although debate on an amendment is limited to five minutes normally, it is fairly common for time to be extended by unanimous consent or by resort to the use of some dilatory motion in order for a member to get in extra debate.

Votes in the Committee of the Whole are not on record but are by voice vote or by teller vote. The teller vote is obtained by having members walk down the aisle past counters who have been appointed. The total number of yea and nay votes are recorded concerning the actions of the Committee and no record is kept of the way each member votes. It is only on the voting

for or against final passage of a bill that a roll call vote is taken. After action by the Committee of the Whole, the chairman reports the action taken to the House and gives the Committee's recommendations. The House then votes on the bill as amended and cannot reconsider any proposals or amendments rejected by the Committee of the Whole; however, it may vote to recommit a bill to the Committee of the Whole with instructions that a rejected proposal be added to the bill.

SENATE DELAYING TACTICS

At least 51 senators must be present to form a quorum to do business, although in many instances the Senate assumes the presence of a quorum when there is no objection. In an effort to delay action on any civil rights bill which is pending it is a common practice for southerners constantly to suggest the absence of a quorum. This requires the Senate Clerk to call the name of each senator and this can take anywhere from 15 minutes to an hour or more. These quorum calls give opponents of civil rights legislation a chance to map strategy or rest from long filibusters. If a quorum is not present then the Senate must either adjourn or direct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent members. If the Senate adjourns, then the Senate begins a new legislative day which requires the reading of the Journal of the preceding day's business, unless dispensed with by unanimous vote. Obviously, opponents to civil rights bills would argue for adjourn-

ment whenever possible.

On each new legislative day the Senate usually allows approximately an hour or longer for the introduction of bills, insertions in the Congressional Record, corrections in the Journal of Record and other matters.

Motions to table are frequently used as delaying tactics or to cut off debate. Rules of the Senate require an immediate vote without further debate once a motion to lay an amendment on the table has been made. All sorts of counter motions or motions of reconsideration are frequently tied in with motions to table.

CURRENT LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Anti-Poll Tax Bill. Congress proposed a Constitutional amendment in its closing daysin the summer of 1962, which would prohibit the requirement of the payment of a poll tax to vote in any elections, including primaries, where federal officials are to be voted upon. Only five states yet retain the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. They are, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. It is generally felt that the necessary three-fourths of the state legislatures will soon ratify the proposed amendment. Although the proposed amendment would only apply to federal elections, it is generally felt that the five states now requring poll taxes would not adopt two standards of voting requirements, one for state elections and another for federal elections. An effort to make the proposed amendment applicable to

state elections was rejected by Congress.

LITERACY TEST

The Civil Rights Commission proposed that Congress declare all persons with at least six grades of schooling literate for voting purposes. A bill designed to set these literacy standards was introduced in Congress early in 1962 but died under a prolonged southern filibuster. It created loud opposition from the South and even from some quarters in the North. Many opponents to such a bill argue strongly that it is unconstitutional, as being in violation of the rights of states guaranteed in Article 1, Section 2, and the 17th Amendment, of the Constitution. Even a liberal such as Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, expressed serious doubts regarding the constitutionality of a literacy bill and favored the proposal of an amendment to the Constitution as a solution when the legislation was being considered last year.

According to an article in the Washington Post, January 14, 1963, Representative Celler announced that he will introduce and support the same measure as a simple bill needing only a majority vote in this session of Congress, a radical departure from his position in the last Congress.

The Atlanta Journal of February 4, 1963, carried a story regarding a proposal introduced in the Senate on that date by Senator John Sherman Cooper (R.,Ky.) and Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.,Conn.).

Their bill would require all states using literacy tests to meet certain standards or do away with the tests. All tests would have to be given and rated in a uniform manner. In case of oral examination, a verbatim transcript would have to be made. The measure would also rule out insignificant errors in grammar and other minor mistakes as disqualifying voter applicants.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report contained the following recommendations:

Qualification of voters

Recommendation 1. - That Congress, acting under section 2 of the 15th amendment and sections 2 and 5 of the 14th amendment, (a) declare that voter qualifications other than age, residence, confinement, and conviction of a crime are susceptible of use, and have been used, to deny the right to vote on grounds of race and color; and (b)enact legislation providing that all citizens of the United States shall have a right to vote in Federal or State elections which shall not be denied or in any way abridged or interfered with by the United States or by any State for any cause except for inability to meet reasonable age or length-of-residence requirements uniformly applied to all persons within a State, legal confinement at the time of registration or election, or conviction of a felony; such right to vote to include the right to register or otherwise qualify to vote, and to have one's vote counted.

Dissent to recommendation 1 by Vice Chairman Storey

As pointed out in the 1959 report of this Commission, I strongly believe in the right of every qualified citizen of the United States, irrespective of his color, race, religion, or national origin, to register, vote, and have his vote counted. Full protection of these rights of suffrage by both State and Federal Governments is necessary and proper. However, I cannot join in so sweeping a recommendation as this.

Proposals to alter longstanding Federal-State relationships such as that incorporated in the Federal Constitution, declaring that the qualifications of electors shall be left to the several States, should not be made unless there is no alternative method to correct an existing evil. Such is not the case today.

The Federal Government has sufficient authority under the Constitution and the existing framework of laws to enable it effectively to deal with denials of the right to vote by reason of race, color, religion, and national origin.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 authorized the Attorney General to institute civil suit in the Federal courts to prevent the denial of voting rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 provides that if in any such suit the court makes a finding that the denial of voting rights is "pursuant to a pattern or practice," the court may appoint voting referees to register qualified persons denied this right by local election officials. The further denial of the right to vote to these persons so registered by the court-appointed voting referees constitutes contempt of court and is punishable accordingly. The vigor with which these Civil Rights Acts are applied will significantly affect the extent to which voting denial practices will be discontinued.

Many States have voting requirements more extensive than age or length of residence, incarceration, or felony convictions. These qualifications, having nothing to do with race, religion, or national origin, are an important element in preserving the sanctity of the ballot. They are specific disqualifications which are felt justifiable for the good of the State. Disqualifications of persons whose mental condition makes it impossible for them competently to exercise the discrimination necessary in voting has long been accepted. Many States disqualify paupers supported by municipal or county officials on the theory that these people are too easily exploitable by such officials for their own purposes. The security and purity of the ballot can be destroyed by permitting illiterates to vote. And as the English language is still the official language of the United States, there is good justification for States requiring that voters have at least a rudimentary knowledge of this language.

Dissent to Recommendation 1 by Commissioner Rankin

I join in the dissenting statement of Vice Chairman Storey but would add the following personal comment.

The 15th amendment has been a part of our Constitution for almost a century, and Congress has never interpreted it as a mandate to usurp the power of each State to determine the qualifications of electors.

In 1957 and again in 1960, Congress did enact legislation to provide protection of the right to register and vote without discrimination on grounds of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. It may be that further legislation will be required to reinforce the guarantees of the 15th amendment and of the 1957 and 1960 laws. But such measures should be kept within the well-recognized bounds of our Constitution and laws.

Our object must be compliance with the Constitution, not punishment, and for that reason I do not deem it wise to upset the balance of our Federal system to reach a result which can be achieved through less drastic means.

Recommendation 2. - That Congress enact legislation providing that in all elections in which, under State law, a "literacy" test, an "understanding" or "interpretation" test, or an "educational" test is administered to determine the qualifications of electors, it shall be sufficient for qualification that the elector have completed at least six grades of formal education.

Interference with the right to vote

Recommendation 3. - That Congress amend subsection (b) of 42 U.S.C. 1971 to prohibit any arbitrary action or (where there is a duty to act) arbitrary inaction, which deprives or threatens to deprive any person of the right to register, vote, and have that vote counted in any Federal election.

Dilution of the right to vote

Recommendation 4. - That Congress consider the advisability of enacting legislation (a) requiring that where voting districts are established within a State, for either Federal elections or State elections to any house of a State legislature which is elected on the basis of population, they shall be substantially equal in population; and (b) specifically granting the Federal courts jurisdiction of suits to en-

force the requirements of the Constitution and of Federal law with regard to such electoral districts; but explicitly providing that such jurisdiction should not be deemed to preclude the jurisdiction of State courts to enforce rights provided under State law regarding such districts.

Statistical information

.. Recommendation 5.- That Congress direct the Bureau of the Census promptly to initiate a nationwide compilation of registration and voting statistics, to include a count of persons of voting age in every State and territory by race, color, and national origin, who are registered to vote, and a determination of the extent to which such persons have voted since January 1, 1960; and requiring that the Bureau of the Census compile such information in each next succeeding decennial census, and at such other time or times as the Congress may direct.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY AUTHOR

This writer concurs in each of the recommendations proposed by the Commission on Civil Rights and the proposals now pending in Congress which are designed to help remove the barriers to Negro registration, and proposes the following additional measures:

Author's Recommendation No. 1.
CREATION OF A COURT OF CIVIL RIGHTS

It is a well known fact that many federal judges in the South have contributed to the delay in the enforcement of civil rights legislation in many different ways. There are several cases involving civil rights which have been filed for more than a year and attorneys for the plaintiffs have been unable to get a hearing date set. When the cases are set for trial they are frequently passed at the last minute upon the flimsiest of ex-

cuses, all to the frustration of the plaintiffs. District judges have been known to hand down decisions which they surely must have known would be reversed on appeal, but they nevertheless ruled for the southern defendants and delay. Another tactic resorted to by judges cooperative to the South is to hear all of the testimony and evidence and then "take the matter under advisement." Many cases have been "under advisement" for several months, and in some instances for over a year, before an opinion was handed down. Although judges should not allow their personal feelings or fear of social ostracism from their neighbors and friends to interfere with their decisions in civil rights litigation, nevertheless, we must recognize the fact that such interferences do occur, and often.

To off-set such delaying tactics and speed up the administration of justice in civil rights cases, this author would recommend the creation of a Court of Civil Rights. We have previously recognized the need for special courts to handle litigation requiring special skills or which raise unusual problems. This is why we have our Customs Court, the Tax Court of the United States, United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, Court of Claims and the Court of Military Appeals.

A Court of Civil Rights should be created to hear all matters involving primarily the question of discrimination or a denial of some guarantee of Constitutional rights or federally protected right on account of race, creed or color. A sufficient number

of Civil Rights Judges should be appointed in each Circuit to preside over Civil Rights Courts within the judicial circuit, regardless of district court boundary lines. Appeals could be taken from the Civil Rights Court to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the circuit in which the case arose, or, a special Court of Civil Rights Appeals could be created to hear such matters. This would relieve the federal district courts of all civil rights legislation and would serve also to help relieve the crowded district court dockets. A Court of Civil Rights might be created to take jurisdiction of civil rights litigation for a period of from ten to twenty years or such period of time as would be necessary to reduce the necessity for much civil rights litigation.

Author's Recommendation No.2

This writer recommends that necessary legislation be enacted to require that civil rights litigation take precedence over all other types of cases, in much the same manner as habeas corpus and mandamus actions. Such precedence should not take place as a matter of course but should be discretionary at the request of the plaintiff because there are situations where a delay in a hearing might work to the best interest of all parties concerned, including the plaintiff's.

Such a provision might also be incorporated into the rules of procedure for the Court of Civil Rights proposed in Author's Recommendation No. 1 above.

In the absence of a Court of Civil Rights, Recommendation No. 2 could be enacted so as to require federal district courts to both hear and decide civil rights litigation without unnecessary delay.

Conclusion:

I have not undertaken to burden the participants of this conference with stories and accounts of the harassment, intimidation and physical violence directed against persons active in voter registration in the South, as the news media carry many accounts every week regarding such difficulties. It is assumed that the parties are fully aware of the many problems and obstacles confronting the voter registration efforts in the South and this paper is intended to serve solely as background information to stimulate thinking and discussion on proposed legislation which might be offered to correct the problems which now exist.

Respectfully submitted,

WILEY A. BRANTON
Room 206, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

WAB:jl

Footnotes:

(1) Smith V. Albright 321 U.S. 649
(2) The Negro and the Ballot in the South, Margaret Price, Southern Regional Council, 1959
(3) 71 Stat. 637
(4) 74 Stat. 90

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

February 11, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Thanks so much for coming to our Notre Dame meeting. I especially appreciate your patience in sitting still for three days. Besides, you were a big help.

It was good seeing you.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

4- Notre Dame Conference

Notre Dame Conf

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

February 22, 1963

FEB 25 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

There have been some developments since our meeting at Notre Dame which I think may interest you. On Wednesday, February 20, Harold Fleming, John Silard, Bill Taylor and I had a long meeting with Burke Marshall in the Justice Department. The Administration, as we then understood it, had before it a number of proposals for possible introduction in the Congress. It did not then appear that any firm decision had been made concerning the scope of any Administration bill, but there is some reason to hope that there will be included at least some recommendations respecting education.

We learned also on the 20th that Senator Paul Douglas had put in the Congressional Record a copy of the preliminary report prepared by Leslie Dunbar and John Silard. Since it had not been my impression that we had intended at Notre Dame any more than a private circulation of the preliminary draft, I felt it desirable to write Senator Douglas explaining the context out of which the preliminary report had come and requesting that he also insert my letter in the Record to clarify things a bit. You will find enclosed copies both of the preliminary report and my letter to the senator. I hope that the effort I made in writing the letter will satisfy you as a reflection of the position taken generally by the Conference on the voting question.

After our meeting in Justice, we asked Leslie Dunbar to send Burke Marshall immediately a summary of the education recommendations the Conference had made. Burke seemed much interested in these and, hopefully, we may be able to influence somewhat the decision the Administration is likely to make in the next several weeks. Burke has also promised to let us know as promptly as possible the nature of the Administration's recommendations, and these will be sent you as quickly as they are in hand. It seems to me useful to do these things, since all of us will want to read Leslie Dunbar's report of the Conference in light of subsequent developments.

Do let me know if you have any further thoughts on the matter, for I have felt some hesitation in taking the actions just described without first clearing with all of you. My reason for it, however, was that it seemed essential to act promptly in the manner in which I did.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Enclosures

February 20, 1963

The Honorable Paul H. Douglas
United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Douglas:

I have just learned that you placed in today's Congressional Record the preliminary draft report on "Voting Rights" from the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights, held February 8-10, 1963.

Lest there be misunderstanding, I think it important that the context in which the report came out of the Conference be fully understood. Several points are of significance.

The Conference addressed its attention to civil rights problems in the fields of education, employment and voting. As to these three, it was a strongly held consensus of the Conference that both education and employment more urgently need Congressional attention than does voting. It was also recognized that the major recent Congressional efforts have focused exclusively upon voting to the substantial detriment of attention and effort in other areas of civil rights. The opposition voiced, then, in the preliminary report was meant to apply to another legislative drive which would seriously concern itself only with voting problems.

The Conference felt there should be a broader focus of attention upon civil rights, specifically facing up to problems in education and employment. If, in that larger context, some improvements in voting machinery were included, I do not believe the conferees intended to commit themselves against such changes where it can be demonstrated that experience justifies them.

It was, however, the consensus that existing machinery for enforcement of voting rights stands in less need of attention than do other areas of civil rights. Existing legislation and maturing experience under it in the courts are, in the Conference view, generally sufficient to do the job, provided that the full resources of the Executive Branch are energetically used and that Congress sees to it that sufficient staff is provided the Department of Justice.

The final report of the Conference will not be ready for publication until mid-April. Since the preliminary

report on voting rights has been made public through the Congressional Record. I would appreciate having you insert this letter in the Congressional Record also for purposes of clarifying the context out of which it came.

Sincerely,

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Co-Chairman
Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights

Law School
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

A Preliminary Report on Voting Rights from the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights, February 8-10, 1963.

The conference considered needs for new or improved Congressional legislation to strengthen education, employment, and voting rights and opportunities. A full report of the conference's conclusions with recommendations for new legislation in the fields of education and employment will be issued later. This preliminary report sets forth the consensus reached regarding the need for additional voting legislation, because the conferees understood that this was a matter of current legislative interest.

The conclusion of the conference was that discrimination against voting rights is an abuse which can be amply and sufficiently corrected by the authority and powers now possessed by the Executive Department and by the Federal courts. Further legislation at this time would be, therefore, unnecessary and the inevitable legislative struggle to enact it could well hinder the prompt and thorough enforcement of present law.

Participants in the conference were Carl A. Auerbach, University of Minnesota Law School; Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project; Thomas F. Broden, Jr., Notre Dame Law School; Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council; John G. Feild, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; Harold C. Fleming, The Potomac Institute; G. W. Foster, Jr., Law School, University of Wisconsin; Eli Ginzberg, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University; Vivian W. Henderson, Economics, Fisk University; Paul H. Norgren, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University; Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School; John de J. Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union; Daniel H. Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School; John Silard, Attorney, Washington, D. C.; Michael I. Sovern, Columbia University School of Law; William Taylor, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights; John H. Wheeler, Attorney, Durham, North Carolina.

Recent examples conclusively demonstrate that a number of southern communities do not yet intend to permit free Negro registration. The obstructions used are many. They include acts of private violence, such as church burnings in two counties of southwest Georgia, and several shocking cases of violence against persons or personal property, in the same area of Georgia and in Amite and Sunflower counties of Mississippi. There have been, as well, instances where officials have violently treated registration workers, as recognized in the Federal action brought, unsuccessfully, against a police official of Terrell County (Ga.). Retaliatory arrests have been common against registration workers, on charges as frivolous and essentially contemptuous as loitering, when in a moving automobile. In counties of the Mississippi Delta, water service and tax exemption of Negro churches used for registration meetings have been discontinued, and distribution of Federal surplus food commodities cut off. There is harassment and intimidation by private persons as well. Negroes asserting their constitutional rights have frequently been discharged from jobs or had their local credit suspended.

These tactics describe a system whereby, standing between the Negro and his constitutional right, there is massive intimidation calculated to induce acute personal insecurity. To the Negro of one of these counties, natural authority and power must, even now in 1963, seem far less real than that of his hostile community.

In most of such areas, and particularly in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi there is the added factor of literacy requirements administered unfairly and with deliberate intent to disqualify all or almost all Negroes applying. Cases under the laws of 1957 and 1960 have demonstrated that this problem can be reached by Federal courts. The abuse continues, however, and in Mississippi is aggravated

by a statutory requirement of publication of names of applicants for registration, thus advertising every Negro seeking to exercise the responsibilities of citizenship. Louisiana has revised its literacy tests to make them more resistant to Negro success. The suit filed some months ago by the Department of Justice against the State of Mississippi, but not yet brought to trial, may strike at the roots of the literacy test problem; it almost certainly, however, will be long in the courts.

Voting discrimination is a national disaster, and its demise a necessity for national self-respect. The problem must, therefore, be seen clearly and candidly. As of now, voting discrimination occurs, with but few exceptions, only against Negroes and only in some localities of the South. By their defiance of the constitutional order, these places are virtually outlaw communities. New and more refined legislative remedies are not required to reach this blatant defiance of constitutional and statutory rights. Systematic enforcement of present law can provide full relief.

The objective should be that, by the next Federal election, voting discrimination will be everywhere eradicated. Remembering that flagrant discrimination occurs in only a fraction of southern locales, achievement of the objective through the forthright use of executive and judicial authority is not unrealistic.

Throughout southern states today, an unprecedented and determined effort is being made by Negroes to broaden the electorate. In many parts of the South this is altogether a matter of self-help. But in the areas of discrimination, Negro efforts to register are met by determined resistance from both official and private sources, and Federal help is absolutely required.

Given the fact of this uniquely intensive Negro effort, there can be clearly foreseen a multiplication of incidents requiring Federal attention. The Federal executive should enforce strictly the Federal right to register and vote, as these rights are claimed and asserted by large numbers who never before have done so, in communities which never before have tolerated them.

The Federal executive has ample authority to secure voter registration from all manner of obstructions. Lawlessness may be contained and disarmed, if a clear Federal presence is provided at the first sign of obstruction or retaliation. To this end, Federal marshalls can forthwith be dispatched to the scene. Federal attorneys can move without delay to secure protective orders from the courts. To contain the spread of unlawful obstruction, the protective authority of Federal courts and law enforcement officials must be clear and present, so as to denote the certainty of the Federal commitment.

Nor can the Federal protection be limited to guarantee of physical security for persons and possessions. Where authorities employ economic threats or sanctions, or conspire with private parties to this purpose, the executive can move swiftly and surely. Where necessary, protective injunctions can reach the entire local officialdom. Economic retaliation can be redressed by Federal supports for the victims. And Federal privileges cannot be continued for Constitution violators. They must be reminded that the executive authority reaches far and it reaches deep, when fundamental rights are in jeopardy.

A principal means for achieving nationwide enfranchisement inheres in the authority of Federal courts. The Department of Justice has recently filed

numerous suits where registration officials continue to bar qualified Negro voters. In these cases the courts have ample power.

But a long road lies between the filing of a suit and the actual enfranchisement. In the brief months until the 1964 elections, numerous pending suits must be tried and resolved. Decrees must be entered and fair registration provided in time to allow thousands of previously disfranchised voters the right of the ballot. Present efforts will not achieve this goal. Also, there has to be candid recognition that some district judges have not been interested in the expeditious settlement of civil rights cases. The Department of Justice must more urgently seek to bring its cases to trial, even over the reluctance of busy or unenthusiastic Federal judges. Decrees can be sought which will provide more meaningful relief to all previously denied their constitutional rights. Where literacy tests have been instruments of abuse, their continued use can be enjoined. Registration powers can be taken from the hands of officials who have flouted the Federal Constitution. The government must seek not merely to unlock the doors of the voting booth for Negro citizens, but to open the doors as clearly as they were previously closed to Negro applicants.

Finally, the time has come for Federal recognition of power and obligation to assist by affirmative support the enfranchisement of Negro citizens. By encouraging the registration of populations previously barred from the ballot, the Government could to some extent redress past injustices. By posters in Federal buildings and on Federal mail trucks, the President can communicate the message of liberty. Thus can we replace the ingrained image of official discrimination, to announce that government has opened the polls for our minority citizens.

The means of defiance are varied and potent, but the combined power of Federal courts and executive is greater by far. In these circumstances, another effort at Congressional voting rights legislation appears misguided. No new law is now required, while two recent enactments and the reservoir of executive authority are yet to be wholly tested. Another legislative debate could only serve to obscure the magnitude of available authority to achieve the necessary objective.

TELEPHONE: LAFAYETTE 3-1142
RESIDENCE: LAFAYETTE 3-5083

JUANITA JACKSON MITCHELL
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1239 DRUID HILL AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MARYLAND

26 February 1963

FEB 20 1963

FEB 20 1963

Wiley A. Branton, Esq.
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Please send me a copy of your paper prepared for the Notre Dame Conference.

Thanks.

Ever sincerely,

Juanita Jackson Mitchell
JUANITA JACKSON MITCHELL

JJM:bb

Mailed 3/2/63

February 27, 1963

Mr. W. W. Law, President
Savannah Branch NAACP
2009 Florence Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Law:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 23rd.

The only report which comes to my mind which you may have reference to is a paper entitled "Registration and Voting in the South" which I recently prepared in connection with a civil rights discussion at Notre Dame University.

I am pleased to enclose a copy of this report for your information, but please note it is requested to be kept confidential.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Encl.

4- Notre Dame conf.

2009 Florence Street
Savannah, Georgia
February 23, 1963

FEB 26 1963

Dear Mr. Branton,

We have just read of your excellent report on "Registering and Voting."

If this report is available to the general public, please be kind enough to let me have a copy.

Thanking you for your consideration, I remain

Sincerely yours,

W. W. Law, President
Savannah Br., NAACP

February 27, 1963

Mr. A. W. Willis,
Attorney-at-Law
588 Vance Avenue
Memphis 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Willis:

Pursuant to your request of February 21st, I am enclosing herein a copy of my paper "Registration and Voting in the South" which I distributed at the lawyers meeting. I am only able to furnish you one copy because of the fact that we only have a limited number remaining.

We joked about my failure to come through with some money for your Memphis registration project, but I would like to get the chance to tell you what we had actually done.

When the voting project was first organized, we launched ninety-day crash programs in order to get off the ground, and funds were given to the NAACP for work in the Memphis area. On September 10, 1962, we made a further grant to the NAACP in the amount of $5,000 for work in Tennessee, the bulk of which was to be spent in Memphis and surrounding counties. I mention this only to show we are contributing money toward registration in your city, and I would appreciate any comments you might have regarding the effectiveness of this program.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Encl.

4- Notre Dame Conference

A. W. WILLIS, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
588 VANCE AVENUE
MEMPHIS 5, TENNESSEE
JACKSON 7-7166

FEB 25 1963

February 21, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I would appreciate your sending me a couple of copies of your paper entitled "Registration And Voting In The South" that you passed out at the Lawyers Meeting in Washington.

I enjoyed your presentation, and felt that the statistics you gave at the Conference were quite revealing and interesting.

Very truly yours,

A. W. WILLIS, JR., ATTORNEY

AWW/ved

NOTRE DAME LAWYER

JM
RTG

NOTRE DAME CONFERENCE ON CONGRESSIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

NOTES
LEGISLATION & ADMINISTRATION
RECENT DECISIONS
BOOK REVIEWS

Reprinted from Vol. 38, Notre Dame Lawyer
Page 430

JUNE, 1963

PUBLISHED BY THE
NOTRE DAME LAW SCHOOL

MEMORANDUM July 1, 1963

To: Notre Dame Conferees

From: Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Events have overtaken us, and the report of the Notre Dame Conference must be got out quickly, if it is to have the attention we all desired.

A group of the conferees met with me in Washington on June 28 to review a draft I had prepared. My draft was revised and improved as per the enclosure.

This comes to you, therefore, with the approval of Feild, Fleming, Pemberton, Pollitt, Silard, and Dunbar.

CAN YOU REVIEW AT ONCE?

Please write or phone your comments to Harold Fleming by July 8 if at all possible.

Harold will act as final editor. His address is:

The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Telephone: 332-5566

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

July 1, 1963

The attached is for your information. What is to take its place. To be dull is deadly.

LWD

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the Dean

June 27, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

It has not been possible for me to read the draft enclosed with your letter of June 24, except the introductory portion. Tom Broden has read it, however, and has sent me a memorandum in which he describes it as "an excellent job". He then appends the following comment:

> "While I agree with Les' version of American history (with one or two exceptions) on pp.3-6, I'm sure many would be inflamed by it. Is this part of the introduction necessary? Could pp.3-6 be deleted without great loss?"

I know less history than either of you but it does occur to me that the pages Tom refers to do not reflect anything said or done at the Conference. The views you express may be wholly right, and it is not my purpose to take issue with them. Tom's comment has raised the question, however, it seems to me, whether this expression of your views is appropriate in a report of the Conference.

I tried to get Tom on the telephone to ask him to write you directly about the matter. As I could not reach him immediately I decided to write you myself and ask him at the first opportunity to send on any supplementary comments he may have to offer.

With all best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw

(Not printed at Government expense)

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 86th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights

The Civil Rights Conference at the Notre Dame Law School, February 14, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 29, 1960

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the University of Notre Dame Law School was sponsor on February 14, 1960, of a conference on civil rights. Members of Congress, officials of the Department of Justice, State and local government officials, professors of law and representatives of voluntary associations gathered on the campus of the University of Notre Dame to discuss legislative proposals now before Congress in the field of civil rights.

The discussions by these distinguished citizens were so valuable that I am pleased to be able to call them to the attention of Members of Congress by joining with several of my colleagues to include the proceedings of the conference in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

PARTICIPANTS IN CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 14, 1960

Mr. Douglas Anderson, assistant to Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

Mr. Berl Bernhard, Deputy Director Commission on Civil Rights.

Representative JOHN BRADEMAS, of Indiana.

Representative WILLIAM G. BRAY, of Indiana.

Prof. Thomas Broden, Jr., Notre Dame Law School.

Mr. John D. Calhoun, Assistant Deputy Attorney General.

Prof. Roger Cramton, the University of Chicago Law School.

Prof. Wylie H. Davis, University of Illinois College of Law.

Mr. Russell De Bow, assistant to Representative BARRATT O'HARA of Illinois.

Senator JESSE L. DICKINSON, Indiana State Senate, executive director, South Bend Housing Authority.

Representative JOHN D. DINGELL, of Michigan.

Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois.

Prof. Jesse J. Dukeminier, Jr., University of Kentucky College of Law.

Mr. Vernon Eagle, executive director, the New World Foundation.

Prof. Samuel D. Estep, University of Michigan Law School.

Mr. Herman Edelsberg, chairman, National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

Mr. John Feild, legislative assistant to Senator PHILIP A. HART, of Michigan.

Mr. Robert J. Fink, administrative assistant to Governor Harold Handley of Indiana.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, executive director, Southern Regional Council.

Mr. William R. Foley, General Counsel, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives.

Prof. George W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School.

Prof. Robert J. Harris, University of Michigan Law School.

Mr. James Harrison, administrative assistant to Congresswoman EDITH GREEN of Oregon.

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., president, University of Notre Dame; member, Commission on Civil Rights.

Representative Jeanne Hurley, Illinois General Assembly.

Commissioner George M. Johnson, member, Commission on Civil Rights; professor, Howard University Law School.

Senator Marshall F. Kizer, Indiana State Senate.

Prof. Conrad Kellenberg, Notre Dame Law School.

Rev. William J. Kenealy, S.J., professor, Loyola University School of Law.

Representative THADDEUS MACHROWICZ, of Michigan.

Mr. Clifford E. Minton, executive director, Urban League of Gary, Ind., representing the National Urban League.

Representative WALTER H. MOELLER, of Ohio.

Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant to the executive secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mrs. Nancy Murry, executive secretary to Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, of Wisconsin.

Prof. Nathaniel L. Nathanson, Northwestern University Law School.

Mr. Robert Nelson, legislative assistant, Commission on Civil Rights.

Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School.

Prof. Roger Peters, Notre Dame Law School.

Prof. Robert Rodes, Jr., Notre Dame Law School.

Mr. Fred Routh, president, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials; executive secretary, Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Mr. Joseph Russo, legislative assistant to Senator VANCE HARTKE, of Indiana.

Prof. Ivan C. Rutledge, Indiana University School of Law.

Mr. John A. Scott, chairman, Indiana Advisory Committee, Commission on Civil Rights.

Mr. John Silard, Washington attorney.

Representative Paul Simon, Illinois General Assembly.

Prof. Theodore Smedley, director, Race Relations Law Reporter, Vanderbilt University School of Law.

Mr. Hal Thurmond, chairman, Kentucky State Advisory Committee, Commission on Civil Rights.

Prof. William W. Van Alstyne, assistant dean, Ohio State University College of Law.

Mayor Edward F. Voorde, South Bend, Ind.

Prof. Bernard J. Ward, Notre Dame Law School.

Gov. G. Mennen Williams, Michigan.

Prof. Harris Wofford, Jr., Notre Dame Law School; legal adviser to Commissioner Hesburgh, Commission on Civil Rights.

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky, Washington attorney.

CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 14, 1960, NOTRE DAME LAW SCHOOL, NOTRE DAME, IND.

Dean O'MEARA. The Civil Rights Conference will come to order. We want this to be informal, so I'm going to sit down for the few remarks I have to make to begin with.

America is equal opportunity or it is nothing: not equal opportunity as regards this or that, but equal opportunity in every area of American life. In all frankness, I do not see how an American could seriously challenge this proposition. We have our differences as to method and timing, but the central idea, the affirmation of equal opportunity for all, is not only part of the American dream but a built-in and essential feature of the fundamental law of the land. That is a postulate of this conference. We are met to consider how best to bring the promise of the Constitution to fulfillment.

On this day, Sunday, a day on which many of us are expected to concern ourselves in a special way with spiritual values, and in these academic surroundings I hope we will be able to lay aside prejudices and partisan considerations and approach this important subject with as much objectivity as humans are capable of.

As you know, each of the three areas of discussion is to be introduced by a short statement by a member of the Notre Dame law faculty. Then will come the discussion, in which I hope everyone will feel free to participate, both by question and by comment. This is the heart of the conference, and it will be fruitful in proportion as the discussion is frank and perceptive and stimulating.

Before we get to that, however, I have the very real privilege of presenting to you to say a word of welcome the president of the University of Notre Dame, Father Theodore M. Hesburgh.

Father HESBURGH. Thank you, Dean O'Meara. Governor Williams, Senator DOUGLAS, distinguished guests, dear friends.

I trust that the brevity of my remarks this morning will not detract from the very real fact that we are simply delighted to have all of you with us for this most important occasion. I think it just another experi-

Enclosed is a copy of the background paper on voting to be used at the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights Legislation.

I regret the delay in getting this copy to you, and hope that you receive it before leaving for Notre Dame. If not, copies will be available at the conference.

Legislative Problems

Minority groups have depended principally on judicial decisions for implementing the basic guarantees of civil rights. These judicial decisions prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1957 resulted largely from slowly expanding liberal interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Congress passed a number of civil rights acts during the first ten years following the Civil War, but unfortunately most of these civil rights laws were nullified by other laws or narrowly constructed or struck down by the courts. It was only by a more liberal construction of the Fourteenth Amendment and its application to the point in question that many of the decisions favorable to civil rights came into being. Although Congress was empowered to enforce the provisions of the 13th, 14th & 15th Amendments "by appropriate legislation", it was not able to get a single civil rights act passed until 1957. Anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, FEPC and other proposals had been introduced repeatedly, but all had failed to get the necessary votes to even kill the filibusters of southern Congressmen.

President Roosevelt set up a civil rights section in the Justice Department in 1939 by administrative action. All of the party platforms since 1944 of the Democrats and Republicans have included fairly good civil rights planks. Many people feel that the ballot is the most powerful weapon which minorities can use and that if enough Negroes are given the right to vote that many civil rights problems will be settled at the ballot box.

Southerners are more unified in their fight against civil right legislation than on any other proposal. The question of states' rights is invariably raised against any legislation dealing with civil rights by contending that such legislation interferes with rights reserved to the states under the Tenth Amendment.

When the 1957 Civil Right Act was being considered, it originally included the now famous Title III which would have provided power for the Attorney General to bring injunction actions against the deprivation of any civil right. Congress not only rejected Title III, but also restricted the courts in punishing those who violated the voting rights laws, by requiring jury trials under certain conditions. Sen. Strom Thurmond (D S.C.) established a record filibuster against the 1957 act when he carried on a marathon speech lasting more than 24 hours.

The only real legislative problem, as this writer sees it, is the one involving the attitude of all southern congressmen regarding any civil rights legislation. The voting procedure in the House is such that favorable action can be taken on proposals before that body in a relatively short time. It is in the Senate where liberal legislation runs into all sorts of delaying tactics, the powerful filibuster.

HOUSE VOTING PROCEDURE

The House generally resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole when it is considering any major legislation and frequently does so on other bills upon acceptance of a motion by a Member. The Speaker appoints a Chairman and the Rules of the House permit the Committee of the Whole to meet with any 100 Members on the floor and to act on legislation or amendments

with the quorum of 100 Members present. An agreement is reached regarding the time to be spent in general debate on the bill and this time is equally divided between the proponents and opponents of the bill. When the time for general debate has expired the bill is then read section by section for amendments. Although debate on an amendment is limited to five minutes normally, it is fairly common for this to be extended by unanimous consent or by resort to the use of some dilatory motion in order for a Member to get in extra debate.

Votes in the Committee on the whole are not on record but are by voice vote or by teller vote. The teller vote is obtained by having Members march down the aisle past counters who have been appointed. The total number of yea and nay votes are recorded concerning the actions of the Committee and no record is kept of the ~~vote~~ way each Member votes. It is only on the voting for or against final passage of a bill that a roll call vote is taken. After action by the Committee of the Whole, the Chairman reports the action taken to the House and gives the committee's recommendations. The House then votes on the bill as amended and cannot reconsider any proposals or amendments rejected by the Committee on the Whole, however, it may vote to recommit a bill to the Committee on the Whole ~~to~~ with instructions that a rejected proposal be added to the bill.

SENATE ~~VOTING PROCEDURE~~ DELAYING TACTICS

At least 51 Senators must be present to form a quorum to do business, although, in many instances the Senate assumes the presence of a quorum when there is no objection. In an effort to delay action on any civil rights

bill which is pending, it is a common practice for Southerners to constantly suggest the absence of a quorum. This requires the Senate Clerk to call the name of each Senator and this can take any where from 15 minutes to an hour or more. These quorum calls give opponents of civil rights legislation a chance to ~~sing~~ strategy or rest from long filibusters. If a quorum is not present then the Senate must either adjourn or direct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent members. If the Senate adjourns, then the Senate begins a new legislative day which requires the reading of the Journal of the preceding day's business, unless dispensed with by unanimous vote. Obviously, opponents to civil rights bills would argue for adjournment whenever possible.

Motions to table are frequently used as delaying tactics or to cut off debate. Rules of the Senate require an immediate vote without further debate once a motion to lay an amendment on the table has been made. All sorts of counter motions or motions of reconsideration are frequently tied in with motions to table.

On each new legislative day the Senate usually allows ~~a suspension of~~ approximately an hour or longer for the introduction of bills, ~~insertion~~ insertions in the Congressional Record, corrections in the Journal & Record and other matters.

CURRENT LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

ANTI-POLL TAX BILL. ~~The~~ Congress ~~enacted~~ proposed a Constitutional Amendment in ~~which~~ in ~~the~~ the closing days in the summer of 1962 which would prohibit the requirement of the payment of a poll tax to vote in any election, including primaries, where federal officials are to be

voted upon. Only five states yet retain the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. They are, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia. It is generally felt that the necessary three-fourths of the state legislatures will soon ratify the proposed amendment. Although the proposed amendment would only apply to federal elections, it is generally felt that the 5 states now requiring poll taxes would not adopt two standards of voting requirement, one for state elections and another for federal elections. An effort to make the proposed amendment applicable to state elections was rejected by Congress.

LITERACY TEST — The Civil Rights Commission proposed that Congress declare all persons with at least six grades of schooling literate for voting purposes. A bill designed to set these Congress in literacy standards was introduced in early 1962 but died under a prolonged Southern filibuster. It created loud opposition from the South and even from some quarters in the North. Many opponents to such a bill argue strongly that it is unconstitutional as being in violation of the rights of states guaranteed in Article 1, Section 2 and the 17th Amendment of the Constitution. Even a liberal such as Representative Emanuel Celler (D N.Y.), Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, expressed serious doubts regarding the constitutionality of a literacy bill and favored the proposal of an amendment to the Constitution as a solution when the legislation was being considered last year.

According to an article in THE WASHINGTON POST dated January 14, 1963, Representative Celler

announced that he will introduce and support the same measure or a simple bill ~~in this session of Congress~~ needing only a majority vote in this session of Congress, a radical departure from his position in the last Congress.

The ~~Atl~~ ATLANTA JOURNAL of February 4, 1963, carried a story regarding a proposal introduced in the Senate on that date by Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) and Sen. Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.). Their bill would require all states using literacy tests to meet certain standards or do away with the tests. All tests would have to be given and rated in a uniform manner. In case of oral examination, a verbatim transcript would have to be made. The measure would also rule out insignificant errors in grammar and other minor mistakes as disqualifying voter applicants.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY
COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

(Note to Jean) copy begin p. 139 – to 142)

The 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report contains the following recommendations:

Recommendations by AUTHOR

This writer ~~[illegible]~~ concurs in each of the recommendations proposed by the Commission on Civil Rights and the proposals now pending in Congress which are designed to ~~[illegible]~~ help remove the barriers to Negro registration, and proposes the following additional measures.

Author's Recommendation No. 1.

CREATION OF A COURT OF CIVIL RIGHTS

It is a well known fact that many federal judges in the South have contributed to the delay in the enforcement of civil rights legislation ~~by~~ in many different ways. There are several cases involving civil rights ~~which~~ which have been filed for more than a year and attorneys for the plaintiffs have been unable to get a hearing date set. When the cases are set for trial they are frequently passed at the last minute upon the flimsiest of excuses, all to the frustration of the plaintiffs. (?) District judges have been known to hand down decisions which they surely must have known would be reversed on appeal, but they nevertheless ruled for the southern defendants and delay. Another tactic resorted to by ~~[illegible]~~ judges cooperative to the South is to hear all of the testimony and evidence and then "take the matter under advisement". Many cases have been "under advisement" for several months, and in some ~~cases~~ instances for over a year, before an opinion was handed down. Although judges should ~~[illegible]~~ not allow their personal

feeling or ~~fear~~ fear of social ostracism (sp.?) from their neighbors and friends to interfere with their decisions in civil rights litigation, nevertheless, we must recognize the fact that such interferences do occur, and often.

To offset such delaying tactics and speed up the administration of justice in civil rights cases, this author would recommend the creation of a Court of Civil Rights. We have previously recognized the need for special courts to handle ~~special~~ litigation requiring special skills or which raise unusual problems. This is why we have our Customs Court, the Tax Court of the United States, United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, Court of Claims and the Court of Military Appeals.

A Court of Civil Rights should be created to hear all matters involving primarily the question of discrimination or a denial of some guarantee of Constitutional right or federally protected right on account of race, creed or color. A sufficient number of Civil Rights judges should be appointed in each Circuit to preside over Civil Rights Courts within the judicial circuit, regardless of district court boundary lines. Appeals should be taken from the Civil Rights Court to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the circuit in which the case arose, or a special Court of Civil Rights Appeals could be created to hear such matters. This would relieve the federal district courts of all civil rights legislation and would serve also to help relieve the crowded district court dockets. A Court of Civil Rights might be created to

take jurisdiction of civil rights litigation for a period of from ten to twenty years or such period of time as would be necessary to reduce the necessity for ~~much~~ much civil rights litigation.

....

(1) - Smith v. Allright 321 U.S. 649
(2) - The Negro and the Ballot in the South, by Margaret Price, Southern Regional Council, 1959.
(3) - 71 Stat. 637
(4) - 74 Stat. 90

Dallas Cty, Ala.
MU8-0331

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100

Bill Hanson

William M. Hanson, Jr.
Benjamin F. Greenwich

McCain

	21,683	12,544
90,[illegible]	6,030	
68,317	9,427	
		337
	34,131	

Abstract of Present Federal Laws ~~Relating~~ Protecting the Right to Vote

~~Stat 000 Provisions Relating to Voting~~

Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S.

Sec. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Civil Rights Act of 1957

Title I. Created Commission on Civil Rights ~~of~~ composed of six members who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not more than three of whom shall be from the same political party.

Empowered the Commission to investigate allegations that certain citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin.

Title II. – Authorized the appointment of one additional Assistant Attorney General in the Department of Justice.

Title III. Extended the jurisdiction of the federal district courts to include any civil action begun to recover damages or secure equitable relief under any Act of Congress providing for the protection of civil rights, including the right to vote.

Title IV. Prohibits attempts to intimidate, threaten or coerce any person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote in general or primary elections for federal officials.

Empowered the Attorney General to seek an injunction when any ~~individual~~ person is about to engage

to protect the right to register and vote. Even ~~though there has been a~~ several suits have been brought by the Department of Justice to protect the right of Negroes to vote under the Civil Rights Acts and there has been a continued increase in Negro registration, nevertheless, Negro registration figures are much too low and additional measures must be taken to remove the barriers from Negro registration.

CURRENT STATISTICS

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council recently compared notes with other agencies and individuals interested in Negro registration and ~~these are~~ the best estimates and official figures are listed below:

Negro Registration in the South in December 1962

State	Negroes Registered	Percent of Total Registration *	Negroes Unregistered **
Ala	90,000	9%	418,731
Ark	75,000	13%	127,593
Fla	195,000	11%	300,420
Ga	185,000	14%	471,047
La	152,000	14%	392,997
Miss	24,000	6%	425,296
N. Car.	211,000	11%	375,219
S. Car.	91,000	19%	305,848
Tenn.	185,000	11%	144,630
Tex	280,000	14%	369,512
Va.	110,747	10%	349,334

* Represents percentage of Negro registration ~~in~~ to total registration

** Unregistered Negroes of voting age.

in any act or practice which would deprive another of ~~his~~ his right to vote.

Gave district courts jurisdiction of above proceedings and provided that administrative remedies need not be first exhausted.

Provided for right of counsel and production of witnesses for any person cited for contempt.

Title V.—

Provided punishment by fine or imprisonment upon conviction in criminal contempt cases arising from provisions of Civil Rights Act of 1957

Set maximum fine for an individual under these provisions at $1,000 or six months in jail, or both.

Allowed the judge to decide whether defendant in a criminal case involving voting rights would be tried before the court or with a jury.

Provided for trial de novo before a jury for any defendant found guilty in trial before the Court and given a sentence in excess of forty-five days or fined in excess of $300.

Civil Rights Act of 1960

Title I – Provided that anyone who attempts to prevent, obstruct, impede or interfere with the due exercise of rights or the performance of duties under any order of a Court of the United States shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both. Such acts could be enjoined by private suits seeking Court injunctions even though acts may be criminal in nature.

Title II –

Required every election official to preserve for a period of twenty-two months all records and papers pertaining to all federal elections, including primaries, all papers relating to registration or voting for that election. Provides fine up to $1,000 or imprisonment up to one year, or both, for any person convicted for violation of requirement, or for anyone convicted for willfully stealing, destroying, concealing, mutilating or altering the registration records.

Required that such records be turned over to Attorney General or his representative upon demand in writing for inspection, reproduction and copying at the office of records custodian.

Prohibits disclosure of information regarding records by Justice Department except to Congress, governmental agencies or before a Court or grand jury.

Vests district court in district where demand for records is made with jurisdiction to compel the production of such record or papers.

Title IV. Empowered the members of the Civil Rights Commission to administer oaths and take sworn statements.

Title VI. —

Provided that where court finds that any person has been deprived of right to register or vote in violation of Civil Rights Act of 1957, Attorney General may then ask court to make a finding whether such deprivation was or is pursuant to a pattern or practice.

If court found such a "pattern or practice" of racial discrimination, then any person of such race (Negroes) living in the affected area could apply to the court for an order declaring him qualified to vote if he proved (1) he was qualified to vote under state law; (2) he had tried to register after the "pattern or practice" finding; and (3) he had not been allowed to register or had been found unqualified by the registrar.

The application for such an order shall be heard within ten days and any order for actual registration shall be effective for as long as applicant ~~could~~ would have been ~~registered~~ qualified if registered under state law. Election officials would be furnished copies of order and disobedience of same would constitute contempt of court.

To carry out the provisions of the order, the Court may appoint one or more voting referees, who must be qualified voters in the judicial district. Referees would ~~hear the applicant's testimony & report~~ receive the application for registration and hear the applicant's testimony & proofs, including answers to any literacy questions required by state law, and make a report to the Court. A copy of the report of the referee shall be <u>served</u> upon the State Attorney

General and on such party, any of whom ~~[illegible]~~ must show cause within ten days, or shorter time as the Court may fix, why an order of the court should not be entered in accordance with such report. If exceptions to the report are filed on issues of fact then it must be supported by a verified copy of a public record or by affidavits of persons having personal knowledge of such facts or matter contained in the report; those relating to matters of law shall be supported by a memorandum of law. Issues of fact and law shall be determined by the Court (or by referee if Court directs) and a hearing shall be held only if it appears that there is a genuine issue of material fact. If the exceptions are dismissed, then the Court or referee could issue a certificate declaring the applicant qualified to vote.

If an applicant applies for such a certificate twenty or more days prior to an election which is undetermined by the ~~time~~ time of such election, the court shall issue an order authorizing the applicant to vote provisionally, provided applicant shall be qualified to vote under state law. Such an order is discretionary with the court where application is filed within twenty days prior to an election.

Voting referees would have the powers conferred upon a master by Rule 53(c) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure (right to subpoena records, administer oaths, hear testimony etc.). Court may take any action necessary or appropriate to enforce its decrees and is not limited solely to the order allowing an applicant to vote.

~~The acts or practices of the registrar or other officials~~

In any action instituted under these provisions, the discriminatory acts or practices of state officials

shall be deemed that of the state and the state may be joined as a party defendant. If official resigns or is relieved of office ~~prior to institution of suit then~~ and no successor has ~~been~~ assumed such office, the state itself could be sued.

Introduction

Registration and Voting in The South
Proposals for Congressional Action

~~Despite the recent activity in the South for the development of a "two-party system" the South is still pretty solidly Democratic.~~

CURRENT STATISTICS

INTRODUCTION

Shortly after the White Primary was outlawed in 1944,[1] voter registration by Negroes in the South rose rapidly from a few hundred thousand so that by 1947 there were 595,000 registered Negro voters in the eleven southern states.[2] By 1952 there were slightly over a million registered Negroes in the South and by 1956 the ~~figure~~ number stood at 1,238,038. Prior to the White Primary case there was little incentive for Negroes to register and vote in the South because the whole area was solidly Democratic and Negroes could not vote in the ~~Dem~~ Democratic primary elections where nomination was tantamount to election. Prior to 1944, the few ~~colored~~ persons of color who were registered to vote could only participate in the general elections and most times the Republican Party offered no candidates or only token opposition. Because of rejection by the Democrats, Negro political leaders in the South maintained their loyalty to the Republican party and become ~~party~~ Republican party leaders in most of the states and even took control of party affairs in such states as Mississippi and Georgia.

~~Since 19~~

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REGISTRATION AND VOTING IN THE SOUTH

Wiley A. Branton

This paper is intended to serve solely as a background paper for discussion on proposed civil rights legislation at the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights Legislation to be held at Notre Dame, Indiana, February 8-11, 1963. It deals with problems of registration and voting. None of the material contained herein should be quoted or printed without the express consent of the author.

REGISTRATION AND VOTING IN THE SOUTH
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Introduction

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the right to register and vote. Even though several suits have been brought by the Department of Justice to protect the rights of Negroes to vote under the Civil Rights Acts, and there has been a continued increase in Negro registration, nevertheless, registration figures are much too low, and additional measures must be taken to remove the barriers from Negro registration.

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In any action instituted under these provisions, the discriminatory acts or practices of state officials shall be deemed that of the state and the state may be joined as a party defendant. If official resigns or is relieved of office and no successor has assumed such office, the state itself could be sued.

Legislative Problems

Minority groups have depended principally on judicial decisions for implementing the basic guarantees of civil rights. These judicial decisions prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1957 resulted largely from slowly expanding liberal interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Congress passed a number of civil rights acts during the first ten years following the Civil War, but, unfortunately, most of these civil rights laws were nullified by other laws or narrowly constructed or struck down by the courts. It was only by a more liberal construction of the Fourteenth Amendment and its application to the point in question that many of the decisions favorable to civil rights came into being. Although Congress was empowered to enforce the provisions of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments "by appropriate legislation," it was not able to get a single civil rights act passed until 1957. Anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, FEPC and other proposals had been introduced repeatedly, but all had failed to get the necessary votes to even kill the filibusters of southern Congressmen.

President Roosevelt set up a civil rights section in the Justice Department in 1939 by adminstrative action. All of the party platforms since 1944, of the Democrats and Republicans, have included fairly good civil rights planks. Many people feel

that the ballot is the most powerful weapon which minorities can use and that if enough Negroes are given the right to vote that many civil rights problems will be settled at the ballot box.

Southerners are more unified in their fight against civil rights legislation than on any other proposal. The question of states' rights is invariably raised against any legislation dealing with civil rights by contending that such legislation interferes with rights reserved to the states under the Tenth Amendment.

When the 1957 Civil Rights Act was being considered, it originally included the now famous Title III which would have provided power for the Attorney General to bring injunctive actions against the deprivation of any civil right. Congress not only rejected Title III, but also restricted the courts in punishing those who violated the voting rights laws, by requiring jury trials under certain conditions. Senator Strom Thurmond (D., S.C.) established a record filibuster when he carried on a marathon speech against the 1957 act which lasted more than 24 hours.

The only real legislative problem, as this writer sees it, is the one involving the attitudes of all southern Congressmen regarding any civil rights legislation. The voting procedure in the House is such that favorable action can be taken on proposals before that body in a relatively short time. It is in the Senate where liberal legislation runs into all sorts of delaying tactics

and the powerful filibuster.

HOUSE VOTING PROCEDURE

The House generally resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole when it is considering any major legislation and frequently does so on other bills upon acceptance of a motion by a member. The Speaker appoints a chairman and the rules of the House permit the Committee of the Whole to meet with any 100 members on the floor and to act on legislation or amendments with the quorum of 100 members present. An agreement is reached regarding the time to be spent in general debate on the bill and this time is equally divided between the proponents and opponents of the bill. When the time for general debate has expired the bill is then read section by section for amendments. Although debate on an amendment is limited to five minutes normally, it is fairly common for time to be extended by unanimous consent or by resort to the use of some dilatory motion in order for a member to get in extra debate.

Votes in the Committee of the Whole are not on record but are by voice vote or by teller vote. The teller vote is obtained by having members walk down the aisle past counters who have been appointed. The total number of yea and nay votes are recorded concerning the actions of the Committee and no record is kept of the way each member votes. It is only on the voting

for or against final passage of a bill that a roll call vote is taken. After action by the Committee of the Whole, the chairman reports the action taken to the House and gives the Committee's recommendations. The House then votes on the bill as amended and cannot reconsider any proposals or amendments rejected by the Committee of the Whole; however, it may vote to recommit a bill to the Committee of the Whole with instructions that a rejected proposal be added to the bill.

SENATE DELAYING TACTICS

At least 51 senators must be present to form a quorum to do business, although in many instances the Senate assumes the presence of a quorum when there is no objection. In an effort to delay action on any civil rights bill which is pending it is a common practice for southerners constantly to suggest the absence of a quorum. This requires the Senate Clerk to call the name of each senator and this can take anywhere from 15 minutes to an hour or more. These quorum calls give opponents of civil rights legislation a chance to map strategy or rest from long filibusters. If a quorum is not present then the Senate must either adjourn or direct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent members. If the Senate adjourns, then the Senate begins a new legislative day which requires the reading of the Journal of the preceding day's business, unless dispensed with by unanimous vote. Obviously, opponents to civil rights bills would argue for adjourn-

ment whenever possible.

On each new legislative day the Senate usually allows approximately an hour or longer for the introduction of bills, insertions in the Congressional Record, corrections in the Journal of Record and other matters.

Motions to table are frequently used as delaying tactics or to cut off debate. Rules of the Senate require an immediate vote without further debate once a motion to lay an amendment on the table has been made. All sorts of counter motions or motions of reconsideration are frequently tied in with motions to table.

CURRENT LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Anti-Poll Tax Bill. Congress proposed a Constitutional amendment in its closing daysin the summer of 1962, which would prohibit the requirement of the payment of a poll tax to vote in any elections, including primaries, where federal officials are to be voted upon. Only five states yet retain the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. They are, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. It is generally felt that the necessary three-fourths of the state legislatures will soon ratify the proposed amendment. Although the proposed amendment would only apply to federal elections, it is generally felt that the five states now requring poll taxes would not adopt two standards of voting requirements, one for state elections and another for federal elections. An effort to make the proposed amendment applicable to

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According to an article in the Washington Post, January 14, 1963, Representative Celler announced that he will introduce and support the same measure as a simple bill needing only a majority vote in this session of Congress, a radical departure from his position in the last Congress.

The Atlanta Journal of February 4, 1963, carried a story regarding a proposal introduced in the Senate on that date by Senator John Sherman Cooper (R.,Ky.) and Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.,Conn.).

Their bill would require all states using literacy tests to meet certain standards or do away with the tests. All tests would have to be given and rated in a uniform manner. In case of oral examination, a verbatim transcript would have to be made. The measure would also rule out insignificant errors in grammar and other minor mistakes as disqualifying voter applicants.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report contained the following recommendations:

Qualification of voters

Recommendation 1. - That Congress, acting under section 2 of the 15th amendment and sections 2 and 5 of the 14th amendment, (a) declare that voter qualifications other than age, residence, confinement, and conviction of a crime are susceptible of use, and have been used, to deny the right to vote on grounds of race and color; and (b)enact legislation providing that all citizens of the United States shall have a right to vote in Federal or State elections which shall not be denied or in any way abridged or interfered with by the United States or by any State for any cause except for inability to meet reasonable age or length-of-residence requirements uniformly applied to all persons within a State, legal confinement at the time of registration or election, or conviction of a felony; such right to vote to include the right to register or otherwise qualify to vote, and to have one's vote counted.

Dissent to recommendation 1 by Vice Chairman Storey

As pointed out in the 1959 report of this Commission, I strongly believe in the right of every qualified citizen of the United States, irrespective of his color, race, religion, or national origin, to register, vote, and have his vote counted. Full protection of these rights of suffrage by both State and Federal Governments is necessary and proper. However, I cannot join in so sweeping a recommendation as this.

Proposals to alter longstanding Federal-State relationships such as that incorporated in the Federal Constitution, declaring that the qualifications of electors shall be left to the several States, should not be made unless there is no alternative method to correct an existing evil. Such is not the case today.

The Federal Government has sufficient authority under the Constitution and the existing framework of laws to enable it effectively to deal with denials of the right to vote by reason of race, color, religion, and national origin.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 authorized the Attorney General to institute civil suit in the Federal courts to prevent the denial of voting rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 provides that if in any such suit the court makes a finding that the denial of voting rights is "pursuant to a pattern or practice," the court may appoint voting referees to register qualified persons denied this right by local election officials. The further denial of the right to vote to these persons so registered by the court-appointed voting referees constitutes contempt of court and is punishable accordingly. The vigor with which these Civil Rights Acts are applied will significantly affect the extent to which voting denial practices will be discontinued.

Many States have voting requirements more extensive than age or length of residence, incarceration, or felony convictions. These qualifications, having nothing to do with race, religion, or national origin, are an important element in preserving the sanctity of the ballot. They are specific disqualifications which are felt justifiable for the good of the State. Disqualifications of persons whose mental condition makes it impossible for them competently to exercise the discrimination necessary in voting has long been accepted. Many States disqualify paupers supported by municipal or county officials on the theory that these people are too easily exploitable by such officials for their own purposes. The security and purity of the ballot can be destroyed by permitting illiterates to vote. And as the English language is still the official language of the United States, there is good justification for States requiring that voters have at least a rudimentary knowledge of this language.

Dissent to Recommendation 1 by Commissioner Rankin

I join in the dissenting statement of Vice Chairman Storey but would add the following personal comment.

The 15th amendment has been a part of our Constitution for almost a century, and Congress has never interpreted it as a mandate to usurp the power of each State to determine the qualifications of electors.

In 1957 and again in 1960, Congress did enact legislation to provide protection of the right to register and vote without discrimination on grounds of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. It may be that further legislation will be required to reinforce the guarantees of the 15th amendment and of the 1957 and 1960 laws. But such measures should be kept within the well-recognized bounds of our Constitution and laws.

Our object must be compliance with the Constitution, not punishment, and for that reason I do not deem it wise to upset the balance of our Federal system to reach a result which can be achieved through less drastic means.

Recommendation 2. - That Congress enact legislation providing that in all elections in which, under State law, a "literacy" test, an "understanding" or "interpretation" test, or an "educational" test is administered to determine the qualifications of electors, it shall be sufficient for qualification that the elector have completed at least six grades of formal education.

Interference with the right to vote

Recommendation 3. - That Congress amend subsection (b) of 42 U.S.C. 1971 to prohibit any arbitrary action or (where there is a duty to act) arbitrary inaction, which deprives or threatens to deprive any person of the right to register, vote, and have that vote counted in any Federal election.

Dilution of the right to vote

Recommendation 4. - That Congress consider the advisability of enacting legislation (a) requiring that where voting districts are established within a State, for either Federal elections or State elections to any house of a State legislature which is elected on the basis of population, they shall be substantially equal in population; and (b) specifically granting the Federal courts jurisdiction of suits to en-

force the requirements of the Constitution and of Federal law with regard to such electoral districts; but explicitly providing that such jurisdiction should not be deemed to preclude the jurisdiction of State courts to enforce rights provided under State law regarding such districts.

Statistical information

Recommendation 5.- That Congress direct the Bureau of the Census promptly to initiate a nationwide compilation of registration and voting statistics, to include a count of persons of voting age in every State and territory by race, color, and national origin, who are registered to vote, and a determination of the extent to which such persons have voted since January 1, 1960; and requiring that the Bureau of the Census compile such information in each next succeeding decennial census, and at such other time or times as the Congress may direct.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY AUTHOR

This writer concurs in each of the recommendations proposed by the Commission on Civil Rights and the proposals now pending in Congress which are designed to help remove the barriers to Negro registration, and proposes the following additional measures:

Author's Recommendation No. 1.
CREATION OF A COURT OF CIVIL RIGHTS

It is a well known fact that many federal judges in the South have contributed to the delay in the enforcement of civil rights legislation in many different ways. There are several cases involving civil rights which have been filed for more than a year and attorneys for the plaintiffs have been unable to get a hearing date set. When the cases are set for trial they are frequently passed at the last minute upon the flimsiest of ex-

cuses, all to the frustration of the plaintiffs. District judges have been known to hand down decisions which they surely must have known would be reversed on appeal, but they nevertheless ruled for the southern defendants and delay. Another tactic resorted to by judges cooperative to the South is to hear all of the testimony and evidence and then "take the matter under advisement." Many cases have been "under advisement" for several months, and in some instances for over a year, before an opinion was handed down. Although judges should not allow their personal feelings or fear of social ostracism from their neighbors and friends to interfere with their decisions in civil rights litigation, nevertheless, we must recognize the fact that such interferences do occur, and often.

To off-set such delaying tactics and speed up the administration of justice in civil rights cases, this author would recommend the creation of a Court of Civil Rights. We have previously recognized the need for special courts to handle litigation requiring special skills or which raise unusual problems. This is why we have our Customs Court, the Tax Court of the United States, United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, Court of Claims and the Court of Military Appeals.

A Court of Civil Rights should be created to hear all matters involving primarily the question of discrimination or a denial of some guarantee of Constitutional rights or federally protected right on account of race, creed or color. A sufficient number

of Civil Rights Judges should be appointed in each Circuit to preside over Civil Rights Courts within the judicial circuit, regardless of district court boundary lines. Appeals could be taken from the Civil Rights Court to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the circuit in which the case arose, or, a special Court of Civil Rights Appeals could be created to hear such matters. This would relieve the federal district courts of all civil rights legislation and would serve also to help relieve the crowded district court dockets. A Court of Civil Rights might be created to take jurisdiction of civil rights litigation for a period of from ten to twenty years or such period of time as would be necessary to reduce the necessity for much civil rights litigation.

Author's Recommendation No.2

This writer recommends that necessary legislation be enacted to require that civil rights litigation take precedence over all other types of cases, in much the same manner as habeas corpus and mandamus actions. Such precedence should not take place as a matter of course but should be discretionary at the request of the plaintiff because there are situations where a delay in a hearing might work to the best interest of all parties concerned, including the plaintiff's.

Such a provision might also be incorporated into the rules of procedure for the Court of Civil Rights proposed in Author's Recommendation No. 1 above.

In the absence of a Court of Civil Rights, Recommendation No. 2 could be enacted so as to require federal district courts to both hear and decide civil rights litigation without unnecessary delay.

Conclusion:

I have not undertaken to burden the participants of this conference with stories and accounts of the harassment, intimidation and physical violence directed against persons active in voter registration in the South, as the news media carry many accounts every week regarding such difficulties. It is assumed that the parties are fully aware of the many problems and obstacles confronting the voter registration efforts in the South and this paper is intended to serve solely as background information to stimulate thinking and discussion on proposed legislation which might be offered to correct the problems which now exist.

Respectfully submitted,

WILEY A. BRANTON
Room 206, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

WAB:jl

Footnotes:

(1) Smith V. Albright 321 U.S. 649
(2) The Negro and the Ballot in the South, Margaret Price, Southern Regional Council, 1959
(3) 71 Stat. 637
(4) 74 Stat. 90

FEB 18 1963

JM
WB

They Say...

Make file "Pine Bluff - Civil Rights"

Sit-In Demonstrators Infringe All AM&N Students' Rights

MEMORANDUM FROM PRESIDENT LAWRENCE A. DAVIS OF AM&N COLLEGE

To: Students of AM&N College

From: Lawrence A. Davis, President

Re: Sit-In Demonstrations

Date: 11 February 1963

Time: 10:00 a.m.

It has been my constant wish and prayer throughout the twenty-six years of my official association with the College that the "AM&N College Family" would never find itself "a house divided." Much effort and sacrifice have been given to retain this posture and uphold this guiding spirit.

Moreover, as your President, I have religiously kept a covenant with myself that I would never knowingly violate the individual personal, legal, nor civil rights of students and staff, unless compelled by the necessity to protect the rights, security and safety of the larger College Family, and then only with extreme reluctance.

HOWEVER, apparently the time has come when I must risk this charge in order to act in the immediate best interests of all. The wishes, desires, safety, and rights of more than 2200 students must be protected.

On at least three distinct occasions in an assembly of students and on several other occasions in smaller groups and individual student conferences I have emphasized that "this would be the worst time possible for students of AM&N College to participate in Sit-in Demonstrations in the Pine Bluff Community." Further, my position has been stated in part through the medium of the local newspaper. Therefore, I can in good conscience assume that my position as President of the College is clearly and widely known and was known before any student of AM&N College participated in the Sit-in at the Woolworth Store.

HOWEVER, a small segment of our students chose not to follow the advice, counsel, and request of the President and chose to follow what they construe to be their personal and constitutional rights. With this decision as their personal right, I hold no particular brief. But by the same token, I cannot uphold their right to infringe upon the rights of 2200 students by involving them even indirectly in an action without their permission, through the process of common identification and the osmosis of sympathy.

Therefore, obviously a conflict of interests and conceptions of what is in the best interests of the College has precipitated to the point where the Administration must exercise its prerogative of prevailing judgment to protect the College Community. This is felt justified for the following reasons:

(1) The President of the College made his position clear on the matter in ample time for all students to make their decision and choice; the vast majority of students chose to follow his advice and request with respect to the Sit-in demonstration.

(2) The President's efforts along with those of other interested students and parties concerned, both white and Negro, to have a conference with the College student leader of the group for the purpose of establishing ground rules for negotiating a solution to the problem in the interest of the College and the Pine Bluff Community at large was thwarted by the inability of the group to hold such a conference without the presence and participation of the Field Secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordination Committee of Atlanta, Georgia.

(3) An article in the Pine Bluff Commercial, Sunday, February 10, 1963 in reporting an incident following a Sit-in on Saturday, February 9, described a student of the College as Leader of the student demonstrators, and further cited the Field Secretary of the Student Non-Violent Committee as saying he was invited in by students. Thus, it is easily inferred that his presence here and subsequent developments were brought about through the efforts of a few College students.

(4) A spreading of the Sit-in activities can lead to violence and community turmoil that can endanger the safety and well-being of all College students and faculty, the overwhelming majority of whom have had no part in the demonstrations.

(5) The 1962-63 edition of the AM&N College Bulletin, our contract with students, page No. 54, states in part: "Those students who show that ... they are not in harmony with the ideals of the College ... may be asked to withdraw without specific charge.

Therefore, any and all students who plan to participate in sit-in demonstrations after Monday, February 11, 1963 at 10:00 a.m. are requested to withdraw, voluntarily from the college. Those who participate in the sit-ins after said time and who do not withdraw voluntarily are automatically and immediately suspended from the college indefinitely, forfeiting all rights and privileges as students of AM&N College.

Birmingham World
1-11-64

Wilkins Says Negro May Bolt Democrats

By ROBERT MULLER

(United Press International)

NEW YORK—(UPI)—A Negro leader issued a veiled threat Monday that Negroes may bolt the Democratic party in this year's general election unless the yget faster action on civil rights legislation.

The threat came from Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, (NAACP), in his report to the aunual meeting of the organization.

"Although President Lyndon B. Johnson has given the civil rights bill top priority, there is every indication that the House Rules Committee, under Chairman Howard Smith of Virginia, may not finish action on this bill seven full months after the President submitted it," Wilkins said.

"The latest report is the Rep. Smith may insist that since, technically, no hearings have been held on the amended bill, his committee will have to hold lengthy hearings.

"There has been already very great delay in this urgent matter.

"If Rep. Smith holds the bill unduly long, it mya be that Negro citizens of the country will be forced to re-examine their reasons for supporting the party of which Rep. Smith is an ornament.

"Since Negro voters are not able to reach and reason with Mr. Smith at ballot box time, they may decide to put the matter on a party basis. If this were done on any scale, some governorships and some congressional seats might change party labels."

Wilkins said that no matter what, the coming year will be one of "intensive voter registration." He reported that during 1963 the NAACP played a role in the registration of 82,733 new voters in Southern states, plus 108,000 in Virginia alone who were "persuaded to pay their poll tax as a preliminary to registration."

"Congress is playing politics with the civil rights bill now," he said. "Our turn to play politics will come next November."

Wilkins said that he believes President Johnson is sympathetic to the Negro cause.

"He deserves our help in this difficult time for him and for the nation, even as we press upon him our predicament and our demand for redress."

However, Wilkins urged that the Negro not forget that "our cause has friends in both political parties and that Republican stalwarts have worked for civil rights as sincerely and as consistently as have our friends among the Democrats."

Politics
National

Joseph A. Clarke To Help GOP In Vote Mobilization

WASHINGTON — Joseph A. Clarke, former Special Assistant to Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield during the Eisenhower Administration, has been named Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee where he will work on the mobilization of the Negro vote in Congressional races.

The announcement of Clark's appointment was made by Rep. Bob Wilson, chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee. He said Clarke will be working with the Committee in Washington and in selected Congressional districts throughout the country.

A native of Columbus, Georgia, Clarke has been a resident of Washington, D. C., since 1954. Prior to coming to Washington, he served for seven years as Assistant Director of the New Jersey State Commission on Urban Colored Population, later renamed the Division Against Discrimination.

A former newspaperman, Clarke was educated at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., and the School of Journalism at the University of Illinois. During his years with the State of New Jersey, he directed research and authored several studies on the subject of race relations, including, "The Negro Citizen and New Jersey Democracy," "A Guide to Better Race Relations," and several others.

Since leaving the government in 1961, Clarke has maintained his own public relations office at 1025 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Politics National

Survey Shows Negroes Not Represented In Congress

A41 W 2-23-64 Wd

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Not only are America's 20,000,000 Negroes grossly under represented in Congress, but the strongest and most consistent opposition to legislation that would benefit Negroes comes from 64 of the most heavily Negro populated congressional districts.

By way of contrast, the "whitest" district in the nation, the Wisconsin 7th with only .01 percent Negroes, is represented in Congress by Melvin R. Laird, a staunch advocate of civil rights.

However, four of the five congressional districts with the highest percentage of Negro voters have Negro representation in Congress. Of these, the top one is Rep. William L. Dawson's 1st Congressional district of Illinois, where 87.1 percent of the voters are Negro.

Rep. Adam Powell's New York (18th) District, comprising most of Harlem ranks second.

Third is Rep. Augustus Hawkins' 21st district in California and fifth is the Pennsylvania 2nd, represented by Atty. Robert N. C. Nix of Philadelphia.

The nation's fourth most populated district (59.1) is Mississippi's 2nd, which has been sending staunch Dixiecrat Jamie L. Whitten to Congress since 1941 to oppose every measure introduced to advance civil rights.

Altogether, Negroes — including Michigan's Charles Diggs — hold only one percent of the 435 House seats.

With Negroes comprising about 11 percent of the population, they are grossly under and mis-represented in Congress — chiefly because they are denied the right to vote in so many areas of the South.

Southern Democrats (Dixiecrats), traditionally opposed to civil rights for Negroes, represent 64 of the 90 most Negro districts. What this obviously means is that many Negroes are not permitted to vote in many Southern districts.

The non-partisan survey by the Congressional Quarterly shows that Democrats represent 88 of the 90 congressional districts most heavily populated by Negroes.

These 90 districts are those in which the percentage of Negroes, in the 1960 census, was higher than 20 percent.

A third of the Democrats' 259 members in Congress are from districts more than 20 percent Negroes; all but two of the GOP's 176 members are from districts less than 20 per cent Negro.

The Congressional Quarterly analysis concludes that both in the South and the North, a high ratio of Negro population coincides with a "safe Democratic district."

National Politics

Microfilm Code No.
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FLORIDA TIMES-UNION
(Jacksonville)
p. 6
Date: FEB 28 1964

Interracial Delegations Will Heat Up Convention

By Jay G. Hayden

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WASHINGTON — Danger to President Johnson's reelection due to the Senate civil rights fight is pinpointed and intensified by a move to seek the seating of an "interracial" rump delegation from Mississippi in the Democratic National Convention next August.

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) declared purpose—to move for displacement of the entire all-white delegation which he expects the Democratic organization in Mississippi to field.

Effect of the move, obviously, will be to confront the credentials committee of the national convention and ultimately the whole convention with a showdown vote as to which of the Mississippi delegations shall be seated. And it is safe to assume that the move will not be confined to Mississippi. Almost surely it will extend to other Far-South States — Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas and Georgia—perhaps even to Virginia and North Carolina—no one of which has sent a Negro to a Democratic National Convention for at least 70 years.

White-Vs.-Black showdowns in presidential conventions are not unusual but heretofore they have occurred mostly on the Republican side.

Following the after-war reconstruction period, Republican conventions were pinqued with the problem of how to dispose of the 10 states of the Democratic Solid South. The first determination was to make this an excuse for proclaiming Negro equality, which in the North ever many years engendered a near-solid Negro vote on the Republican side.

Southern state delegates at Republican presidential nominating conventions during that period were overwhelmingly Negroes, most of whom had never been permitted to vote or expected to be so honored.

One remembers an incident at the convention in 1924, at which Calvin Coolidge was nominated for President and Charles G. Dawes, nowise a Coolidge choice, for Vice President.

Coolidge first wanted Sen. William E. Borah of Idaho for running mate but the latter firmly refused. Then Coolidge asked for former Gov. Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, who just as irrevocably declined. At last Coolidge turned to Herbert Hoover, his own Secretary of Commerce but distinctly no political buddy.

Entered as opponent was Charles G. Dawes, who Coolidge liked even less.

It happened in this convention that delegates from Michigan and Georgia were quartered side by side, with only a weak wicker fence dividing them.

As the final vice presidential roll call began a Georgian delegate asked over this barrier of George Welsh, Mayor of Grand Rapids and right hand man of the then Gov. Alex Roesbeck:

"What's the word?"

Said Welsh "the word is Dawes."

Whereupon, another Georgia delegate intervened: "You say the word is Dawes. The word is Hoover, don't you see in that Michigan delegation, Charles Beecher Warren, Ambassador to Japan? Don't you think Mr. Warren knows what is the word?"

Georgia, coming first, voted solidly for Hoover. Michigan's delegation, all but one, voted for Dawes. Its one off-ox, voting for Hoover, was Charles Beecher Warren.

President Hoover, in his time, tried to change things in the South, leading to the claim that he favored a "lily white" group. But Hoover didn't last to prove his point, beginning with the era of federal economic largesse, under Franklin D. Roosevelt, Negroes South as well as North turned overwhelmingly Democratic.

President Johnson's situation is different in that he is essentially a Southerner trying to hold on to the Northern big city vote, approximately half non-white.

Chances are that some vote in the Democratic convention, very likely on the issue of seating Southern Negroes, finally will determine the choice of the nation's next President.

Nat. Politics

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JACKSON DAILY
NEWS (MISS.)
p.10
Date: MAR 11 1964

VBP

HOLMES ALEXANDER

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Southern Vote Chicanery Eyed

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Again, this time at the gubernatorial election in Louisiana, the Republicans turned out to be the bridesmaid, not the bride—but they may have caught a bouquet, which, although somewhat wilted and tawdry, is supposed to be a hopeful sign.

The bouquet in this instance, where the GOP candidate, Charlton Lyons, got 296,000 or 38 per cent of the total votes, consists of alleged examples of voting fraud by the Democratic state political machine.

Election chicanery is old hat in Louisiana, where the House of Huey Long has hung onto power for more than 30 years. George Despot, Lyons' campaign manager, feels that the March 3rd election wasn't close enough to warrant going into court. But the GOP National Committee here in Washington takes a longer view.

Corruption charges against Democrats will play a big part in the coming presidential campaign. In the Southern States, these charges may be the GOP's best chance to get inside the Democratic defenses, which might otherwise be impregnable with a Texas Democrat heading the ticket.

In 1960, Mr. Kennedy won by a mere 118,550 votes out of the 68 million cast. Republicans have freely raised the cry of "We wuz robbed" in several of the narrow-margin states. Earlier in the present campaign Barry Goldwater electrified his audiences by charging a vicious coalition between the cynical big city machines and the pious liberals, who talk morality but who benefit by venality.

Goldwater talked mostly of the Northern cities, adding a few choice remarks about Texas, but up till now there has been little focus on the Southern States. Lee Potter, who heads the GOP drive throughout Dixie, tells me that this neglect will be remedied. His office at the Republican National Committee is drawing a lengthy bill of particulars, somewhat as follows:

In Nashville, last October, City Councilman Gene ("Little Evil") Jacobs and five others were convicted of obtaining absentee ballots and marking them for favored candidates.

In Atlanta, both the newspapers last year carried out extensive investigations of voting frauds, and satisfied themselves that these were widespread. An Atlanta Journal story on a State Senate race found "citizens dead and imprisoned and long departed listed as having votes."

In Madison and Yancey counties of North Carolina, according to well-documented stories in the Charlotte Observer, "hundreds of absentee ballots were improperly issued in 1962."

CAN CHEAT MACHINES

In Baton Rouge, La., last month, an ex-policeman and a mechanic showed a legislative committee in secret session how the supposedly cheat-proof voting machines could be made to do almost anything, including "play the Star-Spangled Banner."

One of the most supicious findings by Republican sleuths has been the over - registration of white voters in Southern counties where the Democrats control nearly all the courthouses. It is not primafacie evidence of fraud to find that there are more voters on the books than there are voting-age residents—but such a situation does allow crooked machines to produce a "tombstone vote." which has been known to decide close elections. And when the overage is very pronounced, there is a presumption of connivance.

Alabama has 12 counties wher white registrations run over 100 per cent of the voting-age population. Florida has 10 such counties; Georgia has 6; Louisiana has 8; North Carolina has 55; Tennessee has 23.

Republicans will try to convince Southern voters that the only eradication of this "pay dirt" lies in a two-party system.

National Pol.

Col. Eng.

Temptation Rejected

It pays to count the votes.

The American taxpayers were saved about $600 million last week because a congressman requested that his colleagues stand up and be counted on the bill that would have increased their annual pay by $10,000.

Earlier, on non-record votes, in which only "yeas" and "nays" were required, the House approved the pay increase. But when names had to be attached to the "yeas" or "nays", the "nays" picked up strength, and the entire federal pay increase bill went down to a 222-184 defeat.

The measure would have given representatives and senators a whopping 40 per cent hike, up to $33,000, and also provided hefty increases for federal judges and administrative officers.

In addition, about 1.7 million civil service employes would have received increases.

Many congressmen argued that their own pay should be considered separately from the pay of other federal workers. But the decisive vote came on an omnibus bill that included nearly every federal worker's pay — and staring down the trail to the November elections, the representatives exercised discretion.

We believe they also exercised wisdom. The proposed 40 per cent hike was excessive. The federal government is running a deficit, and Congress only recently voted to reduce the income.

A raise for executives of a business that can't make ends meet would be fiscal folly.

Rep. E. L. Forrester of Georgia's Third District argued eloquently against the bill. He and five other Georgia congressmen voted against it. They were Reps. John Flynt, Elliot Hagan, Phil Landrum, J. L. Pilcher and Charles Weltner.

Reps. John Davis, Robert Stephens, Russell Tuten and Carl Vinson voted in favor.

Rep. Forrester, speaking against the bill, said: "We are passing laws to prevent the flow of gold to foreign countries, and even passing laws discouraging travel in foreign countries, in order that the money spent by Americans in foreign countries will not have to be redeemed from our short gold supply. Our President has the lights cut out in the White House at night. I think everyone will agree that if lights burn at night, they ought to burn at the White House. We are closing installations, even weather stations; orders are going out to military post to cut out jobs, release civilian personnel, because we say we must economize . . . This bill would give congressmen, Supreme Court justices and certain employes of Congress an increase in salary larger than the entire earnings of at least 75 per cent of the people in the district I represent . . ."

Rep. Forrester went on to say that he hadn't noted any improvement in the caliber of congressmen due to the last big salary increase, nor in the Supreme Court justices.

The final vote, which defeated the increases, was contrived by the old coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats. Voting against were 136 Republicans and 86 Democrats. In favor were 149 Democrats and 35 Republicans.

This defeat should lay the question of congressional pay increases to rest for this session. Undoubtedly, it will be revived next year, but it is to be hoped that a more realistic increase will be proposed, rather than the 40 per cent suggested this year and in 1963.

A better way for the congressmen to improve their "earnings" would be to strive toward a stronger, more productive dollar, so that the $22,500 they now draw, plus the numerous fringe benefits of being a congressman, will buy more for them.

Politics National

People Also Vote on 'Rights'

Congress is not the only group of Americans that will be voting on "civil rights" proposals this year. In fact, the vote in Congress may ultimately be less important than the vote registered in cities and states throughout the nation.

Seattle, Wash. voters delivered a verdict last week. The issue was an "open housing" ordinance, which would have made it a misdemeanor to refuse sale of a house to a person because of his race.

The proposal was defeated 112,448 to 53,453, despite support from the city's mayor and other officials, virtually every church in the Seattle area, and 75 organized groups. Only two organized groups opposed the measure.

"Because of fear and mistrust and a number of other reasons, the voters felt they could not accept this ordinance," Mayor Gordon Clinton remarked.

The more than 2-1 margin does not promise to resolve the matter, however. Beaten at the polls, backers of the measure are threatening to pursue the matter in the streets.

"This vote shows that Seattle has chosen to be a bigoted community," the Rev. Samuel McKinney proclaimed.

The Rev. John Adams said: "The civil rights battleground is moving north and west, and Seattle may become a major battlefield in the near future."

A canvass was made of the New York City Council. Eighteen of the 24 councilmen expressed opposition to enforced transferral of children from their normal schools to promote racial integration.

In California, the state Assembly approved an "open occupancy" law last year. But private citizens petitioned for a referendum. The housing law will be the hottest issue in the November election, no matter who's running for President.

Detroit's City Council rejected an "open occupancy" ordinance several months ago in the face of strong pressure from both sides.

Sen. Kenneth Keating of New York, a staunch backer of the "civil rights" bill, complains that his mail is running against most of the provisions in the current bill. He blames this on "organized" attempts to influence the Senate, but the truth seems to be that most of the organization is on the other side of the question.

A Chicago congressman polled 16,000 of his constituents and discovered that a majority opposed the key sections of the "civil rights" bill now in the Senate. Broad support was available only for the voting section.

So, the people are voting, as well as the senators.

Col. Dispatch 3/18/64, p. 4.

Politics National

Two-Party South Emerges As New Laws Proposed

(EDITOR'S NOTE: For more than a decade, the Republican Party has been growing gradually stronger in the South. One effect is seen in Democratic lawmaking. This is a report on that aspect of the GOP push.)

By DON McKEE
Associated Press Writer

ATLANTA (AP) — Emergence of a two-party South is reflected today in new laws or proposed changes of election procedures linked to the rising Republican vote.

Southern Democrats, secure in their one-party system, once merely scoffed at the Republican practice of nominating by convention; this, they said, produced only hand-picked candidates.

Now they've quit scoffing and begun enacting laws aimed at forcing the Republicans to hold primary elections and to quit voting in the Democratic primaries.

Most Republicans still gain nomination without fighting through primary campaigns, but signs are appearing that the day of the two-party primary is nearing.

A law aimed at the GOP was approved this year by the South Carolina Legislature. Three other Southern state legislatures will consider new election laws. The other states already have tightened primary rules.

Drastic measures have been proposed in Mississippi — on the heels of a startling Republican vote of 38 per cent in last year's race for governor.

One proposal would require a primary election even if a candidate is unopposed. This would hit Republicans who avoid primaries in Mississippi by runnng only one canddate per office.

Another of the 22 bills in the Mississippi package would prohibit a voter from taking part in both Republican and Democratic primaries.

That would virtually disfranchise Republicans in local elections since their party does not enter these races in Mississippi — or much of the balance of the South.

In Louisiana, state Rep. Lantz Womack, a Democrat, said he would ask the legislature in its May session to abolish all primaries and require two general elections instead.

Republicans nominate by convention in Louisiana.

Womack's plan is to pit candidates of all parties in an open general election to cut down the field and then hold a second election for the two top candidates for each office.

Similar legislation was suggested by Gov.-elect John J. McKeithen who defeated a Republican in a hard-fought campaign.

Georgia lawmakers will consider revision of election laws in a May special session. Proposed changes include a requirement that all parties hold primaries the same date.

"This would prevent anyone from voting in more than one primary," said Secretary of State Ben Fortson, a Democrat.

Under Georgia law, the GOP nominates by convention. But an added hurdle for nominees for state offices is a petition with signatures of 5 per cent of the voters to qualify in the general election.

South Carolina's legislature enacted this year a law requiring candidates named by convention votes to be chosen before the qualifying deadline for the primary election.

The Democrats said it was unfair for their candidates to conduct costly primary races and then, only two months before the general election, learn who their Republican opponents were.

Similar laws are on the books in Tennessee and Virginia. And Alabama's Democratic chairman Roy Mayhall said he avors such legislation in his state.

Mayhall said voters should have to register by party

In Alabama, Virginia and Tennessee, the convention is the Republican method of nomination.

Arkansas, under a 1957 law, requires primaries unless a candidate is unopposed. Republicans have held one statewide primary since enactment of the law.

Texas requires primaries for any party receiving more than 200,000 votes in the governor's race in the preceding general election. The GOP has held primaries the past three elections after a gap between 1934 and 1954.

Florida candidates must be nominated by primary, although this is not required formally for unopposed nominees. Every candidate must go through qualifying procedures and pay his fees.

Selma Times-Journal, 3/19/61 p. 8

National Politics

Wallace Believes Big Vote Could Alter Platforms

CROSSVILLE, Ala. (AP)—Gov. George Wallace says a substantial vote for him in the Wisconsin Democratic Presidential Primary will force both major parties into adopting a conservative platform.

Wallace, who is running for the presidency in the primary, said his efforts and those of other southerners "have got 'em shook up all over the country and in Washington."

Wallace is campaigning as a champion of states rights and a foe of the civil rights bill. He made his comments during a speech here Friday night.

He told the rally that if Alabama and three or four other southern states withhold their votes from both parties, "We can have the balance of power and we can have something to say about the attitude of the next president — and it will give us more voice than the NAACP in running the federal government."

Four of the unpledged candidates attended the rally with Wallace. They were former Atty. Gen. MacDonald Gallion of Montgomery, Frank Mizell of Montgomery, Jack Giles of Huntsville and Former Mayor Arthur Hanes of Birmingham.

Harry B. Ayers, assistant publisher of the Anniston Star, and State Rep. John Casey of Cleburne County, both candidates on the rival pro-Johnson slate, also spoke at the rally.

Ayers said the Wallace slate has not been willing to say which candidate it would support but instead has done nothing but promise opposition for this candidate and that candidate.

"What I want to hear," he said, "is a little you. An elector is a man who takes orders from you, the people. We will do what you tell us."

He also said that the only way a voter can be sure who he's voting for is to cast his ballot for electors committed in advance.

"We are pledged to the idea that only the people can give the orders with their ballots and that electors are morally bound to carry out these orders exactly as diected." Ayers said.

Casey challenged the Wallace candidates to say who they will vote for and who they won't support.

National Politics

Democrats Seek To Hold South

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON (AP)—Administration Democrats are piling up party unity evidence fortifying their belief that President Johnson can hold on to a substantial segment of the South in the November election.

These Democrats were cheered by a fresh exhibition of loyalty by Gov. Donald Russll of South Carolina. Russell told his state party's convention Wednesday he thinks no GOP presidentia nominee could match Johnson "in experience, personal qualification and understanding of national and international problems."

What was to the poit, also, was Russell's notation that South Carolina had supported Johnson in the 1960 convention and the governor's prediction that it would be behind him this year.

Johnson's friends recently patched up a truce between quarreling Democrats in Texas that seemed likely to improve the chances of the national ticket there.

When the President spoke at a Florida party rally, Democrats of every description turned out. Some of them probably wouldn't have shown up for a speech by the late President John F Kennedy because of their opposition to his civil rights position.

Gov. Carl Sanders of Georgia is on record with a prediction the South will rally behind Johnson.

Kennedy had a great deal of trouble with Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett and Barnett had launched an independent electors' movement designed to keep his and other Southern states' votes away from the national Democratic nominee.

But since Paul B. Johnson succeeded Barnett as governor there has been less talk about any such bolt. The President's friends are hopeful that the governor can see his way clear to avoid an open break.

Selma Times-Journal
3/26/64

Pol.
National

Atl. Jour., 4/1/64
p. 39

Negro Solon Sees 'White Backlash'

By YVONNE FRANKLIN
North American Newspaper Alliance

WASHINGTON, April 1—The only Negro congressman from the West, Rep. Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles, thinks the civil rights demonstrations are losing their impact and frightening white people. He suggested in an interview that perhaps the techniques of civil rights groups should be changed in the interests of progress.

"I believe there is white backlash," he said, "I think many (whites) honestly feel the Negro has gone too far in some of his techniques (of protest).

"Especially in the poorer districts, whites, as a result of the civil rights bill and (California's) State Fair Housing Act, believe the Negroes are going to invade their neighborhoods, take their jobs, marry their daughters, overrun their restaurants and clubs."

HE SUGGESTED that the real need was for all to "work to upgrade the schools and the neighborhoods" and not to use "exhibitionist" demonstrations to protest, or to agitate for carrying children away from their neighborhoods by bus as is being done in New York.

The demonstrations in New York and elsewhere have set up a counter-reaction of white parents who are also demonstrating in the streets against moving children to distant schools.

"Areas have gone down because both Negroes and whites have left the neighborhood," he maintained. "And always, the persons who supplant them are less able to take care of the property and are less assimilated to the ways of urban life.

"Agitators," he continued, "make a mistake when they divorce the school problem from the neighborhood problem. Whenever a slum can be replaced by decent housing, there is an advance.

"I cannot see that preserving slums merely because to replace them with public housing is going to 'lead more Negroes to being fixed to the land' is necessarily true. I don't think public housing fixes anyone to an area. At least, it gets rid of a slum."

HAWKINS THINKS that a basic problem to real integration is housing, and that all concerned should work for integrated neighborhoods. He suggested as a possibility the cooperative approach tried in San Francisco. The International Longshoremen's Union built cooperative housing, which was to be integrated, on the waterfront. It upgraded the neighborhood, provided good housing for workers near their employment and is now more than half white, 15 per cent Negro, the rest Oriental.

Hawkins feels that the frustration and demand for moving Negro children from slum schools springs from the feeling that these schools are manned by "too many temporary teachers; the strongest teachers are in wealthier neighborhoods, and the agitation in busing is attached to the question of size of classrooms, the under-utilization of some schools and so on."

He felt that even if some children transferred, the great majority of Negro children in the slum schools would still remain and the problems of poor schools would still not have been met.

National Politics

Selma Times-Journal, p. 4.

MONDAY, APRIL 6, 1964

BAKER-CARR

Reapportionment Still Bristling In Court

By BRUCE BIOSSAT
Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA) — The second anniversary of the Supreme Court's celebrated state legislative reapportionment case —Baker v. Carr—slipped by in late March virtually without notice.

Yet, although there were no birthday candles, the U.S. hinterland today is still bristling with both court and legislative activity as result of that historic decision.

A 50-state check by Washington lawyer Charles S. Rhyne, who argued the Baker v. Carr issues against the State of Tennessee before the Supreme Court, shows this:

In 42 of the 50, judicial legislative or constitutional action is either pending or has been completed—for the most part under the spur of the high court's ruling.

Federal or state court action calling for reapportionment has been begun or decided in 38 states. The box score on state action: Decisions handed down in 17 states, cases pending in four. On the federal front: Decisions in 16 states matters pending in 15.

Despite all this continuing bustle, the focus on the state reapportionment question has shifted back to Washington. Before the Supreme Court for decision this spring are additional apportionment cases affecting 13 states.

The key issues are those left unsettled by the 1962 Tennessee decision: What constitutes fair apportionment, and whether or not the population factor must be used as a basis for districting in Senate as well as House at the state level.

Many states obviously hope to get by either with a Senate districting formula combining area, population and possibly other factors, or applying the so-called little federal plan—giving fixed, uniform representation to all counties or other units without regard to population.

It is here that direct challenge has been posed to the Supreme Court Many lawyers and politicians await the court's answers with even greater interest than they showed two years ago. Some lower federal courts have demanded a population basis for districting in both houses, some have not.

Perhaps a dozen states—the exact number is fuzzy because of constantly shifting action—use a strict population factor for both houses now. They include Ohio, Missouri, Kansas, South Dakota and Oregon.

In a few, including Kentucky, Wisconsin and Wyoming, the state constitution requires this. The tendency among these, however, has been not to follow strict population dictates.

Nothing the Supreme Court has said to date gives anyone a firm clue whether it may have another earth-shaking decision up its voluminous black robe sleeve.

Rhyne, a "strict population" man, argues also against the little federal plan. He sees no proper parallel with the U.S. Senate in the federal structure. Says he:

"A state is not truly a federation of counties and political subdivision in the sense that the latter preceded the former To the contrary, the state is the creator and the local governmental units are the created."

Rhyne's view has many supporters. But there are also numerous lawyers, judges and scholars who contend that some blend of population, area and other factors is both reasonable and fair in at least one house. The high court's approach to this controversy is bound to be far-reaching.

Politics
National

TODAY IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS—

'Crossover' Vote To Be Important In Presidential Ballot Outcome

Selma Times-Journal, 4-15-64

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. — It looks as if the "crossover" vote will decide the next presidential election. There are many Republicans who would like Lyndon Johnson to remain as President rather than vote for any other candidate mentioned thus far. Also, there are Democrats who would vote for anyone nominated for president at the Republican Convention if Robert Kennedy is the vice-presidention nominee on the Democratic ticket. Conversely, many Republicans who wouldn't vote for a Democrat for President under most circumstances would cross over and do so if Atty. Gen. Kennedy is the vice-presidential nominee.

The pollsters can readily find out the trend by phrasing a particular set of questions to bring out the true proportions of the "crossover" vote. Separate queries might be directed only to those citizens who consider themselves Republicans. Here are some of the pertinent questions:

1. As between Scranton and Johnson, how would you vote?
2. As between Lodge and Johnson, how would you vote?
3. As between Rockefeller and Johnson, how would you vote?
4. As between Nixon and Johnson, how would you vote?
5. As between Goldwater and Johnson, how would you vote?

The same Republicans might be asked:

"If Robert Kennedy is the vice-presidential nominee, would you vote for the Johnson ticket?"

But the pollsters wouldn't be through at that point, because there would surely be a 'crossover" vote from the Democratic ticket. Another question, addressed only to Democrats, would be the following:

"If Robert Kennedy were the vice-presidential nominee, would you vote for any Republican nominee or stay at home or vote for the Democratic ticket just the same?'

On the Republican side, there is obviously at the present time no majority favoring any prospective Republican nominee. The polls as well as the state primary voting thus far indicate that the party is split several ways. The voters for Lodge, for example, have been construed by many observers as not necessarily mainifesting any outburst of enthusiasm for the present American ambassador to South Viet Nam but rather a dissatisfaction with all the other prominently mentioned for the nomination.

There is, moreover, plenty of evidence that there is an anti-Goldwater sentiment and an anti Rockefeller attitude. Groups holding these viewpoints seem to prefer Scranton or Nixon or Lodge. Some of the feelings are so deep-rooted that, if the particular individual to whom they object were nominated, it is a safe assumption that a Johnson-Humphrey ticket, for example, would get a very substantial number of such Republicans.

As a matter of fact, many Republicans say frankly that, if the nomination doesn't go to Goldwater—who, they think, articulates a real opposition to the policies of the Kennedy-Johnson administration—they would rather vote for a Johnson-Humphrey ticket or stay at home on election day.

Between now and the Republican National Convention in San Francisco in July, the aspirants for the Republican nomination may become more challenging in their speeches of criticism and win votes by the specific points they make. But to date there has been little dent made by the speeches of the Republican candidates, with the exception of Goldwater. He, however, has managed to alienate that segment of the Republican Party which has often been termed as "me-too Republicanism."

Whether it is in the domain of foreign or domestic policies, the Republicans in general have waged a weak campaign. Certainly the potential candidates have not as yet produced that mood among the voters which would indicate a readiness to change administrations no matter which Republican is nominated.

A "dark horse" or a so-called 'compromise" candidate who hasn't been active in seeking the nomination normally has little chance to win if the country is relatively satisfied with the incumbent administration. Candidates who have centered their attention on a specific issue which involves national discontent usually have the best chance of winning a nomination and a subsequent election. But to date none of the Republican candidates has made a persuasive case for a change of administration, and each appears to be merely reflecting a personal ambition for high office whether he happens to be an active candidate or is slyly acquiescing in the "draft" idea.

Nobody at this time can be sure of the extent of the "crossover" vote or the depth of any national discontent, and the election campaign this year could conceivably be one in which the opposition to "civil rights," for instance, in the North and South could defeat a Johnson-Kennedy ticket. The reaction of the country will not be known until after this legislation is passed, which may not be until just before the national conventions are held.

National Politics

Atl Journal 4/19/64

Negro Says Democrats 'Dupe' Race

Republicans in the South should center their campaign pitch to Negro voters around the theme that Democrats have never done anything for them, a top Negro Republican advised Saurday.

At a strategy workshop at the Southern Young Republican Conference at the Hilton Inn, Clay Claiborn said that Negroes and whites alike had been "duped" by "Democrat propaganda" that says that the Negro voter is not wanted by Republicans and at the same time that Republicans can never attract the Negro voter.

This is false, said Mr. Claiborn, of the Republican National Committee. While many Southern Republicans are confronted by the problem that if they actively seek the Negro vote, they may lose some of the white vote, Mr. Claiborn said they won't if they go about it right.

THE RIGHT WAY, he suggested, is to say that the "Democrats have never done anything for the Negro. . . . Approach the (Negro) voter by telling him, 'I don't care whether you vote for (the Republican candidate), but if you want to still buy the product of the Democrats, you don't deserve any better than what you've got. He's got you on his sucker list.'

"Chase the Negroes away from the Democrats," Mr. Claiborn said, "and there's only one other party on the ballot he can vote for."

THE REPUBLICANS are not going to win by "staying away from any person who is registered," Mr. Claiborn emphasized. "Stop giving the Negro vote to the Democrats, though as the coming party in the South, we've got to be careful that we don't lose what we have. But we don't have to be too careful of saying to the Negro: 'You're not getting anything from the Democrats.' "

The President is a Texan who "wants to be liberal in the North and conservative in the South," Mr. Claiborn said. "If Republicans in the South can't tell the conservative vote in the South that this man is a liberal, you ought to go home.

"He's given you an awful lot of material to use."

AT THE SAME TIME, Mr. Claiborn said, Republicans need to tell Northern big city voters that the President is "two-faced," that "you can't have any confidence in him."

"We can do it," he said, "the Democrats have been doing it; we can do it too."

National Politics

Any Sizable Vote Will Be Victory for Gov. Wallace

Col. Eng. 4-21-64

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. (UPI)—Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace said Monday he'll be the winner of the Indiana Democratic presidential primary even if he doesn't outpoll favorite son Gov. Matthew Welsh.

"I'll win this race in Indiana by getting any sizable vote at all," Wallace told a news conference at the start of his second campaign visit to Indiana.

The Alabama governor apparently was following the same tack in Indiana as he did in Wisconsin, where he claimed "we won without winning" by polling 33.7 of the Democratic vote and 24.4 per cent of the total primary vote last April 7.

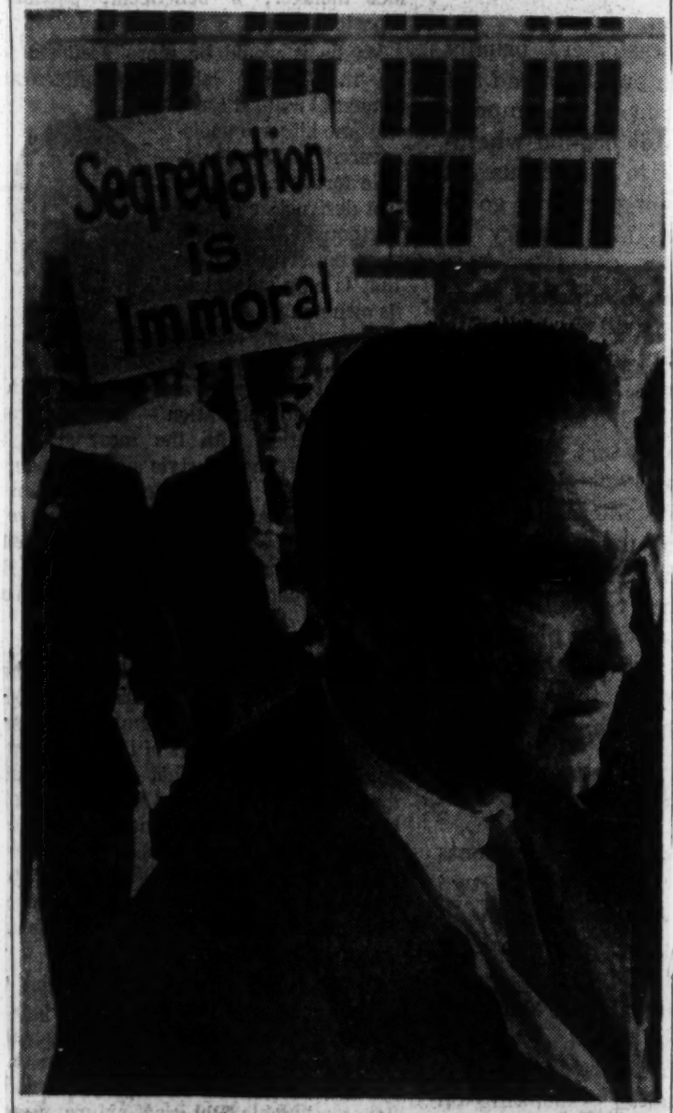
Wallace got into Indiana a few hours ahead of Sen. Barry Goldwater, who planned to put in his only stumping of his campaign on the Republican side of the May 5 Hoosier primary. The Arizonan's visit was scheduled to wind up with a full scale GOP rally at night.

Wallace, an avowed segregationist, denied that he is campaigning on the segregation issue in Indiana.

"My campaign is based on an attack on the fact the federal government in Washington is reaching into every facet of society and encroaching on the rightful powers of the states," he said.

"Through the so-called civil rights bill, Washington is planning an additional invasion of the prerogatives of the states. It is reaching into the homes, schools, business, farms and labor," he said.

Wallace said his Hoosier campaign is not blessed with "an overabundance of money, but we are geting many dollar contributions."



PRIEST PROTESTS — Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, campaigning in Indiana's Democratic presidential primary, is shadowed by a Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Bernard Strange, as the states rights advocate leaves a luncheon address Monday in Indianapolis.—AP Wirephoto.

Politics National

Wallace Relaxes, Welsh Says Ala. "Police State"

Selma Times-Journal 4-22-64

INDIANAPOLIS (AP)—Presidential candidate George Wallace relaxed his pace in the Indiana presidential primary campaign today after a day of fighting hostile weather and some cool receptions.

The Alabama governor covered south Indiana by automobile Tuesday—his plane was weathered in—and he ran into his stiffest opposition so far in the battle for the Hoosier delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

As Wallace's car left a Terre Haute hotel Tuesday, a white woman tried, but failed, to shove her picket sign into the auto. Wallace was struck lightly by a picket sign at Kenosha, Wis., last month.

Meanwhile, Indiana Gov. Matthew Welsh, a stand-in for President Johnson, told a Gary, Ind., audience that Alabama is "a police state ruled by the iron fist of would-be dictators."

Welsh, Wallace's major opponent in the May 5 primary, said:

"Thousands of Negro and white families are moving north to escape this modern tyranny."

Wallace was not allowed to speak from the auditorium stage at Vincennes University. Officials required him to address the student body from the same level as the audience. A university spokesman gave no reason for the action. The stage was open.

School officials barred all persons other than the faculty and student body from hearing Wallace.

Gov. Welsh is a Vincennes trustee. There was no picketing.

At is Terre Haute news conference, Wallace was asked if he supported states rights primarily because it promoted segregation in Alabama.

The governor replied that he was for segregation, and it was one of the rights of the states to have separation of the races if they so desire.

Welsh criticized Wallace for using the states rights arguments to protest "his dynasty in Alabama." He said:

"In Alabama thousands of colored voters are denied their most precious right — the right to vote.

"The truth is simply this: There are no states rights, there are no property rights, where the basic rights of human beings are denied."

Wallace planned to spend today making tapes for radio and television speeches.

He has scheduled two appearances at the University of Indianapolis in Bloomington Thursday. Wallace has not announced his schedule for Friday, but is due to return to Alabama Saturday for a fund-raising rally at Montgomery.

Politics - Wallace

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 1964.

G.O.P. CANDIDATES AWAIT BRIEFINGS

They Say It's Up to Johnson to Act on Data Offer

WASHINGTON, April 21 (AP)—Top Republican Presi-

intelligence officers to come to him.

Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona said that he had received no formal invitation from the White House and that he did not plan to give Mr. Johnson's suggestion any more consideration unless he received such an invitation.

The President made the offer in an address yesterday at the annual meeting of The Associated Press in New York.

"I have instructed the Departments of State and Defense, and the Central Intelligence Agency to be ready to provide major candidates for the office of President with all possible information helpful to their discussion of American policy," Mr. Johnson said.

Governor Rockefeller, in New Orleans for a speech, pointed out that the President "didn't say when the briefings would be held—before or after the conventions."

Mr. Rockefeller said he would not comment without knowing more about the suggestion.

In Washington, the office of Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine issued this statement:

"She looks forward to receiving a formal and official invitation."

Gov. George Romney of Michigan declined comment, and the office of Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania said it had received no word from the White House on the offer.

There was no immediate reaction from former Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

Mr. Nixon and the two Governors are not declared candidates for the nomination.

Summerfield to Introduce Goldwater at May 12 Rally

The Goldwater for President organization here announced yesterday that Arthur E. Summerfield, a former chairman of the Republican National Committee and a former Postmaster General, would introduce Senator Barry Goldwater at a rally in Madison Square Garden on May 12.

The Goldwater group said that Senator John G. Tower, Texas Repulican, would also speak. Prices of tickets to the rally run from $2 to $1,000 for boxes.

Former Senator William F. Knowland of California, national chairman of the rally, said that more than 18,000 persons were expected to attend and that Senator Goldwater would make a major policy speech.

Politics - Hawk

964 Columbus Eng., 4-22-64 Page Five

Anti-Rights Bill Drive Is Urged

BOSTON (AP) — The John Birch Society has called on its members to conduct an advertising campaign against passage of the civil rights bill, and urged those opposed to the bill to write their senators and "as many other senators as you can."

"A spokesman said Tuesday a recent issue of the John Birch Society bulletin, which goes only to members, contained a reprinting of a suggested advertisement which appeared in newspapers throughout the country.

The bulletin urged its members to go ahead "into the most massive protest—by mail, by telegram, by advertising, by the distribution of literature, by personal conversations and in every other practical way—that we have ever undertaken with regard to any legislation."

The advertisement said every vote for the act "is a nail for the coffin of the American republic."

The advertisement, quoted by the spokesman, said further:

"A recent president of the American Bar Association has solemnly declared: 'The proposed extension of federal executive and administration control over business, industry, individual citizens and the state by the package of legislation called the Civil Rights Act of 1963 exceeds the sum total of all such extensions by all decisions of the Supreme Court and all acts of Congress from 1787 to June 19, 1963.'

"The results of this legislation would be enormous suffering by, and oppression of, both our white citizens and our Negro citizens alike; and such turmoil, rioting, bitterness and chaos as benefits only the Communists—or a federal government drunk with its drive for power."

Pol. National

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DALLAS
MORNING NEWS
Sec. 4-2
Date APR 25 1964

The Choice

THE NEGRO has reached a time of vital decision. Two recent events in the East illustrate the courses for the future that figure in his decision:

In New Jersey, Republicans chose William L. Stubbs, Newark's GOP central ward leader and a Negro, as their candidate for Congress. Stubbs won the primary election by a wide margin over a white lawyer and a Negro doctor.

In neighboring New York, civil-rights demonstrators attempted to disrupt the opening of the New York World's Fair, chanted slogans during a speech by the President of the United States, drowned out speeches by New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner and other officials and blocked stairways at the New York State pavilion. Others attempted to block subway lines leading to the fairgrounds.

The contrast between the two cases is significant. In the first instance, a Negro has won the right to represent a major party in a race for the lawmaking branch of the federal government. His victory was achieved through legal means, through the votes of his fellow citizens.

In the second, lawlessness and civil disobedience were used in a general protest against the world and as an attempt to punish society. Such senseless tactics have not only failed to reduce opposition to the demonstrators' cause, they have multiplied it. In a nation of law-abiding people, this reaction to deliberate contempt for law and order was predictable.

The first course can lead to advancement for Negro and white alike. Working within the framework of democratic government, the nation can develop and use the skills and talents of all its people. And such advancement can be gained without paying the price of racial hatred.

The second course can lead only to anarchy and increasing bitterness. The choice is the Negro citizen's. Let us hope his choice is the right one.

In all of this racial friction, the stability of America, the common sense and decency of the individual and the proper concern for constitutional processes seem to be considerations at the bottom of the pile.

This is a time when good judgment, a sense of proportion and fair play must reign. Anybody can be even-tempered and follow the righteous course of justice when everything goes to suit him. It is when others are going to extremes that sensible self-control is of greatest value.

Past injustices against the Negro are admitted and deplored, but proper remedy does not lie in community disruption, bloody heads and open defiance of established rules of law and decency.

Nat. Pol.

National Politics

THE NEGRO VOTE

What Will It Really Mean in November?

Voter reaction to Negro pressures for civil rights is beginning to worry the politicians. Reason: It could be a political time bomb ticking away, set to explode next November against those courting the Negro vote.

An axiom of modern-day politics suddenly is coming into question.

The axiom is that winning the Negro vote is the key to political success.

It has come to be accepted that the party that can win the Negro vote in the big-city States of the North will win the electoral votes of those States for the Presidency, the most seats in Congress and control of key State and local governments.

The idea has been that Negroes tend to vote as a bloc, while the white population splits its votes. Many promises and favors have been offered in appeals for Negro votes. Success, for the most part, has gone to the Democrats.

White "backlash." Today, that whole political formula is beginning to be re-examined. This re-examination, politicians explain, is forced by growing evidence that whites are starting to react in opposition to Negro demands and to politicians who bow to those demands.

A whole series of State and local elections has shown signs of an incipient revolt by whites tending to vote as a bloc.

There appears to be a spreading reaction against demands that neighborhood schools be broken up, against the busing of children from one part of town to another to bring about more racial mixing in school enrollments, against laws to break down neighborhood residential patterns and against federal policing of hiring and firing by private employers.

This reaction has shown itself in areas as far apart as Boston, Seattle, Kansas City, Kentucky, and Wisconsin. There is a revolt brewing against an "open housing" law in California.

Politicians, as a result, admit that they see building now an issue that can have major importance by election time next November.

—USN&WR Photo

NEGROES AT THE POLLS. If they vote as a bloc, will white voters do likewise?

Climate in Congress. Already the entire climate surrounding the civil-rights bill in Congress has changed. Scores of amendments are to be offered in the Senate. All thought that the proposed law will be enacted in the form endorsed by the White House and approved by the House has been given up. Drastic changes are in the air.

Key members of Congress are saying privately that if unruly demonstrations by Negroes continue, it will be difficult to pass any civil-rights law.

Why politicians are worried can be seen from the chart on page 35. Look at that chart, and you see this: Negro voters, almost everywhere, are greatly outnumbered by white voters.

Politicians sense that if white voters become irritated enough, they tend to vote as a bloc, and then the candidates who appeal for the Negro vote could be swamped.

Issues now in the process of developing are described as emotional issues as well as pocketbook issues: breakup of neighborhood schools, use of children to carry out social experiments, job rights, property values, broader use of federal policemen in local communities.

It is accepted in politics that issues

REDS AND NEGROES— "AN UNHAPPY SECRET"

Latest report of Communist influence in Negro organizations comes from Joseph Alsop, a news columnist who is recognized in Washington as being close to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. In his syndicated column published April 15, Mr. Alsop said:

"An unhappy secret is worrying official Washington. The secret is that despite the American Communist Party's feebleness and disarray, its agents are beginning to infiltrate certain sectors of the Negro civil-rights movement.

"The infiltration is spotty, as yet. But it is a very serious matter, none the less, that the charges of Communist influence, which have been hurled for so long by anti-civil-rights racists, should now be acquiring some color of truth.

"The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King; the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, more usually called 'Snick'; and the Congress of Racial Equality, more usually called 'CORE,' are all affected in greater or less degree.

"These, it should be noted, are all relatively new-fledged outfits. The older, more experienced organizations of Negro civil-rights fighters, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, are quite untouched."

that involve voter emotions can be as explosive as issues that touch the pocketbook—if not more so.

Strategy questioned. For more than 30 years, strategy of Democratic politicians has been to put together a winning combination for the Presidency by appealing to labor and minority—including Negro—votes in the big cities. Those big cities, in turn, usually dominated the votes for their State as a whole. When big-city States were added to the States of the Democratic South, a winning combination resulted.

In local and congressional elections, too, Democratic candidates have stressed an appeal to the bloc vote of Negroes.

That whole strategy, politicians say, will come into serious question if the issue of race becomes dominant.

Even now, the Democratic Party is finding that the South can no longer be taken for granted. If doubt now is to come also to the North, then something of a political revolution could occur.

What figures show. How this could happen can be seen in the proportion of Negroes of voting age compared with whites of voting age. Glance down the accompanying chart on big-city States of the North and you see the situation faced by Negroes—and by the politicians who count on their votes.

Those 14 States together cast 281 electoral votes for President. That is more than the 270 needed to elect a President. In the past, with Negroes in those States voting largely as a bloc while the white vote was split, the Negro vote has been able to swing an election.

Yet, as the chart shows, the Negroes in those 14 States are badly outnumbered. The voting odds against them range from 5 to 1 in Maryland to as high as 90 to 1 in Minnesota.

Over all, in the North, there are 13 whites for every Negro of voting age.

If those whites should ever pull together, even slightly, to vote against the Negro, you can see what little chance the Negro would have at the polls. Entire States could be lost to a party or to candidates that invite such opposition among whites.

Situation in big cities. In local elections in big Northern cities, Negroes are in a somewhat better position because Negroes tend to congregate in big cities.

Yet, as the chart shows, white voters far outnumber Negro voters even in the largest cities—7 to 1 in New York and 4 to 1 in Chicago, for example.

Recent elections have alerted politicians to the potential of bloc voting by whites.

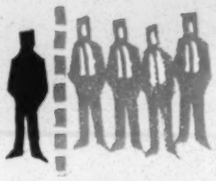
Last November, there were examples in Kentucky, Philadelphia and Boston.

In Kentucky, a Republican nominee

(continued on next page)

IF WHITES WERE TO VOTE AS A BLOC—

IN THE SOUTH, on the average, there is 1 Negro of voting age to every 4 whites. And only a small proportion of these Negroes actually vote.



IN THE NORTH, on the average, there is 1 Negro of voting age to every 13 whites. And in no State is the proportion of Negroes of voting age larger than 1 to 5.

SO: If race is made the issue, Negroes will have little chance at the ballot box.

THE LINEUP IN "BIG-CITY STATES"

	Proportion of Negroes And Other Nonwhites To Whites in Voting-Age Population
California	1 Negro – 12 Whites
Connecticut	1 Negro – 25 Whites
Illinois	1 Negro – 9 Whites
Indiana	1 Negro – 18 Whites
Maryland	1 Negro – 5 Whites
Massachusetts	1 Negro – 43 Whites
Michigan	1 Negro – 10 Whites
Minnesota	1 Negro – 90 Whites
Missouri	1 Negro – 11 Whites
New Jersey	1 Negro – 12 Whites
New York	1 Negro – 11 Whites
Ohio	1 Negro – 12 Whites
Pennsylvania	1 Negro – 13 Whites
Wisconsin	1 Negro – 50 Whites

THUS: In Statewide elections, as for President, the white vote outnumbers the Negro vote in every State outside the Deep South States by at least 5 to 1. If there is a bloc vote on the basis of race, the candidate backed by the Negro vote can be hurt rather than helped.

THE LINEUP IN BIGGEST CITIES

	Proportion of Negroes And Other Nonwhites To Whites in Voting-Age Population
New York	1 Negro – 7 Whites
Chicago	1 Negro – 4 Whites
Los Angeles	1 Negro – 5 Whites
Philadelphia	1 Negro – 3 Whites
Detroit	1 Negro – 3 Whites
Baltimore	1 Negro – 2 Whites
Houston	1 Negro – 4 Whites
Cleveland	1 Negro – 3 Whites
Washington	1 Negro – 1 White
St. Louis	1 Negro – 3 Whites
Milwaukee	1 Negro – 13 Whites
San Francisco	1 Negro – 6 Whites
Boston	1 Negro – 11 Whites
Dallas	1 Negro – 5 Whites
New Orleans	1 Negro – 2 Whites

RESULT: Even in the largest cities, white voters far outnumber Negroes and in a bloc-voting contest would run away with the election. The one exception: Washington, D. C., where Negroes almost exactly equal whites, in voting-age population.

Basic data: U.S. Census Bureau

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THE NEGRO VOTE IN NOVEMBER

[continued from preceding page]

for Governor made an issue of an executive order banning discrimination in places under State license. This order had been issued by the retiring Democratic Governor. The Republican came within about 15,000 votes of beating the Democratic nominee, who had been expected to win by an overwhelming vote.

In Philadelphia, where Democrats usually win by heavy majorities, the Democratic mayor narrowly won re-election after a series of racial incidents.

In Boston, the biggest vote for any candidate went to a school-committee chairman who opposed Negro demands for transferring pupils out of their neighborhood schools to achieve a racial "balance" in enrollment.

This election year has brought additional indications of a reaction by white voters against Negro demands.

Alabama's segregationist Governor George Wallace polled 264,100 votes in Wisconsin's presidential primary on April 7.

Kansas City voters, that same day, barely approved a broadening of the city's antidiscrimination ordinance. In parts of Kansas City, the white vote was almost as solidly against the proposition as the Negro vote was for it.

Seattle, Wash., defeated an "open housing" measure in a public vote earlier this year. A similar ordinance had been repealed earlier in Tacoma.

On January 11, white voters combined to defeat the candidate favored by Negroes in Louisiana's run-off primary for the Democratic nomination for Governor.

Sounding alarms. Politicians are beginning to speak out against Negro demonstrations that lead to violence or to disruption of a city's life.

In Cleveland, as Negro groups began a boycott of two downtown stores and a newspaper on April 14, Mayor Ralph Locher said people "are getting fed up" with civil-rights "extremists."

In Congress, on April 14, New York's two Republican Senators denounced Negro plans to stall traffic by letting their cars run out of gas on roads leading to the New York World's Fair. Both of the Senators—Jacob K. Javits and Kenneth B. Keating—are strong supporters of the civil-rights bill in Congress.

What all this points to is a growing awareness among politicians that some of the old axioms of politics may no longer hold true. Doubt is growing that control of the Negro vote is the key to political success today.

The westward trek often leads to Los Angeles
—Black Star Photo

NEGROES ON THE MOVE—WHERE THEY SETTLE

Broad changes are developing in the pattern of Negro migrations in the U. S.

As population experts see it, these are the latest trends:

- Negroes who leave the South are no longer flocking exclusively into the overcrowded big cities of the Eastern seaboard and the Midwest.
- Instead, Negroes now are moving to the West—particularly to California.
- Also, it is now the medium-sized cities, rather than the big cities, that are getting the biggest percentage gains in Negro population.

In the last two decades, more than 3 million Negroes have left the South. The biggest outflow has been from Mississippi, Arkansas, North Carolina, Alabama and South Carolina.

This exodus of Negroes from the South has slowed a bit—largely because many of the younger Negroes already have left. But latest available census checks show that the exodus is still continuing.

Where do the Negroes go now?

California, in recent years, has picked up more than any other State. New York runs second.

California now is estimated to have more than 1 million Negroes out of a total population of almost 18 million.

The big Negro concentrations in California are in the Los Angeles area, San Diego, Sacramento, San Francisco and Oakland.

In Oregon and Washington, increases in Negro population are found in Portland, Seattle and some smaller cities.

Elsewhere in the West, such places as Denver, Phoenix and Tucson are getting more Negroes.

Back of the changes. Why is the pattern of Negro migration changing?

Labor experts in Washington say that changing economic and employment conditions are strong factors. Negroes are reported to be slowing down their migration to cities where they hear that factories are laying off help and job opportunities are generally scarce.

Many other authorities believe that a tougher policy on administration of public-relief payments has slowed up Negro migration to certain areas.

In Washington, D.C., for instance, the relief budget and the number of public-assistance cases—85 per cent of which involve nonwhites—have dropped considerably in recent years. There also has been a tightening up on enforcement of eligibility rules for relief.

During this same period of relief tightening, Negro migration into the capital also has dropped off.

In southern California, even the Negro community is beginning to grumble about Negro migrants who come in to establish residence and get on the relief rolls. A recent study showed that 1 in 10.6 Negroes is on relief in California, compared with 1 in 182.6 whites.

A Negro view. Said one Negro leader in Los Angeles: "Negroes here are beginning to look at the Southern Negro migrants as a tax burden, just as the whites do."

Further radical changes in Negro migration are seen ahead. Prof. C. Horace Hamilton of the University of North Carolina, a former president of the Population Association of America, has made these predictions:

- By 1980, the total Negro population in the U. S. will rise to 29.5 million—from the present 20 million.
- Only 40 per cent of the Negroes will live in an area—16 Southern and Southeastern States and the District of Columbia—which now has 60 per cent of U. S. Negro population.
- By the year 2000, the Negro population in this Southern and Southeastern area will shrink further to no more than 28 per cent, possibly only 15 per cent, of the nation's total.
- At least 26 per cent of U. S. Negroes will then be living in the West, compared with 6 per cent at present.

Demonstrators March, Interrupt Wallace

Selma Times-Journ., 4-30-64

SOUTH BEND, Ind. (AP)—Alabama Gov. George Wallace was interrupted for 10 minutes by marching, singing demonstrators at his University of Notre Dame appearance Wednesday night, but seemed undaunted. "I accept the nomination," Wallace said with a smile as part of a crowd of 5,000 students in the university field house marched around the hall and before the platform.

Many carried anti - Wallace signs. A few supported him. There was another demonstration of about 400 pickets outside the fieldhouse.

The demonstration ceased, after a majority of students started to shout, "Let him speak, let him speak."

Amidst the heckling there was frequent loud applause as the Alabama governor launched another attack on the civil rights bill and repeated his contention that such matters should be left to state and local government.

Wallace is campaigning for the May 5 Indiana Democratic presidential preference primary. He opposes Indiana Gov. Matthew E. Welsh, a stand-in for President Johnson.

Wednesday night's speech was the governor's second major appearance as he resumed his campaign in the Hoosier State. He faced newsmen at a conference earlier in South Bend. That appearance also was picketed.

About 100 picketers, shouting "Go home, go home," paraded in front of a downtown hotel where Wallace held the session.

Reporters asked Wallace to comment on charges leveled against him by Welsh and other groups, but he only replied:

"I've been called all kinds of names. I'm used to that. I have not one unkind word to say about your governor. He's a fine high-type man."

The hotel demonstrators, both white and Negro, carried signs which read "Remember JFK, not KKK," "Wallace is a Bigot," "Down With Wallace," and "We Don't Want Segregation."

Asked about Welsh's charge that Wallace has formed a network of political spies to keep files on those who oppose him, Wallace said in a sarcastic tone:

"Oh, we're swarming with spies in Alabama."

Asked for comment about former Birmingham attorney Charles Morgan Jr., who has long opposed him and has made television tapes for the Indiana Democratic state committee to use in this campaign, Wallace said:

"Morgan is not an Alabamian at this time; he has left the state. If you want to know about Charles Morgan, contact the Birmingham Bar Association."

Wallace will hold a press conference Friday in Fort Wayne, and that evening address students at Ball State Teachers College in Muncie. It was reported that Wallace then would visit informally Friday night with editors registering for a May 2-3 meeting in Muncie of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association.

National Politics

Wallace Refuses Reply To Critics

INDIANAPOLIS (AP) —Criticisms leveled at Alabama Gov. George Wallace Wednesday came from numerous and varied quarters, but the governor said he would not reply to any of them.

"We don't care to reply to these nefarious attacks which have no basis in truth," Wallace said through his press secretary, Bill Jones.

Attacks on Wallace ranged from the Methodist bishop of Indianapolis to the Indiana Urban League.

Directors of the National Urban League in Indiana criticized the Alabama governor in a statement by Chairman William J. Brown of South Bend, representing the Urban League directors in Anderson, Elkhart, Marion, Fort Wayne, Gary, and South Bend.

H. Dale Brown, Marion County (Indianapolis) Republican chairman, and his Democratic counterpart, Judson F. Haggerty — without naming Wallace — announced in an unprecedented joint statement that "we want no copperheads in our midst."

"Copperhead" was the name applied to Southern sympathizers in the North during the Civil War.

Bishop Richard C. Raines, head of the 1,300 Indiana Methodist churches, issued an attack on Wallace from Pittsburgh, Pa. where Raines is attending the Methodist General Conference. He accused Wallace of misrepresenting facts about the civil rights bill.

Wallace has repeatedly attacked the bill during his campaign here for the May 5 Democratic presidential primary.

Selma Times-Journ., 4-30-60

Politics - National

Atl. Const., 4-30-64

Eugene Patterson

Republicans On Civil Rights

Republican policy on civil rights shapes up as a tougher one than the Democrats' in some respects, if an influential GOP committee prevails. A new paper issued by the Republican citizens group, called the Critical Issues Council, even proposes to cut back the number of congressmen of any state that persists in denying voting rights to Negroes.

The punitive proposal, made with dead seriousness, can hardly be called the work of liberals. Former President Eisenhower's brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, is chairman of the council. Its membership includes Adm. Arleigh Burke, Arthur F. Burns, Raymond Saulnier, Thomas S. Gates, Gen. Lauris Norstad, Lewis L. Strauss and Walter H. Judd.

It is a measure of the country's commitment to civil rights that such a Republican group should be found endorsing most objectives of the Democratic administration's bill and proposing to toughen some of it.

* * *

Preoccupation with the current Senate filibuster can delude persons who lose perspective. It is probably true that the nation is reacting adversely to the wrecking-crew tactics of some heedless Negro demonstrators, and that Alabama's George Wallace is tearing up the patch in Indiana. But the undistracted realist who wants to see where he is going will note that both parties are going forward, not turning back, on civil rights.

The Republican committee endorses FEPC and public accommodations legislation; it suggests a toughening in the education section of the present rights bill to speed up school desegregation; it concludes, "The civil rights bill now in Congress may not be enough to assure the Negro's right to vote."

* * *

If "painfully slow" judicial enforcement "continues to be inadequate," the GOP committee writes, then "under the 14th Amendment state representation in Congress can be reduced in proportion to the numbers of voters systematically denied the franchise."

How can this be justified? "If Negroes are counted when representation (in Congress) is determined," the Republicans state, "then they should be allowed to vote.

"If they cannot vote, they ought not to be counted for purposes of (a state's) representation. Republicans have recognized that it may be necessary to implement this alternative."

Democratic policymakers have not yet gone this far. But they may. To deny the vote to a qualified Negro citizen is not thought to be right by most of the nation (or by most of the South's people, I believe). It is those who do think it is all right who should note the facts most soberly, for their wishes are the ones in conflict.

Politics, National

Goldwater Can Survive Loss Of Negro Votes, Tribble Says

Ga. Const. 5-4-64

Georgia's new Republican chairman, Joe Tribble, predicted Sunday there will be enough of an increase in white votes to offset Negro losses if Sen. Barry Goldwater is the GOP presidential nominee.

He also said Negroes were not on the slate of state Republican officers or convention delegates—for the first time in perhaps a half century—because they have not worked for Goldwater.

"To me, the only significance that this has is that the people in the leadership of the group that won yesterday are people who believe in the philosophy expressed by Sen. Goldwater, and there have not been many—or any—Negroes who have been in the forefront of this effort," Tribble said.

He continued, "There is certainly no thought on my part to exclude or include anyone except on the basis of their allegiance to the principles that we endorse and on the basis of the effort they are willing to put forth."

Tribble agreed, however, that Negroes "don't agree with Sen. Goldwater's philosophy to a great extent."

"But I think on the other hand there are more local offices and more local issues which will attract them (Negroes) so they can conscientiously continue to support the Republican Party," he added.

He said the convention did vote to put one Negro on each of its state convention committees and that it was "recognition of the fact that in the Atlanta area Negroes have worked hard and have been influential in Republican party affairs."

The new chairman was asked if he agreed with observers who concluded the convention was anti-Atlanta because everything it offered (candidates and stands) was rejected.

"Not at all," he said. "I

Continued on Page 14, Column 3

Democratic Gov. Carl Sanders, asked for comment on the tumultous Republican convention, said, "It seems now that the Democratic party actions in electing party officers is not nearly as bad as it used to appear when the other party acted like it didn't have these problems.

"I'm just glad we are not having the problems they are having. These are the facts of life when you are trying to operate a party involving people with differences of opinion," Sanders added.

WINS EASILY

Tribble, a 43-year-old engineer, made the comments after winning the chairmanship by a more than 2-to-1 vote in a bitter convention session Saturday.

A prominent Republican said while the convention was in progress, "What has been done here is to read the Negroes out of the Republican Party in Georgia."

The exclusion of Negroes from state office and the convention delegation came in a city where the vote traditionally has gone Republican.

Even in 1960, after the late President John F. Kennedy

more than 50 per cent of the nationwide total thus far in his drive for the presidency. An Associated Press tally said he now has 206 delegates throughout the country. A total of 655 are needed to win the nomination.

Simultaneously with the Georgia convention, Tennessee Republicans adopted a resolution endorsing Goldwater's candidacy.

Although they were not pledged, it appeared that 22 of the 26 Tennessee delegates leaned toward Goldwater.

Like Georgia, Tennessee selected the first all-white national convention delegation in more than 50 years.

In both states, the stronger Republican areas opposed the pledging of delegates to Goldwater. First District Republicans in mountainous East Tennessee fought the resolution endorsing Goldwater. Ninth District Georgians, in the same mountain chain, have two uncommitted delegates.

However, the leaders of the Draft Goldwater movement appear to be in firm control of most of the Southern organizations for 1964.

Goldwater thus far has netted 75.4 per cent of the delegate votes in the South. He is expected to continue winning that many of the remaining delegate positions.

HERE'S CHART

The delegate chart shows:

North Carolina—Twenty-four pledged or leaning to Goldwater; two to former Vice President Richard Nixon.

South Carolina—All 16 pledged to Goldwater.

Kentucky — Twenty-four unpledged, all leaning to Sen. Thruston B. Morton.

Louisiana—Twenty pledged to Goldwater.

Georgia—Twenty-two pledged or leaning to Goldwater; two unpledged.

Tennessee — Twenty-two pledged or leaning to Goldwater; one leaning to Nixon, three unpledged.

Texas — Saturday preference primary indicated 3-to-1 preference for Goldwater. (Convention will be held June 16 to pick delegates.)

Florida, Mississippi, Alabama and Virginia all hold primaries or conventions later.

Politics National

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Tribble Discounts Negro Vote Loss

Continued from Page 1

simply think the influence of the Republicans in Atlanta will be on a more proportionate basis than it has been in the past. In the past, they have run the show."

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Even in 1960, after the late President John F. Kennedy made a sympathy call to Mrs. Martin Luther King after her husband was jailed, Negroes voted 56 per cent Republican.

DELEGATES CLIMB

Over the weekend, Goldwater pushed his total Southern delegate vote to 104—just slightly more than 50 per cent of his nationwide total thus far in his drive for the presidency. An Associated Press tally said he now has 206 delegates throughout the country. A total of 655 are needed to win the nomination.

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Politics National

TODAY IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS — Selma Times-Jour. 5-6-64

Johnson Faces Choice Of 'Folksy' Vs 'Dignity' As Political Image

WASHINGTON, D.C. — President Johnson will soon have to decide whether he had better reach out for more of the "folksy" vote or try to regain some of the "dignity" vote he may recently have lost. Both Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Sen. Barry Goldwater tried "folksy" tactics in the New Hampshire primary, but the dignified and silent Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge far away in Viet Nam won over both of them. Promptly the Arizona senator announced that he wasn't going to pursue such tactics thereafter and would endeavor to present a different image appearing to the thoughtful citizens.

Many a politican has made the mistake of assuming that the best way to win votes is to do a lot of handshaking and baby kissing. But this hardly swings the majority. What mainly influences the votes of the people are policies, national or international, that touch them in vital spots, including the pocketbook.

News items on political personalities affect the sensitivity of individual voters differently. to many people the other day that there was such an outcry from dog lovers when the President pulled the ears of his two beagles. The inclination of some was to regard this as a joke, while other said it was the act of a cruel man.

It was very wise of Johnson, on the other hand, to make his tour in the Appalachian region and to manifest publicly his sympathy with the poverty-stricken. This was not only good politics but the act of a man who is humane and sympathetic.

So it all depends on what "gimmicks" are tried and what maneuvers are likely to be emphasized by the press, despite the casual manner in which they are originally carried out.

Basically, however, a vast number of voters, especially women, like to see their president act always in a dignified manner. The late President Kennedy was almost without exception, dignified in his public appearances, but he, too, perhaps unwittingly, made at least one slip. He was photographed by the press as he appeared in bathing trunks on the sands of a California beach while a lot of young women crowded around him to shake hands. This led to a good deal of critical comment, not because it was in any sense an improper scene but because many people do not like to see the President of the United States in such informal garb and surroundings.

President Johnson can be dignified when he wishes to be. In almost all of his speeches, he has been shown delivering his remarks in a mood of sedate and quiet dignity. But when people also see in the newspapers photographs of a president pulling the ears of a dog or strolling around among tourists on the White House grounds, an impression is created among some voters that the President isn't as dignified as he ought to be or that he is sacrificing time he should be spending on the all-important tasks of the presidency.

Indeed, there are persons who used to disapprove when President Eisenhower played golf. They didn't object to the exercise itself, but they wondered if he shouldn't have been more at his desk, pondering matters of state. There was a tendency at the time, even in the press, to imply that Eisenhower wasn't working as seriously at his job as he should have been doing. The impression was largely built up because of frequent references in the press, together with pictures of Eisenhower on golf courses. Reiteration of an unfavorable point sometimes produces a lasting prejudice.

In some respects it seems unfair that presidents can't "do what comes naturally," but somehow not all of the voters are as fully informed as they ought to be. They didn't know, for example, that Eisenhower sometimes worked late and regularly got to his office around 7:30 in the morning to study his papers and documents and messages from abroad. Nor do the voters who may be critical realize that President Johnson also works late and gets up early in the morning to spend a lot of time at his desk or on the telephone. He is really a hard-working President.

But much of this concept of a president's fidelity to his job can suddenly be erased if an image is created that he is perhaps lacking in dignity. Americans are instinctively monarchial — perhaps it is a throwback to ancestral days. They like to see their president functioning almost with a kind of royal demeanor. They are delighted, of course, to see every now and then evidences of his compassion and humaneness, but it's the repeated adventures in what appear to be "folksy" stunts—practiced just a few months before an election—that do not go over so well. A smart politician is one who knows when to turn off the levity and turn on the dignity.

National Politics

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Some Would Vote for Mickey Mouse

Gov. George Wallace, the Alabama gamecock, has emerged from another Northern hit, feathers disarrayed, but crowing victoriously over getting in some good pecks.

The governor is not the only one impressed with his vote in Wisconsin and Indiana. Civil rights supporters are showing signs of alarm and confusion. It's time, then, to look at the Wallace phenomenon, to see what it is and what it isn't.

First, we should dispose of the fiction that Wallace's Yankee vote is essentially Republican in origin, given either out of conviction or in an effort to embarrass Democrats.

In Wisconsin, where cross-over voting is easy and there was no GOP presidential contest, it is true that the Alabamian scored heavily in traditional Republican areas. But his sizeable vote in Indiana was mostly from registered Democrats.

The Indiana Republican Right was voting for Barry Goldwater.

In fact, Wallace might well be viewed as the Democrats' Goldwater, since the bases of their appeals are similar.

That is not to say either is grounding his campaign on racism. Wallace indeed has been careful to shun the label and paint himself a friend of Negroes in his Northern forays. Instead, he has centered his campaign on attacking big government, invasion of personal property, centralization of authority and other such domestic bugaboos.

Most of us, to one degree or another, are concerned about such problems, which have grown so large that the individual often seems impotent to handle them. The more uncritical voters are inclined to wave the banner and pull the lever of the candidate who s loudest in denouncing troublesome problems, even when he offers no realistic solution. In the short haul, some will vote for Huey Long, Gerald L. K. Smith, Charlie McCarthy or Mickey Mouse.

This quicksilver kind of voter also reacts to his most recent set of irritations. Thus he will vote for a Wallace to protest recent Negro demonstrations, and forget the Alabama bombings and clubbings and door-standing of last summer.

Fortunately, ours is a long presidential campaign. Even the mercurial voter has a chance to look beneath the thin veneer of the glib-tongued hucksters. In the end, Gov. Wallace will have to content himself with a home-state stage.

* * * * * *

National Politics

Indiana to Deny Wallace Three Delegates He Won

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. (UPI)—Indiana Democratic leaders conferred Wednesday on ways to give Gov. Matthew E. Welsh all 51 Hoosier delegates to the national convention as a result of his victory over Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace in Tuesday's presidential primary.

Wallace, who scored about 30 per cent of the party's statewide vote total, carried the populous 1st Congressional District and ordinarily would be entitled to the votes of the district's three delegates on the first presidential nominating ballot.

Final unofficial returns gave Welsh 369,419 votes, Wallace 170,867, and three far outdistanced rivals a total of about 31,000.

State Democratic Chairman J. Manfred Core said the state party convention probably would be asked to elect national convention delegates at large, but added that the decision might not be made formally until the state party reorganization meeting on May 16.

Such a move would give Welsh all the Indiana votes, to be turned over intact to President Johnson.

Core minimized the possibility of court action by Wallace to save his three delegates from Lake and Porter Counties in northwestern Indiana's populous Gary - Hammond steel belt.

The exuberant Wallace, boasting that his 30 per cent showing against Welsh would give his fellow right-wingers and states' righters enough power to decide who wins the presidency, prepared to plunge into the Maryland primary campaign.

Wallace planned to fly home to Montgomery, Ala., late Wednesday, go to New Orleans today for a speech before a national group of cartoonists, and then swing into the Maryland campaign Friday with an open house in Baltimore.

Cal. Eng.
5-7-64

National Politics

RALPH

McGILL

Atl. Const.

Republicans Are Dismayed

5-16-64

A series of Republican statements, South, East, and West, catch the eye.

1. In Georgia, three elected Republicans, a state legislator, and two members of Atlanta's Board of Aldermen, have charged that the Goldwater faction, which seized control of the state organization in the convention of May 2, has begun a "ruthless and unprincipled attempt to destroy the first real accomplishments in building two parties in the state." Having run as Republicans and been elected, men say they will "not sit back and allow these gains in elected Republicans to be destroyed by a few calculating, power-hungry individuals who today presume to call themselves Republicans." (The individuals referred to by the Young Republicans had declared themselves not merely Republicans but to be "sound and true conservatives." This was after their action of reading Negroes out of the party and declaring they would make up for the loss with new white voters.)

In California

2. In California a volunteer organization calling itself "The Committee of Responsible Republicans" has urged Republicans to vote against the Goldwater slate of delegates. Senator Goldwater has won the endorsement of the archly conservative California Republican Assembly and the United Republicans of California, an ultra-right faction that broke away from the Assembly because it was regarded as too liberal.

Stating that one of its major aims was to prevent an ultra-conservative Goldwater delegation from having a hand in drafting the convention platform and the selection of California's next Republican chairman, the Committee of Responsible Republicans said:

"The Goldwater delegation is not representative of our Republican party inasmuch as there are no Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Orientals, or anyone from the Jewish faith on the delegation."

3. In Tennessee, the Goldwater "conservatives" also managed to gain control. The net result was that for the first time in half a century there will not be a Negro delegate to the national convention. There, too, Republicans outside the Goldwater group are shocked and dismayed at the loss of thousands of votes, white and Negro. In the Volunteer State, too, ruthlessness and a not-well-hidden racist attitude is splitting the party's strength.

New York Leaders

4. In New York State a number of Republican leaders, including U.S. Senator Javits, noting the ill-concealed anti-semitism, the anti-Negro attitude, and the antipathy for the Mexican and Oriental American on the part of most of the "conservative" organizations supporting Senator Goldwater, have announced they will not support the Arizona Redeemer if he is nominated.

News reporters of the press, radio and TV are learning that the famous Goldwater smile goes no deeper than the teeth. When "Mr. Conservative" arrived in Atlanta to speak to the Georgia convention, he brushed aside a mike held before him at the airport, brusquely telling the reporter to "get that damned thing out of the way."

In New Hampshire, Oregon, and California the senator has revealed a lack of patience and ease in the give and take of campaigning.

Conservatism is an honorable word.

But it has been seized by certain factions that go against the American principles that have enabled a plural society to make this nation strong and prosperous.

A question which honest conservatives must ask is what they are going to do about those "conservatives" who clamor most in behalf of Senator Goldwater.

And secondly, to examine the mind and philosophy of the senator, himself.

Nat. Pol.

LBJ's Handshake Awesome Weapon

Atl. Const. 5-17-64

NORTH CAROLINA

By RAY JENKINS
Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

RALEIGH, N.C., May 16—President Lyndon B. Johnson captured Eastern North Carolina, with no weapon save his calloused, outstretched right hand.

The state was one of his stops on the six-state tour he made to dramatize his war on poverty.

Ten thousand people greeted him upon his arrival in Goldsboro, and 50,000 more lined the streets of Rocky Mount to hear him speak. His welcome was tumultuous.

Both of the state's U.S. senators and a clutch of congressmen basked in LBJ's glow. And a fixture in Johnson's shadow was Congressman Harold D. Cooley.

THE WILLIAM MARLOW family, tenant farmers visited by Johnson, live in Nash County in Cooley's district. Cooley, dean of the Tar Heel delegation, faces primary opposition on May 30 in the person of R. Mayne Albright, Raleigh attorney.

Albright's supporters were more than a little chagrined to see Cooley at the right hand of the President throughout the visit.

Johnson had the usual laudatory words for the state's congressional delegation, but he added a little frosting on the cake in Cooley's case, terming him "an untiring champion" of the anti-poverty program.

At the unpainted, clapboard Marlow home, Johnson and the farmer, put completely at ease by the President, chatted about Marlow's bum back and the difficulty of sharecropping.

"MY DADDY used to farm on halves," Johnson told Marlow. "It was rough, with five children. Do the best you can, and if we get it (the anti-poverty program) through, maybe we can help you."

The war on poverty apparently has become a holy crusade so far as Johnson is concerned. As he talked about it, he rattled the lectern with thumps of his fists, and stretched his long arms forth in beseeching gestures.

"I want economic opportunity spread all across this country," he said, "wherever people live, whatever their race and whatever their work."

Before he spoke in Rocky Mount, Johnson was briefed on North Carolina's campaign to reduce poverty, working principally through the privately financed North Carolina Fund.

THE SECRET SERVICE agents guarding the President were edgy, and after watching Johnson practice his brand of political magic, it was easy to understand why.

Upon landing at Goldsboro, he almost immediately walked to the rope barriers holding back the crowd and began shaking hands.

On the five-mile drive from the tenant farm home, twilight was deepening into night, but Johnson stopped the motorcade several times to greet the people.

When he spoke from the Rocky Mount platform, he stood under a spotlight of television lights while his listeners stood in the outer circle of darkness. At the end of the talk, he vaulted by the agents and once again began shaking hands.

Any Republicans who watched LBJ operate in North Carolina must have come away with sinking sensations in the pits of their stomachs.

Pol. National

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"The cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy and while guided and controlled by virtue, the noblest attribute of man; it is the only dictator that free men acknowledge, and the only security which free men desire."—Mirabeau B. Lamar, founder of The Enquirer, in a message to the Congress of Texas on Dec. 21, 1838, a few days after his inauguration as the second President of the Republic of Texas.

The Meaning of Oregon

Pol. Nat.

A television commentator wondered Friday night if Nelson Rockefeller's victory in Oregon could in any way be ascribed to the fact that Oregon has the highest divorce rates in the nation.

In this day of super-analysis, such a question was relevant — but not very much. But it did point up that Oregon — like New Hampshire or Nebraska or Illinois or any other state — has peculiarities common to itself and that its presidential primary vote should be viewed in that light.

In contemplating the smorgasbord of candidates on Friday's ballot, the Oregonians actually showed a surprising amount of indecision.

Gov. Rockefeller led the field by a wide margin, but nevertheless, he was the choice of only 33 per cent of the voters, which is hardly a ringing endorsement. He campaigned the hardest, spent the most, and was the only one of the several candidates who actually expressed much interest in the Oregon vote.

But his victory, such as it was, served several purposes, and clarified the Republican situation to an extent.

First, it reestablished Rockefeller as the chief figure in the stop-Goldwater movement.

Secondly, it exposed the clay feet of the Henry Cabot Lodge candidacy, which was one of the oddest political phenomena of recent times. Lodge himself has no doubt been amazed by the popularity his name has enjoyed this spring. But there was always a phantasy-like quality about the Lodge movement and now he can relax and concentrate on his duties in Saigon.

Thirdly, the Oregon results probably laid to rest the hopes of Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania. His name was on the ballot, although against his wishes, and the voters avoided it studiously. He ran last in the six-candidate field, as Sen. Margaret Chase Smith almost doubled the small vote given to Scranton.

Fourthly, Oregon put another dent in Richard Nixon's image, perhaps a fatal one as far as a possible second nomination is concerned.

As in New Hampshire, Nixon ran fourth. In each state, his 1960 running mate, Lodge, finished far ahead of him. Lodge's liabilities, being what they are, Nixon should have been the superior vote getter, particularly in Oregon, which gave him a good margin over John F. Kennedy in the 1960 election.

Fifthly, Oregon certainly was not a feather in Barry Goldwater's cap. He ran a distant third, but since that was about where he expected to run, the damage was limited.

But on a negative basis, Oregon's result may help Goldwater by reducing the chance of an anti-Goldwater coalition in California.

Rockefeller received a boost, but it will be a mixed blessing. Many Republicans who have been on the fence, hoping that they could go with Lodge or Nixon or Scranton, will have to decide whether they are willing to support a stop-Goldwater movement that could well develop into a Rockefeller movement that couldn't be stopped.

In other words, the choice is restored to what it was before most of the shouting started — Goldwater or Rockefeller.

Or a deadlock, in which a candidate will be called from the wings who is unmarred by the primary battles.

Nat. Pol.

Rockefeller's Upset Oregon Win Ups California Stock

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Louis Harris of The Los Angeles Times Syndicate is a veteran of 17 years in the field of national public opinion sampling. "The Harris Survey" is a feature in The Enquirer each Monday. In addition, as the news warrants, Harris provides Enquirer readers with "bonus" surveys.)

* * *

By LOUIS HARRIS
Distributed by Los Angeles Times Syndicate

PORTLAND, Ore. — Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's smashing upset victory in Oregon drives up his stock in the June 2 California primary.

Before Oregon, Rockefeller was running behind Sen. Barry Goldwater in California, 45 per cent to 55 per cent.

The question now is whether the last two weeks of California will see a Rockefeller surge comparable to the last two weeks here.

In Oregon, Rockefeller's victory was fashioned essentially from a revolt sparked among business and professional executives who wanted their party to have a moderate alternative to Goldwater.

The revolt spread from the suburbs to the cities, and the vote switched from an absent Henry Cabot Lodge to an active, on the scene Nelson Rockefeller. A breakdown of the Rockefeller vote clearly shows that he ran strongest in the suburbs of Oregon last Friday:

BREAKDOWN OF ROCKEFELLER VOTE

	Per Cent
State-wide	33
Suburbs	37
Cities	35
Towns	33
Rural	27

The movement toward Rockefeller was first spotted in polling a week before the election and was located primarily in the suburbs at that time.

It was made up first chiefly of business executives and professional people who felt the GOP needed an active, vigorous alternative to Sen. Barry Goldwater. Reports that Goldwater would win the GOP nomination were he to take the California primary were widely talked about.

Rockefeller also communicated with voters here that he cared and really wanted their vote. He ran as the underdog. By contrast, voters felt no urgency to vote for Henry Cabot Lodge. He was criticized for not coming home to campaign. The number who called Lodge a "lacy campaigner" tripled in the last three weeks. A majority of 68 per cent of these Republicans were critical of Viet Nam and attributed responsibility for it to Lodge. The ambassador proved to be more appealing as a residual candidate in New Hampshire — the man few objected to — than as the serious front runner in Oregon.

In California, Rockefeller starts out strongest in the cities, among professional people and small businessmen. Before Oregon, the New Yorker was the first choice of no more than one in ten Republicans in California. But he was the second choice of another one in four. The real battle in the June 2 primary will center on the suburbs, making up fully 43 per cent of the vote. Goldwater begins with a 57-43 per cent lead in the suburbs of California. In Oregon, just such suburban voters responded most to Rockefeller's campaign. In California, Rockefeller will need to repeat the pattern to win.

There is no doubt now that 1964 is the year of the most independent voter behavior in a long time. Primaries can be subject to the vagaries of widespread last minute shifts and both Oregon and New Hampshire dramatically illustrate this fact. There are no party lines in primaries to cut down rapid switching.

As a consequence, polling primaries is hazardous at best. The Harris survey caught some of the shift to Rockefeller at the end, but not nearly the magnitude nor scope that it finally took.

Nat. Pol.

Few Regard Governor As Joke Anymore

Selma Times-Jour. 5-18-64

By JULES LOH

BALTIMORE, Md. (AP)—When the Maryland Democratic presidential primary campaign opened, Sen. Daniel Brewster, D-Md., said his opponent was nothing more than "a dangerous joke."

Whatever Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace may seem to his foes, few of them, including Brewster, actually regard him as a joke.

Indeed as Tuesday, day of reckoning approaches almost a dozen Senate colleagues have come to Maryland to help Brewster and the senator has completely reversed his campaign strategy.

Having referred to Wallace initially as "an outside agitator" who traffics in "half-truths and outright lies," Brewster suddenly switched and declared that Wallace, after all, was a visitor in the state and should be treated courteously.

"What has infuriated my opposition in Wisconsin, Indiana and now Maryland," Wallace said in an interview," "s that they have portrayed me as a bigot and racist and some sort of dope, and it has backfired on 'em.

"Folks just aren't fooled by

(See FEW, Page 2)

FEW

(Continued From Page One)

someone who calls another man a bigot in the name of tolerance. And if I'm a racist, so are the thousands who have voted for me. But you know that's not the case."

That point is one Wallace has been trying to establish for years.

In 1956, when he was a member of the platform committee at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Wallace said:

"The South must let the world know that racial segregation is the only sane, sensible and nonhypocritical way in which our people can live in harmony together. The propaganda that has been purposely disseminated to the effect that those who believe in segregation are anti-Negro is a downright lie."

The words could have come from any one of his campaign speeches in Maryland, Wisconsin or Indiana. But now he adds a postscript:

"I've discovered in these trips North that there are many millions of segregationists in the United States. Of course they don't call themselves segregationists, but they segregate. The only real difference between them and the people of Alabama is that down there we preach and practice the same thing."

Some close friends of Wallace say he definitely has fleeting visions of the White House When asked, Wallace doesn't deny it outright. The most he will say is "I have no illusions about the difficulty of a Southern governor being elected president."

Maryland Democratic Chairman Harry Troth Gross predicts Wallace will get about 25 per cent of Tuesday's vote — Less than either of the other primaries he has entered. Other observers say it will be closer to 40 per cent.

Nat. Pol.

Col. Eng., 5-18-64

Guest Column

Wallace Says Racist Label Cuts His Vote

Politics National

By GODFREY SPERLING, JR.
The Christian Science Monitor

BALTIMORE — It was in the first early hours of a new morning, and Alabama's Governor, George C. Wallace, stood at the threshhold of his motel room here. He was talking to two of his aides and expressing hesitancy about going into Cambridge.

"Could the police keep everything in control?" he asked. He was assured they could.

"But what if there should be a riot?" he asked. "The people here can still express their opinion at the polls whether I go into Cambridge or not."

Here an aide, charged with Governor Wallace's security, said, "If they stop you in Cambridge, they will keep you from going anywhere here."

Soon the Governor sat down to continue an interview that had begun at the airport an hour or so before — when he arrived from Montgomery just before midnight in his small plane. "As you say," he said, "I've been wondering about going into Cambridge."

THE GOVERNOR SAID there is an important element involved in his campaign that has not been noticed. He said that "any Southerner not handicapped by the controversy surrounding the Wallace name could probably be getting an even bigger vote in the Northern primaries."

Here the Governor, as he has on other occasions, said he is suffering from a false image, that he really is not a "racist." "What is a racist?" we asked.

"A racist is someone who hates the Negroes," he said. "I love the Negroes . . .When I was in the Legislature I sponsored a bill that has given the Negroes some of the best trade schools in the South. I happen to believe that the Negroes can move ahead without desegregation, that segregation is better in my state. But I say any state that wants to desegregate — it is up to the people of that state to say. . ."

"Who are racists in the South—a Faubus, a Barnett, just who?" we asked.

"No politician I know of," said Governor Wallace. "Don't know of any who hates the Negro."

"History," I said, "could look at it your way and say you contributed to awakening the society to the excesses of social protest. But it also may say you helped hold back social change, thus contributing to the intensity of the heat when it came."

Said Governor Wallace: "I haven't held anything back. I've only helped."

"How about when you appeared at the university last year?" we asked.

"Why, I kept things from happening there," he said. "I kept order. If I hadn't been there, things would have gotten out of hand."

This is, of course, the way Governor Wallace sees himself, as he campaigns in primaries. His opponents see him as one who is symbolic of white efforts to hold back the Negro.

What is the Alabama Governor hoping to accomplish in these primaries?

"I hope my effort will awaken the Negro leadership — so they at least change leadership to those who are responsible. I'm hopeful they will rid themselves of the Communists within their groups," said the Governor.

"I HOPE, TOO, that the votes I am getting in Wisconsin, Indiana, and now Maryland will help the President, and will help Republican leaders — to give them some idea of what a lot of white people in this country think about this problem and about civil-rights legislation."

Does Governor Wallace not feel that the Negroes had some grievances? He said he does but he is opposed to the forceful ways they are using to bring about change.

How then should the Negroes seek change? They do have the right of petition, do they not? Governor Wallace agreed to the latter. "Why not the peaceful protest march then?"

"Because," he said, "the marching leads to violence. It has a record of leading to violence. Things can too easily get out of hand."

What then should the Negroes do to move ahead? "The Negroes would be much better off to focus on getting better schools and on getting their people educated — to get them ready for opportunities when they come. They should concentrate their energies on reducing dropouts. I think they would have been better off in building a Negro school with that $5 million they used in getting one Negro into college at Oxford, Mississippi."

Does the Governor really think his campaign in the North will have any effect on current legislation in Congress?

"I really don't know. But I hope it will wake them up." continuing:

"But if this legislation passes, you will find that within two years people all over the country will be wanting it changed."

Nat. Pol.

RALPH Nat. Pol.

McGILL

Sth. Const.

The Prospect Of Victory

3-19-64

President Johnson's popularity was believed to be high, but the burgeoning volume and strength of it as revealed during his dip into the states concerned with poverty in the Southern Appalachians was greater than even the most partisan had estimated.

Southern political leaders were impressed. There had been speculation that the President's firm support of civil rights legislation would hurt him. There was no sign of it. The President spoke plainly in the Deep South, in Atlanta and the smaller city of Gainesville. His approach was folksy, but logical. He was, he said, president of all the people. He was charged with responsibility for the constitutional rights of every American. Southerners, he said, would not expect him to be otherwise. There was applause. Those who do not agree with him joined in it. The President's candor was convincing.

There are no signs that Alabama's independent elector movement, led by Governor George Wallace, has any following save in Mississippi and, to a lesser extent, in Louisiana. Governor Wallace is not accepted as a Southern leader by other governors.

Southern Support

If the President's popularity and vigorous attention to duty and the politics of his party continue unabated, he will have the support of Southern senators and congressmen now opposing him on the rights bill. This may be true even in Mississippi if that state can manage to avoid racial disorders and violence during the long hot summer ahead. There is no mystery about this. The political power structure of the Southern Democratic state organizations do not believe the Republicans can win. These senators, congressmen, governors and local leaders have a large stake in a party victory that will keep a Democrat in the White House. They will not wish to jeopardize it.

Senator Goldwater, who may be the Republican nominee, has said the Republicans will win only if they receive heavy support from the South. They will not get it from the Deep South. At present there is a question mark over Florida and Virginia, but even there, the outlook for President Johnson is favorable. The Negro vote, which now is considerable in all Southern states except Alabama and Mississippi, will not go to the Republicans.

Southern Republicans who subscribe to the party principles as set forth by former President Eisenhower are now dismayed by the prospects of a decline in the progress being made in building a two-party system. The growing Negro vote was of major importance in the gains scored in two Eisenhower victories. They were able to carry this impetus over into the Nixon campaign. (In Georgia, the Negro vote declined in the 1960 campaign following appearances and speeches in the state by Senator Goldwater.)

Opinion Polls

Recent opinion polls report that the number of Americans who consider themselves Republicans is declining. The current figure is 27 per cent against 49 per cent who declare themselves Democrats and 24 per cent "independent." This latter category has been of increasing importance. Most of it went to Mr. Kennedy in 1960. It is not anticipated much, if any of it, will be moved to support Senator Goldwater. This, too, disturbs Southern "modern Republicans," especially those who have seen their state organizations taken over by Goldwater supporters who have, in Tennessee and Georgia, for example, literally read the Negro out of the party.

"We cannot build a two-party system in the South by operating the Southern Republican state organizations in a semi-Ku Klux Klan manner," commented one Southern Republican who had had much to do with the build-up of party strength.

This GOP dilemma aids the Democrats. The prospect of victory makes for unity.

Nat. Politics

Selma Times-Journal, 5-20-64

Wallace Polls 42.66 Per Cent Of Maryland Vote

By LOUIS G. PANOS

BALTIMORE, Md. (AP)—Sen. Daniel B. Brewster, running as a stand-in for President Johnson, defeated Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace in a Maryland presidential primary clouded by a close vote and a murky legal question.

In a Democratic race pinned on his opposition to the civil rights bill pending in the Senate, Wallace drew 212,068 votes Tuesday, 42.66 per cent of the party total.

It was better than his showing in Indiana—29.8 per cent—or Wisconsin—33.7—and he claimed vindication in the Maryland vote of his stand against the rights bill originated by John F. Kennedy and pushed by Johnson.

Brewster, 41, a former Marine elected to the Senate only two years ago, was elated by his effort to preserve Maryland's 48 national nominating convention votes [illegible]hnson.

He had been tapped by the party organization—with Johnson's blessing—to take on Wallace in a border state with a recent history of racial strife marked by repeated outbreaks of violence in Cambridge.

Brewster wound up with 264,613 votes, 53.23 per cent of the total. The remaining 4 per cent were cast by voters preferring Andrew J. Easter, a Baltimore draftsman, or an uninstructed delegation to the national convention.

"We made the fight and we won and I'm glad," said Brewster.

He aimed this parting shot at Wallace: "In baseball, anyway, it's three strikes and you're out."

Wallace didn't see it that way. "This Maryland vote," he said, "should let them know in Washington and in both national parties that they can't get rid of us by calling us bad names."

The governor hinted of a possible technical challenge of the results because of Maryland's old unit vote system. Similar to the Electoral College vote in presidential elections, it makes it possible for a candidate to win a primary even though he trails in the popular vote.

A U.S. District Court in Baltimore has nullified the unit vote system in Maryland primaries for statewide office. It has set a hearing for Monday on a suit to apply the ban to the presidential primary also.

Brewster led in enough counties and Baltimore city districts to get a 92-79 margin in unit votes. But his popular vote edge in Baltimore County, which has 14 unit votes was only 106 out of 93,000 cast.

A reversal of the unofficial vote in that county when the official count is taken in about a week could change the unit vote picture, but Atty. Gen. Thomas B. Finan has said this would be meaningless.

They can't change the rules in the middle of the game," Wallace insisted. An aide said the Baltimore County canvass would be closely observed.

The Brewster-Wallace race pulled a record 54 per cent of eligible Democrats to the polls.

In other balloting:

—Republicans voted overwhelmingly to send an uninstructed delegation to their national convention, rebuffing two individual candidates, one of them a backer of Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater.

—Sen. J. Glenn Beall won Republican nomination to a third term, setting up a November race between him and Democrat Joseph D. Tydings. A personal friend of the late president, Tydings resigned as U.S. attorney to run against State Comptroller Louis L. Goldstein, who was backed by the party organization dominated by Gov. J. Millard Tawes.

—All congressional incumbents seeking renomination won.

In the Democratic presidential primary, Wallace carried 16 of 23 counties and two of six Baltimore city districts.

He swept all nine counties on the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay, where Cambridge lies and which clings to the traditions of the Deep South.

Brewster's greatest vote came from Negro and Jewish neighborhoods in north and northwest Baltimore and the Montgomery County suburbs skirting Washington, D.C.

It was the last stop for Wallace on the primary trail. He isn't entered in the June 2 California race.

Nat. Pol.

Sun Times

Wallace Lost 202-0 In Cambridge Area

5-21-64

CAMBRIDGE, Md. (AP) — Democratic voters voted 202-0 against Gov. George Wallace of Alabama in the Cambridge precinct which covers most of the town's Negro district.

National Guard troops used tear gas to quell a Negro demonstration in this racial trouble spot the same night Wallace addressed a white rally in town. The Alabama Democrat spoke a week before Tuesday's presidential primary, in which he lost to Sen. Daniel B. Brewster, but got almost 43 per cent of the state's vote.

There are 1,345 registered Negro voters in the Pine Street Precinct which covers most of Cambridge's 2nd Ward. Of the 576 Democrats, 202 voted—all for Brewster. Some 280 cambridge Negroes are registered in other precincts.

Nat. Pol.

Negro Militancy Irked Maryland

AH. Const 5-21-64

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

(Copyright 1964 by the New York Times Co.)

BALTIMORE, Md.—Many white voters who supported Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in Maryland apparently were voting more against Negro militancy than against the civil rights bill, an analysis of the returns indicated Wednesday.

This was the view of most political observers here following a detailed study of Tuesday's presidential preference and other primary voting.

The conclusion was based on results in a number of secondary primary contests that gave liberals and moderates clear majorities while Wallace was accumulating his most impressive showing in his three-state presidential primary campaign.

The governor's 42.8 per cent share of the Democratic primary vote here was one-third larger than his showing in Wisconsin and Indiana, where he polled about 30 per cent. But Maryland is a border state with a recent history of racial violence triggered by Negro militancy, and some increase in the percentage for the governor has been expected.

Before returning to Alabama Wednesday, Wallace called the results "a moral victory." Stressing the agreement among analysts that he had won a bare majority of the white vote, the governor said, "That is far more than I ever expected. If I had known I would get this kind of support I would have entered more primaries. I wish I had entered California. I'd have run good there."

Tuesday night the governor exclaimed, "If it hadn't been for the Nigger bloc vote, we'd have won it all." It was the first time since coming to Maryland he had used the term "Nigger" within earshot of newsmen. He had denied repeatedly that he was "a bigot or a racist."

A major factor in Wallace's bigger yield in Maryland was the popular rebuke given the administration of Gov. J. Millard Tawes and candidates associated with it, including Sen. Daniel B. Brewster, who made the favorite-son race against Wallace.

Brewster polled 53.6 per cent of the vote Tuesday, far less than he had counted on. In his 1962 election to the Senate, he received 62 per cent of the vote and led the Democratic ticket.

But the big upset of the day was the crushing victory in the Democratic senatorial race of Joseph D. Tydings over state controller Louis L. Goldstein, a veteran figure in Tawes' administration who is widely considered a popular and able official.

Nat. Pol.

Sightseeing

Afro-Amer 5-23-64

The Colored Vote And Sen. Goldwater

By JAMES D. WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON

If the Republican Party does nominate Barry Goldwater as its candidate for the Presidency, it should be prepared for the wholesale desertion from its already depleted ranks of colored party members.

For years the national Republican Party has literally forced colored voters into the arms of the Democrats by giving the appearance of not being really concerned about its members of the other side of the racial fence, and by its stubborn refusal to recognize the fact that Mr. Lincoln has been dead some time and the mere mention of his name no longer had the power to command the unswerving loyalty of the colored voter.

Instead of trying to halt the drift toward the Democrats that began under Roosevelt, the national party stumbled along the racial path with all the dexterity of a blind man in a strange dark alley making one stupid blunder after another.

The Republicans didn't so much lose the colored vote as it gave the colored vote away. And now with the possibility that it will select Goldwater as its man on horseback, it promises to compound all its past mistakes into one disastrous blunder.

* * *

THE NOMINATION of Goldwater will have the effect of making the Republicans the white man's party for there is nothing in the Arizona senator's past to indicate that he has any concept or concern for black America.

Goldwater stands four square for Americanism, but it is a type of Americanism in which the black man is an outsider.

It is a type of Americanism that says the strong shall grow stronger, the weak shall grow weaker, and the poor are poor because of their inherent weakness.

* * *

GOLDWATER IS the darling of the racists and the rightists with his cry of state's rights, with his simple if dangerous solutions to complex problems, with his insistence that the clock of progress be turned back to the 18th Century, with his willingness to leave the protection of an individual to the tender mercies of such enlightened states as Mississippi and Alabama.

There is no place in the Republican Party for any colored man, if Goldwater and his supporters are at the helm. . .and for this to happen would be a tragedy for the nation.

It would split America, more completely than anything else, into racial camps.

Where the national parties are able now to embrace all shades of opinion and races, a Goldwater led Republican Party would draw the lines so distinctly and so sharply that colored voters would be forced away from the GOP.

Attitudes would polarize and where once compromise within the ranks of the party was possible, there would now be only one way to do things—the Goldwater way. The Grand Old Party would become the White Man's Party.

There is a strong suspicion on the part of the colored community that Goldwater would like nothing better than to see the Armed Forces resegregated, the abolishment of non-discrimination clause in Goverment contracts and the firing of every colored person with the Government who holds a GS-5 job or better.

* * *

GOLDWATER as President would probably not go this far, but the fact that the fear is there should be warning enough to the Republican Party of the danger it faces if Goldwater wins the nomination.

This is the image of the man and there is nothing that he can say that will change it.

Despite the presence of such figures as Javits, Case, Kuchel in the party, the Republicans will alienate the colored voters.

* * *

ON THE local level, Republicans have proven that with the right type of program they can attract the colored vote, but obviously the lesson has been wasted on the national leaders.

With the right type of candidate—a man who does not have the narrow-mindness of Goldwater — the Republicans do have a chance to make inroads into the colored community.

But with Goldwater they can kiss their opportunity goodbye.

* * *

THE DAMAGE that would be done would haunt the Republicans for years. The Democrats have been able to survive such men as Thurmond and Eastland, and still command the allegiance of its colored voters.

But the Democrats have never nominated such men for the highest office in the nation, realizing the damage that would be done to the party.

Goldwater may have a noisy backing—as do most extremists—but they do more to represent the consensus of the country and Goldwater is not going to lead the Republicans to victory.

Instead, he might very well lead them to disaster.

Pol. Nat.

Presidential Elections: I

Col. Eng. 5-23-64

Washington: The Unanimous Choice

(First in a series of columns on U.S. presidential elections from 1789 to 1960.) ..

The electoral college, which still offically names U. S. Presidents, played a much more important role in the selection during the early days of the nation.

Popular votes were not even counted until the 1824 election. There were also no official political parties or party conventions until 1832.

The first six Presidents were actually decided by the men designated as electors from the individual states. Today, most electors (except those in Alabama) are bound to vote for the party nominee who receives a plurality of the popular vote in the particular state.

GRIMES

But the Constitution did not provide for political parties or conventions. Both institutions evolved from necessity. Congressional caucuses selected the nominees for President and Vice President in the 40 years from 1788-1828. The final choice lay with the electors, who were either named by state legislators or by popular vote of the people. As a rule, the electors were uninstructed and could exercise their own judgment as to who they should support for President and Vice President.

Another difference from today's elective system concerned the method of naming the Vice President. Originally, the Constitution stipulated that each elector would submit a first and second choice for President. The men receiving the majority of votes was declared President and the man receiving the second most votes was Vice President. If the system had still existed in 1960, for example, Richard Nixon would have been the Vice President for John F. Kennedy.

But a constitutional amendment altered the procedure in 1804, and allowed for separate voting on the President and Vice President.

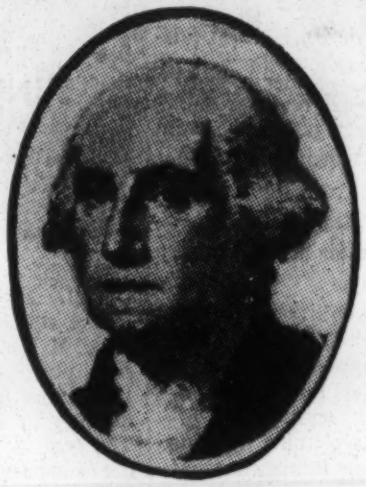
This background is necessary for a proper understanding of the early presidential elections.

The electoral college voted for the first time in February, 1789. There was no doubt about the man who would be elected President. Practically by acclamation it was to be George Washington.

Two of the 13 states did not even participate in the first presidential election. New York failed to select any electors, and Rhode Island had not ratified the Constitution, so was ineligible.

When Congress convened in March, the electoral votes were counted.

Washington received 69 votes, which equaled the number of electors present. The 69 second-place votes for President —which were actually for Vice President — were split between 11 men. John Adams of Massachusetts had 34 votes, and John Jay, who was to become the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was a distant second nine votes.



WASHINGTON
. . . The Unanimous Choice

The remainder of the candidates have been mostly forgotten by the historians, with one exception — John Hancock, the first man to sign the Declaration of Independence. He got four votes in the first electoral college.

During Washington's first term, the foundations were laid for the political party system. The two strong men of his cabinet were Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State.

Hamilton, like Washington, was a strong Federalist, believing in a powerful central government, and limited popular rule. Jefferson wanted to grant the states a maximum of power and allow the mass of voters more voice in the affairs of government.

At that time, voters had little to say directly on the election of federal officers, including senators and representatives.

In 1792, Washington won a second unanimous victory in the electoral college, receiving all 132 first - place votes for President.

Adams, also a Federalist, was re-elected Vice President, with 77 votes. But the so-called Anti-Federalist Party (which was to evolve into the present-day Democratic Party) supported George Clinton of New York for Vice President, and he received 50 votes. Jefferson with four votes, and Aaron Burr with one, rounded out the candidate list.

Thus, in the first two presidential elections, George Washington was a unanimous choice of the electors, with the only competition centering on second place, or the vice-presidential spot.

Jefferson and Hamilton were laying the groundwork for the two-party system, and molding the basic issues that divide Americans until this very day.

By 1796, Jefferson was strong enough among the electors and congressmen to seriously challenge the dominant Federalists. Washington rejected pleas that he offer for a third term, thus leaving Vice President Adams to carry the Federalist banner.

(In next Saturday's Enquirer, the second column of this series will cover the elections of 1796 and 1800.)

Nat. Pol

The Columbus Enquirer, Columbus, Ga., Monday Morning, May 25, 1964 Nat. Pol.

Rockefeller Still Leader in California

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Louis Harris of The Los Angeles Times Syndicate is a veteran of 17 years in the field of national public opinion sampling. "The Harris Survey" is a feature in The Enquirer each Monday. In addition, as the news warrants, Harris provides Enquirer readers with "bonus" surveys such as this.)

* * *

By LOUIS HARRIS

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller continues to lead in the showdown June 2 California presidential primary in a head-to-head contest with Sen. Barry Goldwater.

As reported in a special survey last week, Rockefeller received the votes of 57 per cent of a carefully chosen sample of citizens, and Goldwater 43 per cent.

In a year of Republican primary surprises, however, the California campaign is complicated by the fact that nearly half the state's Republicans prefer a candidate other than the two whose names are listed on the ballot.

Here are the pivotal facts on which this California primary hinges:

— The real first choice for the GOP presidential nomination is spread among four men:

Rockefeller, Lodge, Nixon and Goldwater, with the preferences all bunched closely together. But the voters in the California primary can choose only Rockefeller or Goldwater, for no others are listed on the ballot and no write-ins are allowed.

— In terms of hard-core or real first choice votes, Rockefeller is not much ahead of Goldwater. However, the New York governor is now acceptable as a second choice alternative to three times as many voters as the Arizona senator.

— The outcome in many ways will depend on the residual choice of voters who prefer Lodge or Nixon. The Lodge voters for the most part had already come over to Rockefeller even before the ambassador's backers had thrown their support officially to the governor. Today, more Nixon supporters are for Rockefeller than Goldwater, but over a third of them are still undecided.

— In a straight - out contest over which man has the most appealing personality and character, Goldwater would win over Rockefeller 58 to 42 per cent. He is seen as a forthright and blunt Westerner, with whom many Californians feel at home. Rockefeller, the invader from the East, still suffers from criticism over his divorce and remarriage.

— However, if these voters were to decide between the two men on the basis of their stands on public issues, Rockefeller would win by 59-41 per cent. In fact, for every two California Republicans who are favorable to Goldwater on the issues, there are three who are critical of what they understand to be his stated positions.

— The mark of almost every GOP primary this year has been that the man tabbed as the underdog has done better than expected.

Goldwater is now the underdog in California. In addition, charges about a Lodge-Rockefeller "gang - up" could win the senator votes. The late President Kennedy capitalized on this issue during the 1960 West Virginia primary.

The line - up of first and second choices among California voters before and after the Oregon primary:

First Choice Among GOP

After Oregon; before Oregon and Per Cent;
and Per Cent;
Rockefeller, 26, 10.
Lodge, 24, 32.
Goldwater, 21, 28.
Nixon, 21, 23.
Scranton, 2, 5.
Mrs. Smith, 2, –.
Not sure, 4, 2.

Second Choice Among GOP

After Oregon; before Oregon and Per Cent:
Lodge, 28, 20.
Nixon, 26, 24.
Rockefeller, 21, 23.
Scranton, 8, 8.
Goldwater, 7, 14.
Mrs. Smith, 2, 4.
Not sure, 8, 7.

His Oregon victory has propelled Rockefeller to the top of the heap, much as New Hampshire for a time rallied GOP voters to Lodge. Goldwater has slipped some as either a first or second choice. Significantly, voters trend to be for Goldwater as a first choice or not at all.

A change has taken place as well in the numbers who say they couldn't vote for various candidates even if they were nominated by the Republicans at San Francisco:

Couldn't Vote For

After Oregon; before Oregon and Per Cent:
Goldwater, 35, 20.
Mrs. Smith, 28, 35.
Rockefeller, 15, 19.
Nixon, 10, 10.
Scranton, 5, 10.
Lodge, 4, 4.
None or not sure, 35, 35.
(Percentages add to more than 100 per cent because some voters named more than one candidate.)

The key is what happens to California GOP voters whose real choices are Lodge and Nixon. Here is how they divide today between the two candidates listed on the ballot:

How Nixon, Lodge Supporters Go

Real choice; Nixon; Lodge and Per Cent:
Voting for:
Rockefeller, 43, 61.
Goldwater, 23, 28.
Not sure, 34, 11.

The Lodge vote has swung heavily to Rockefeller. The Nixon vote, on the other hand, is less enthusiastic about choosing between the two men on the ballot, although the swing up to now has favored Rockefeller.

If Goldwater can find a way to reach the Nixon vote, if he can capitalize on his new position as an underdog, he could conceivably pull this election out in the closing days. But today the odds all seem to favor Nelson Rockefeller California.

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Nat Pol.

Selma Times-Jour.
5-28-64
TEM

Wallace Denied Maryland Vote At Convention

BALTIMORE (AP) —A ruling by a three-judge federal panel has dashed the last hopes of Alabama Gov. George Wallace to control any of Maryland's votes at the Democratic National Convention.

The panel ruled Monday that Maryland's presidential primary as well as primaries for state offices, must be decided by popular vote.

The action tossed out the last vestige of a unit vote system which had been in effect since 1910 to determine winners of primaries.

Last fall, the court held that the unit rule was void as it applied to nomination of governor, comptroller, attorney general and U. S. senator. The action did not take in presidential primaries.

A petition to modify that ruling was filed before the May 19 primary in which Wallace opposed Sen. Daniel B. Brewster, D-Md. It was not heard until Monday.

Wallace lost the popular vote by about 50,000. If he had taken one large county in which he ran close, he would have been able to win the primary on a unit vote count against Brewster — if the court had not outlawed the system.

Under the system, a candidate who carried a county by even one vote received all of its votes in convention. Each county and the Baltimore city legislative district was allotted the same number of votes as it had seats in the Maryland Legislature.

Brewster's home county of Baltimore was the key in what could have been a unit vote victory by Wallace. The senator's unofficial margin there on election night was only 106 out of the more than 95,000 votes cast.

A later count of absentee ballots increased the margin to 318, decreasing chances of winning for Wallace on a recount.

Nat. Pol.

Maddox Seeking Wallace on Ballot

Perennial candidate Lester Maddox announced Friday he will begin a drive to get Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace and unpledged electors on the Georgia presidential ballot.

Maddox said the name for the party would be "Georgia Democrats for Unpledged Electors."

Under the new election code, lawyers indicated that name could not be used because the code prohibits any name "confusingly similar" to regular party organizations.

ANY SUPPORT?

Asked if he expected to get the support of any senator or congressman from Georgia, Maddox said, "Senators and governors and others react to pressure."

Maddox said no petitions are circulating now. Some 70,000 signatures would be required.

He also declared there is going to be a move for a third party separate from Republicans and Democrats. "Every issue is going to get down to a black and white question," he said.

Wallace is coming to the Southeastern Fairgrounds here July 4 for a rally, Maddox said. He added the governor will draw "a minimum of 100,000."

CRITICIZES SANDERS

Maddox also criticized Gov. Carl Sanders in caustic fashion for not welcoming Wallace.

Sanders' action "has brought shame to the people of Georgia, he has slapped the faces of all patriotic citizens of Alabama and Georgia, and has conducted himself generally in such a way that is unfitting to the high office he holds," Maddox said.

Sanders' comment, saying that nobody, including Wallace, should interrupt the Legislature while it was writing a new Constitution "are not representative of the feelings of the great majority of Georgians," Maddox said.

Maddox called on Sanders to

Nat. Pol.

Presidential Elections: II

An Election That Ended in a Tie

(Second in a series of articles covering U.S. presidential elections from George Washington to John F. Kennedy.)

The importance of one vote was vividly emphasized in the presidential election of 1800 when the two leading contenders finished in a tie with 73 electoral votes apiece.

Making the situation even stranger was the fact that the two candidates were members of the same political party.

GRIMES

The unique tie vote for President was a significant milestone in American history, and resulted in a change of the method for electing Presidents and Vice Presidents. But tragically, the tie also resulted in the slaying of one of the most brilliant of the Founding Fathers and the villifying of another, who thereafter became a wandering fugitive.

Last week, I explained that in the early presidential elections, the popular vote was not even counted. The electors named by each state cast two votes each in the electoral college and the candidate receiving the most votes was declared President, while the runner-up was declared Vice President.

In 1796, George Washington declined to seek a third term, thus setting a precedent followed until 1940. John Adams, the Vice President during Washington's terms carried the Federalist party banner against the growing strength of Thomas Jefferson's Democratic party. Aaron Burr of New York was another prominent Democrat, who vied with Jefferson for the party leadership.

Jefferson and Burr divided the Democratic electoral vote in 1796, allowing Adams, with 71 votes, to be elected President. Jefferson received 63, and as runner-up became Vice President. Thomas Pinckney, another Federalist, had 39, and Burr, 30.

No less than 13 men received one or more electoral votes in the 1796 election, a record that is likely to stand.

With the omnipotent Washington out of the picture, the political parties became more important as forces in the government.

By 1800, the Democrats were clearly in a dominant position, and a majority of the electors were of Democratic persuasion. But predictably, the Democratic electors were split among themselves. With no party convention to settle their differences, they were forced to try and settle them in the electoral college.

Burr had gained strength during Adams' term and moved up to strongly challenge Jefferson for the party leadership.

In the electoral count, Jefferson and Burr finished in a dead heat with 73 electoral votes each. Adams, seeking reelection, got 65, and C. C. Pinckney, his Federalist running mate, had 64.

Under the Constitution at that time, a tie vote went to the House of Representatives for a decision. The Federalists still controlled the House and therefore held the decisive vote.

Alexander Hamilton, Jefferson's great adversary, was the Federalist leader, and he faced a bitter choice. He hated Jefferson but considered Burr as little better than a renegade.

Reluctantly, Hamilton threw his support to his worst political enemy, and the House named Jefferson as President and Burr as Vice President.

The confused election of 1800 demonstrated to Congress the flaws in the manner set up for the election of President and Vice President, and soon after Jefferson took office, the 12th amendment to the Constitution was adopted.

It specifies that electors shall cast one vote for President — instead of two as was previously the case — and a separate vote for Vice President, with candidates specifying which of the two offices they are seeking.

This amendment set the stage for the parties to settle on one man for each office and to begin offering "tickets."

The 1800 election thus had a happy outcome for democratic procedure, but a sad one for two of the principal players.

Hamilton's role in the election aggravated the feud between him and Burr. For nearly four years, they exchanged insults, until on July 11, 1804, they engaged in a duel with pistols at Weehawken, N. J.

Hamilton fired his pistol into the air but Burr took careful aim and his shot struck true. Hamilton died of the wound.

Burr was universally condemned for the shooting of Hamilton and he was forced to flee the country. He lived to the ripe age of 80, but after the duel with Hamilton, he was a man without a country, and is still considered one of the arch-villains of U. S. history.

And yet he came within one vote of being the third President. — **MILLARD GRIMES.**

(In next Saturday morning's Enquirer, the third article in this series will cover the 1804 and 1808 elections.)

Cal. Enq. 5-30-64

National Pol.

Maryland Shocker

The Washington Star

It is both astonishing and dismaying that an Alabama Governor with Mr. Wallace's background on the racial question could come into Maryland and make such a strong run. But this should not be allowed to obscure the meaning of his show of strength.

Actually, Mr. Wallace carried 16 of the 23 counties in Maryland. The tide was turned against him by the vote in Montgomery, which is especially gratifying to us, and in Baltimore city.

What all of this foreshadows is anyone's guess. But if the country is in for the "long, hot summer" which some Negro leaders anticipate, meaning renewed and more violent street demonstrations, there is precious little reason to look for improved race relations any time soon.

Columbus Eng.
6-1-64

Nat. Pol

RIGHTS BACKERS SEEK 5TH CIRCUIT CT. LIBERAL

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — A vacant seat of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals is a prime target in the civil rights struggle.

Anti - discrimination leaders feel their legal efforts would be bolstered considerably with the appointment of a racial liberal or moderate to fill the vacancy.

The 5th Circuit embraces a crucial civil rights area — Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia — and the nine - member appeals court is called upon to settle many racial disputes.

The court's vacancy resulted from the death of Judge Ben Cameron of Meridian, Miss., a conservative whose decisions often went against the civil rights forces.

A campaign to have a Negro attorney in Jackson, Miss., named to succeed Cameron was begun by a handful of integration strategists here but it apparently died a quick death after failing to pick up any heavyweight backing.

"We make no positive recommendations on judgeships," explained the NAACP's Clarence Mitchell. "However, we will do all we can to prevent the appointment from going to a racist or someone who will defy the Supreme Court."

Mitchell says the appointment "will have a big impact on the implementation of future civil rights legislation."

If President Johnson follows tradition, he will pick another Mississippian for the job. But finding a highly qualified attorney in the state who is not considered a "racist" by civil rights advocates will be no easy chore.

Former Gov. J. P. Coleman, a crack constitutional lawyer who is considered moderate by Mississippi standards, answered speculation that he would be the nominee with a statement that he is not interested in the job.

The Justice Department and the offices of Sens. James O. Eastland, D-Miss., and John C. Stennis, D-Miss., report that a nomination is not yet in sight.

A nominee is generally recommended to the President by the attorney general after conferences with senators from the state involved.

A critical consideration for Mr. Johnson is that the nomination will need Senate confirmation and this can come only after its approval by the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Eastland.

His influence in such matters was illustrated when scores of new district judgeships were created during the Kennedy administration. The first one filled was in Mississippi and the nominee was Harold Cox, a one time college roommate of Eastland whose rulings have been unpopular in the civil rights camp.

The nomination of a successor to Cameron is a potential roadblock in the Democrats' election - year effort to keep everybody happy. It could be delayed until after the election.

Nat. Pol.

Editor's Reverie

Col. Eng. 6-5-64

Voter Restored to Importance

The California primary made a vital contribution to politics by restoring the individual voter to a place of importance in the elective process.

The voter was fast becoming the forgotten man of politics.

Who needed him?

The pollsters tell you who's going to win, and television's calculating computers make the winner official as soon as one per cent of the real, live votes are counted.

But throughout this frustrating year, the voters have been disagreeing with the pollsters, and in California, they even commited the heresy of almost upsetting the computers.

GRIMES

At exactly 9:20 p.m. Tuesday night, Walter Cronkite of CBS-TV, in a choked voice, relayed the decision hastily evoked by Lou Harris and the "vote profile analysis."

"CBS declares Goldwater the winner," Cronkite said gloomily, while other resident geniuses looked plainly skeptical.

"I don't ever question the machines," explained Eric Sevareid, sounding as if he were questioning them very seriously.

Harris, a pollster who would like to forget this whole spring, was clearly in pain, but he stuck to his conclusion: Goldwater would win. He seemed as positive about it as his polls had been that Rockefeller would win. Which is to say, not very positive.

As the night wore on, the actual vote seemed to be contradicting the computer forecast. Harris looked worried. Cronkite looked hopeful.

Incredibly, it appeared that all the votes would have to be counted before the winner was known. Sen. Goldwater himself had mentioned that he was "old-fashioned' and wanted to see the votes counted before he claimed victory, but the new-fangled machines convinced him he was the winner.

Then, about 1 a.m., Columbus time, Rockefeller suddenly surged into the lead in actual votes counted. By then, it was too late for anyone to get overly excited. The networks had all declared Goldwater the winner. But nonetheless, Rockefeller's lead persisted through the night and into the morning.

But the final count provided a narrow margin for Goldwater — and for the "voter profile" analysis. Its prediction came true — but of more significance was the fact that most folks decided to wait until all the votes were counted before believing the "analysis" prediction — and that's what it was, just a prediction.

As for the polls, they're suffering their worst year since 1948 when Harry Truman upset Tom Dewey. The polls gave Goldwater a slight edge in New Hampshire, and figured Henry Cabot Lodge would barely show. Lodge, of course, trounced Goldwater and Rockefeller in that one.

In Oregon, the polls put Lodge in commanding position. Rockefeller won it.

In California, Rockefeller was the favorite. Goldwater won it.

We still need the voter. He's surprising and can think for himself.

Pollsters and machines only know what a few voters tell them. The ballot box remains the supreme machine in an election.—MILLARD GRIMES.

Nat Pol.

Charlotte Observer
6-10-64

Gavin Says Barry Will Win On First

GREENSBORO — (UPI) — Robert Gavin, who hopes to become the first Republican governor of North Carolina since the turn of the century, expressed confidence Tuesday that Sen. Barry Goldwater would win the GOP presidential nomination on the first ballot.

Gavin, also an at-large delegate to the national Republican convention, told a news conference he would ask the Arizona conservative to visit North Carolina and assist in his campaign even if opponents were successful in their attempts to block the nomination.

"But I definitely think Goldwater will get the nomination on the first ballot," he said. "I'm going to stick with him all the way or at least until he endorses someone else.

"I expect to see (Goldwater) within the next 10 days and ask for his assistance," said Gavin, who polled a surprising 46 per cent of the votes cast in the 1960 general election for governor. "I think he will definitely come."

Regardless, said the Sanford, N.C., lawyer, "I think the situation in North Carolina is that whoever is nominated will have to come to North Carolina. I think the Democratic Party also realizes this.

"North Carolina is regarded by the national Republican committee as a key state — one which could go either way."

The Republican candidate was in Greensboro to officially open the party's Guilford County headquarters.

Additionally, Gavin said, the Republican Party in 1964 has its best opportunity since the turn of the century to elect a governor. He also predicted that Tar Heel voters would elect four Republican congressmen in the November general election.

He predicted the re - election of Reps. Charles R. Jonas and James E. Broyhill and predicted victory for W. A. (Nab) Armfield in the 5th Congressional District and for James C. Gardner in the 4th. Armfield faces incumbent Ralph Scott, and Gardner will meet veteran Harold Cooley.

Gavin again refused to speculate on the June 27th runoff election between Democrats Dan K. Moore and L. Richardson Preyer for their party's nomination for governor. He also said he would welcome any support given him by defeated Republican first primary candidates Charles Strong and Donald Badgley.

Gavin said he could see "advantages" in running against either Moore or Preyer, but declined further comment.

It was Strong who accussed Gavin and the state Republican headquarters of political coercion following the May 30 primary.

ROBERT GAVIN
. . . Bets On Barry

Nat. Pol.

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"The cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy and while guided and controlled by virtue, the noblest attribute of man; it is the only dictator that free men acknowledge, and the only security which free men desire."—Mirabeau B. Lamar, founder of The Enquirer, in a message to the Congress of Texas on Dec. 21, 1838, a few days after his inauguration as the second President of the Republic of Texas.

Elections and the Computer

How much influence would a statement that a certain candidate had won, based on a projection of early election results by computers, have on voters who still had not completed casting their ballots because of time differences?

That is the question raised by Rep. Oliver P. Bolton, Ohio Republican, who has appealed to the nation's radio and television networks to hold off announcing a winner in the November presidential election until polls have closed all over the country.

The Ohioan's appeal was based on a happening in the California primary when at least one television network flatly said the computer analysis of the vote from selected precincts showed Sen. Barry Goldwater the winner. The prediction was made about 22 minutes after the first polls closed, and while many northern Californians still were casting ballots.

Rep. Bolton stated it is "conceivable that we might witness victory and concession statements from rival camps two to three hours before the polls close in many parts of the country."

He added:

"Think of the implications of such positive and definite declarations broadcast in a national election where, because of the difference in time zones, polls close many hours later in the West than in the East."

The representative said that if the networks do not voluntarily decide to withhold the results of computer projections he will ask the Federal Communications Commission to step in to prevent the broadcasts.

What the attitude of the networks will be can be gained from a statement by President Leroy Collins of the National Association of Broadcasters. Collins said the broadcasters would "resist any such action." He added that such a restraint "would be completely incompatible with our philosophy of responsible reporting."

Collins' statement that withholding results of the computer projection would be incompatible with the philosophy of responsible reporting is true. News media attempt to get the news to the public as quickly as possible. However, networks may consider the matter and decide voluntary action to be warranted.

Additionally if the Federal Communications Commission stepped in to force the networks to withhold the announcement it would be dangerous interference with the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. Regulation of the handling of news, whether it is aimed at newspapers or electronic media, is entirely against the democratic principles of America.

Nat. Pol.

Handwriting On The Wall

Why so much fuss over the Democratic primary votes cast for Alabama's Governor George Wallace in Wisconsin, Indiana Maryland?

The stark significance of the Wallace performance is curling the hair of Democratic political analysists who now realize that it may well foreshadow the defeat of their party in November!

The Wallace vote—34 per cent in Wisconsin, 30 per cent in Indiana, 43 per cent in Maryland—representss the violent reaction of America's ethnic groups, particularly Polish, Italian, Czech and Slovak, again the "Civil Rights" bill as a threat to their jobs and to the character of their typically close - knit, even clannish, neighborhoods. These people are not anti-Negro. Job desegregation, per se, means little to them. But they realize this legislation will create no new jobs—merely require some portion of them to step aside so that Negroes can move into their jobs. And this they definitely do not care for!

The evidence is clear for all to read. In Wisconsin's Fourth and Fifth Districts, which comprise the industrial city of Milwaukee with 300,000 ethnic group citizens, Democrats polled 68 per cent of the votes in 1962. But, in the recent primary, Governor Reynolds (as President Johnson's stand-in) was whittled down to 57 per cent.

In Indiana in 1960, it was the whopping Democratic majority rolled up in the predominantly Polish First District (including the Gary steel mills) that cinched the narrow state-wide victory for Governor Welsh. In the 1964 primary, standing against the man from Alabama and the civil rights issue, Governor Welch failed to carry a single white precinct in the very district that had made him governor.

And in Maryland also, ethnic group areas turned their backs on the Administration, leaving the task of face-saving to Baltimore's Negroes and Government payrollers living in the Capital suburb of Montgomery County.

These ethnic groups—these foreign-born citizens and their children who constitute 19 per cent of our total population, and with significant numbers in 26 states — have been solidly Democratic since 1932. Without their votes, the Democrats would have lost in 1960. Without them in 1964, the Democrats are courting defeat.

The Wallace vote can only be construed as a civil rights protest. As such, it is the handwriting on the Democratic wall. "Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin." It translates: "Numbered, numbered, weighed and divided." And the Democratic Senators, who can erase this threat at will, ignore it at their party's peril.

Baltimore Sun, June 9, 1964

Nat. Pol.

Decision Given In Dallas Co. Appeals Case

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court ruled today that the federal Constitution requires "that the seats in both houses of a bicameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis."

Chief Justice Earl Warren, announcing the ruling, said that:

"We mean that the equal protection clause (of the Constitution) requires that a state make an honest and good-faith effort to construct districts in both houses of its legislature, as nearly of equal population as is practicable."

The chief justice added that the high court realizes "that it is a practical impossibility to arrange legislative districts so that each one has an identical number of residents, or citizens, or voters. Mathematical exactness or precision is hardly a workable constitutional requirement."

Warren added that, "Simply stated, an individual's right to vote for state legislators is unconstitutionally impaired when its (the vote's) weight is in a substantial fashion diluted when compared with votes of citizens living in other parts of the state."

Warren's statements were made in deciding three cases from Alabama.

Three separate appeals were filed in the Supreme Court after a temporary plan for reapportionment of the Alabama Legislature was announced by a special three-judge federal court in Montgomery.

The special court rejected reapportionment legislation enacted by the Alabama Legislature. The temporary plan would give Jefferson County, the state's largest county, 17 House members instead of seven. Mobile would get eight members, an increase of five, and Montgomery would keep the four it had.

B. A. Reynolds and Frank Pearce, Probate Count judges of Dallas and Marion counties, respectively, filed the first Supreme Court appeal.

They questioned if the apportionment by judicial decree was equitable, if both House and Senate must be apportioned strictly according to population, and if the old apportionment was invidiously discriminatory in violation of the federal Constitution's guarantee of equal protection of law.

A second appeal was filed by David J. Vann and Robert S. Vance, chairman and vicechairman of the Jefferson County Democratic Campaign Committee. They contended that the new Senate apportionment "perpetuates invidious discrimination."

Vann and Vance said the Senate should be apportioned "so that Senate districts are as nearly equal to each other in the number of inhabitants as may be."

The third appeal by four Alabama voters contended the U.S. Constitution require "that each person of a state have equal representation, based on a reasonable or rational population basis, in both houses of a legislature."

This appeal said the contention made was not affected by whether an under - represented area is rural or urban. It also said representation need not be mathematically equal.

Voters filing this appeal were John W. McConnell Jr., Joseph N. Langan, William M. Williams Jr., and Garet Van Antwerp.

During argument of the appeals, U.S. Solicitor General Archilbald Cox and Richmond M. Flowers, Alabama attorney general, urged that the special court's order be affirmed.

Flowers called it "reasonable, rational and fair as to the guide lines (it) stated," He commented that it was "politically impossible" to bring about reapportionment without judical action.

But W. McLean Pitts, Selma, Ala., attorney for Reynolds and Pearce, asked the Supreme court to reconsider its 1962 decision that federal courts may pass on the fairness of state legislative districts. Pitts said if the 1962 decision stands, "then the State of Alabama and its sister states are not sovereign states."

Cox in supporting the lower court's order agreed that population must be a starting point for reapportionment. But he said that if a state divides the seats in one house by population, some divergence from per capita representation might be permissible in the other house. The solicitor general commented that the Supreme Court need not say at this time how much divergence would be too much.

In the Alabama cases, Warren said the special three-judge federal court in Montgomrey acted properly in ordering a reapportionment of both houses of the state legislature for purposes of the 1962 primary and general election. The chief justice then added:

"Since the special court evinced its realization that its ordered reapportionment could not be sustained as the basis for conducting the 1966 election of Alabama legislators, and avowedly intends to take some further action should the reapportioned Alabama legislature fail to enact a constitutionally valid, permanent apportionment scheme in the interim, we affirm the judgment below and remand the cases for further proceedings consistent with the views stated in this opinion."

Alabama's constitution, adopted in 1901, says apportionment in the Legislature "shall be based upon population." But until the threat of federal court intervention appeared, the representation remained unchanged for more than a half century.

After the three-judge panel handed down a do-it-now-or-we-will ultimatum, the Legislature met in special session in the summer of 1962 and enacted two alternate plans.

One provided for a fulltime senator for each county, with the House reapportioned by population. That would have required a constitutional amendment and, consequently, a vote of the people.

As a standby measure in case the constitutional amendment failed, another bill was passed leaving the Senate divided into 35 districts composing from one to three counties and making a less drastic change in the House.

The three-judge court took parts of both acts and put them together in a temporary reapportionment plan, but made it clear that the Legislature itself would have to do more.

A special Democratic primary was necessary to nominate new candidates in counties which gained or lost representation. The Legislature thus elected is now in office and functioned throughout the regular 1963 session as well as two special sessions earlier that year.

If the present 35 - member Senate is reapportioned by population, Jefferson County will have seven senators instead of the present one; Mobile will get three, and Montgomery County two. The remaining 23 districts will be divided among the 64 other counties.

LATE BULLETIN

UNCONSTITUTIONAL

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court declared today the legislative apportioment system of New York State is unconstitutional.

Maryland Houses To Properly Apportioned

WASHINGTON (AP) — In a legislative apportionment case from Maryland, Chief Justice Earl Warren declared today that neither house of the state's legislature, "even after the 1962 legislation reapportioning the House of Delegates, is apportioned sufficiently on a population basis to be constitutionally substainable."

"Consideration of history and tradition, Warren said, "do not, and could not, provide a sufficient justification for the substantial deviations from population-based representation in both houses of the Maryland legislature."

Nat. Pol.

The Columbus Enquirer

Founded May 29, 1828

MAYNARD R. ASHWORTH, President and Publisher

JAMES E. HICKEY JR., General Manager — EDGE R. REID, Executive Editor

MILLARD B. GRIMES, Editor — BEN WALBURN, Managing Editor

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"The cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy and while guided and controlled by virtue, the noblest attribute of man; it is the only dictator that free men acknowledge, and the only security which free men desire."—Mirabeau B. Lamar, founder of The Enquirer, in a message to the Congress of Texas on Dec. 21, 1838, a few days after his inauguration as the second President of the Republic of Texas.

Erle Cocke for Congress

I

The opportunity to elect a new congressman does not come often. Even though congressmen must stand for office every two years, they are seldom challenged seriously after once being elected.

In Georgia's Third District, the last real contest for Congress was 14 years ago, when Rep. E. L. Forrester was first elected.

In choosing a replacement for the retiring Mr. Forrester, the voters should realize that they are probably naming a man who will be their representative in Congress for much longer than two years. For instance, in the old Sixth District, Rep. Carl Vinson is stepping down after serving for 50 years.

So, the choice should not be hasty, or based on quick conclusions or familiarity with a person's name. A congressional representative's function is to look after the interests of the people of his district, and to help govern the affairs of the nation.

Those two points should be kept uppermost in mind: Who can best represent the interests of the district, and who is best prepared to play a role in the governing of the entire nation?

II

Six candidates have qualified to seek the Democratic nomination for Congress.

Of the six Democrats, two are newcomers to the political scene: Charlie Adams of Fort Valley, and Robert Newby of Vienna. On the theory that Congress is not the place to start in public service, we feel these two gentlemen should gain experience in lesser offices before consideration for the office they seek.

Ed Wohlwender Jr. of Sumter County and Columbus has been out of the public eye for 15 years, and he would probably have had a better chance of election in 1950 than today.

Steve Pace Jr. of Americus now serves as solicitor of his judicial circuit, but seems motivated mainly by the fact that his father was congressman.

This brings us to the two can-

rector of the World Bank, a post to which he was appointed by President Kennedy in June, 1961.

A Republican president, Eisenhower, also called on his services, naming him as an alternate delegate to the United Nations in 1959.

Cocke has been a delegate to the last four Democratic national conventions, and worked in behalf of Lyndon Johnson's candidacy in 1960. He continues to enjoy a close relationship with the President.

Cocke is a businessman, farmer and banker. He was vice president of Delta Air Lines for 10 years, and earlier was connected with Central of Georgia Railroad and Cinderella Foods of Dawson.

III

Thus, the record shows that Byrd's experience has been largely on the state level, Cocke's on the state and national level. Our conclusion is that the people of the district will be best served if they send to Congress a man who already has a background of Washington activity, and will be able immediately to assume a role of some importance in the House.

Erle Cocke has such experience, plus a thorough working knowledge of congressional procedure.

His military background, his service as a civilian aide to the Secretary of Army, and as a consultant to the Secretary of Defense, make him an outstanding candidate for the vacancy which will be left on the House Armed Services Committee when Rep. Vinson retires.

His long and close friendship with President Johnson will give him entry to the White House, as well as the influence which a President brings to bear on committee appointments.

The Third District of Georgia has as great a stake in military installations as any district in the nation, with Fort Benning on its western flank, and Warner Robins Air Force Base on the eastern flank. These bases constitute the largest economic forces in their respective areas.

A congressman on the House

Nat. Pol.

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Steve Pace Jr. of Americus now serves as solicitor of his judicial circuit, but seems motivated mainly by the fact that his father was congressman.

This brings us to the two candidates who have the broadest and longest records of public and political service: Garland Byrd Jr. of Reynolds, and Erle Cocke Jr., who recently moved to Columbus from Dawson.

Both of these gentlemen are worthy candidates for the office of congressman. By training and achievement, they have earned the right to ask the voters for support. But we believe that one of them is quite clearly better prepared and possesses the superior background for representing the interests of this district, and of helping to govern the nation.

As Al Smith used to say, "Let's look at the record."

State Sen. Byrd is a former lieutenant governor and state representative. He is a lawyer, businessman and farmer. He was a leading candidate for governor before suffering a heart attack in May, 1962, and until a few months ago, it was assumed that he would be a candidate for governor in 1966. He said as much on several occasions before he decided to seek the congressional seat.

Erle Cocke Jr. has pursued an equally eminent and busy public career, but his activity in recent years has been more on the national level than the state level.

The youngest man ever elected national American Legion commander (29 in 1950), Cocke recently resigned as U. S. director of Railroad and Cinderella Foods of Dawson.

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A congressman on the House Armed Services Committee would be further assurance that the interests of these two vital bases will be protected.

Cocke's experience in the United Nations and with the World Bank have provided him a background that few freshman congressmen — or even veteran congressmen — can claim.

IV

These points about Erle Cocke deserve the careful consideration of all voters before they make a definite commitment in their minds or hearts.

Selection of a congressman should not be based on trivialities or even on friendship. It must be based on the interests of the district and of the nation.

It must be based on which candidate is best equipped and prepared to assume the vital role a congressman plays.

Erle Cocke would make a fine congressman for any district of Georgia. We are fortunate that he is a candidate in the Third District, which needs a strong and influential voice in the halls of the federal government.

We commend Erle Cocke to your consideration, recognizing the service Garland Byrd has performed on the state level, but believing that Cocke has the particular attributes and experience that will best serve this district in the U. S. Congress.

Unpledged Electors To Meet Soon

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. (AP) — A Huntsville attorney says that Alabama's unpledged electors will huddle to plan strategy sometime before Gov. George Wallace goes to Atlanta for an appearance July 4.

Jack Giles, a member of the unpledged slate, said Monday the group will accompany the governor on his trip. Wallace is expected to attempt promotion of the unpledged elector movement while in Georgia.

Giles said that there have been several requests from other states, including some, outside the South, for Wallace to address rallies explaining the unpledged movement.

Selma Times-Journ.
6-16-64

Nat. Pol.

GOP's Dixie Drive

Wall St. Journal

Aggressive Republicans Put South Well on Way To Two-Party System

JM

Mississippi Campaign Shows Rising Strength; New Gain Likely If Goldwater Runs

Will Race Issue Slow Drift?

By ALAN L. OTTEN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JACKSON, Miss.—"Vote November 5 to stamp out Republicanism," declares a campaign leaflet distributed by the forces of Democratic gubernatorial candidate Paul Johnson. "A two-party system in Mississippi would end our way of life."

The leaflet adds that actively competing Democratic and Republican parties, replacing traditional Democratic domination, "would divide the conservative white men and women of Mississippi into two political camps and thereby place the balance of power in the hands of the Negro minority. Once this was accomplished, we would be in the same turmoil that exists in Illinois, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, California and other Northern and Eastern states."

It's expected that Democrat Johnson, who as lieutenant governor physically blocked one of Negro James Meredith's attempts to enter the University of Mississippi last fall, will beat 38-year-old Jackson attorney Rubel Phillips, first serious Republican gubernatorial candidate since Reconstruction days and a man who claims equal devotion to "Mississippi racial traditions." But Mr. Phillips and his enthusiastic young GOP cohorts are forcing the Democrats into unusual fall campaign activity. It's a sure sign that GOP strength is rising here in the Magnolia State as it is in the other 10 states of the Old Confederacy, even in this year of few major political wars.

Vigorous Politicking

Next Tuesday Mississippi Democrats will sponsor "conservative rallies" at every county courthouse, with Mr. Johnson addressing the meetings by TV from Jackson. Some 5,000 people are being asked to buy tickets the following week for a $25-a-plate Democratic fund-raising dinner, an unusual event in Dixie where Democrats customarily raise campaign funds privately. Gov. Ross Barnett and other Democratic office-holders are campaigning hard for Mr. Johnson.

Besides handsome, articulate Mr. Phillips, a one-time Democratic county clerk and state public service commission chairman, Republicans have an impressive candidate for lieutenant governor and a record seven aspirants for the state senate and 14 for the state house. Most onlookers here expect Mississippi's only GOP state legislator, L. L. McAllister, chosen in a special election last February, will be joined in January by several GOP colleagues.

Even if the Republicans lose next month as decisively as the Democrats hope, the Mississippi GOP could still keep on growing, particularly if patron saint Barry Goldwater should be the GOP Presidential nominee next year.

Politics National

The Arizona Senator is, in fact, an oft-used weapon in Mr. Phillips' campaign armory. Over and over, Mr. Phillips declares his election would be a major contribution to Mr. Goldwater's nomination, since it would convince convention delegates that the Senator could sweep the South. (The Mississippi race is one of only two U.S. gubernatorial elections this year; the other is in Kentucky.) Mr. Goldwater's picture adorns every wall at GOP headquarters here and draft-Goldwater petitions are on every desk; Republicans' cars bear bumper stickers proclaiming, "Rubel 63, Barry 64."

Who's Most Anti-Kennedy?

Republican Phillips vows he is just as segregation-minded as Democrat Johnson, and more anti-Kennedy. Though Mr. Johnson won two bitter Democratic primary fights this summer by proclaiming he was the most anti-Kennedy fellow around, Mr. Phillips insists the President would prefer a Democratic governor and "no matter what the politicians claim, the Mississippi Democratic party is an arm of the national Democratic party, which is completely controlled by the ruthless Kennedy machine."

"Rubel, Rubel, we've been thinking," commences a Phillips campaign song to the old "Reuben, Reuben" tune. "What a fine land this would be, if all the Kennedys were transported, far beyond the Arctic Sea." Mr. Phillips' billboards and campaign buttons contain only one line besides the candidate's name: "K.O. the Kennedys." He charges integration came to Ole Miss through a deal between Gov. Barnett, Mr. Johnson and Attorney General Robert Kennedy, in which the Mississippi officials agreed to admit Mr. Meredith if allowed to put up token resistance so they'd look good to the home folks.

Just as Mississippi Republican activity is reaching flood levels, so is GOP activity all across the South. Dixie is well on the way to a working two-party system.

In Virginia, a record 50 Republicans seek state senate and house posts this fall. The GOP captured 12 out of 40 state legislative seats up in special elections in Florida in March, tripling its delegation. In Alabama, Texas and North Carolina, the party has scored significant local victories this year.

High Hopes for '64

The GOP has high hopes for 1964, when it expects to run a record number of candidates in the South, especially if Mr. Goldwater is the Presidential nominee. Then, claims a party official in Washington, "we'll pick up at least a dozen more House seats, maybe a Senator or governor or two or three." Republicans have one Dixie Senator (Tower of Texas) and 11 Representatives; in the 1962 elections, their House contingent grew by four.

Three Southern states—Florida, Virginia and Tennessee—have gone Republican in the last three Presidential elections; Texas has voted twice and Louisiana once. Republican candidate Nixon polled [illegible] votes in the 11 Dixie states in 1960, only [illegible] less than Mr. Kennedy, and [illegible] more than President

Continued From First Page

Eisenhower had received in 1956. His percentage of the vote exceeded Ike's in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi.

The causes of the GOP march through Dixie are clear. Chief is Southern conservative resentment against liberal New Deal, Fair Deal and New Frontier policies. GOP growth really began after World War II, when Southern anger at President Truman's liberal race stand reinforced concern over Roosevelt-Truman economic programs. The 1948 Dixiecrat movement began breaking Southerners away from their traditional Democratic loyalty, and Mr. Eisenhower's personal appeal continued the trend.

A growing middle-class and white-collar group, as the South becomes more urban and industrial, helps provide GOP workers and supporters. (Unlike the North, the chief GOP strength in the South lies in the cities: Jackson, Charlotte, Atlanta, Birmingham, St. Petersburg, Richmond, Dallas and so on.) In some cases, businessmen moving in from the North give leadership. The increasing respectability of being Republican makes it progressively easier for Democrats to switch over.

All across Dixie, the party is sparkplugged by young city business and professional men. Wirt Yerger, Jr., who's been the driving force in Mississippi since he took over as state chairman in 1956, is a 33-year-old Jackson insurance agent. The GOP candidate for lieutenant governor, Stanford Morse, a former Democratic state senator, is a 37-year-old Gulfport attorney. Republican state legislator McAllister, 30, is an accountant in Meridian.

Automatic Fund Raising

Throughout the South, Republican state organizations outclass Democratic ones. Mississippi Republicans have pioneered an automatic fund-raising plan, whereby a supporter gives the party the right to draw a certain sum automatically from his bank account each month. The organization's regular annual budget is about $75,000, and it may spend $300,000 or more on the current campaign.

Here in Jackson, the GOP has a suite of eight offices, a full-time staff of eight including a director of organization, a public relations man and two field workers. It publishes a hard-hitting four-page monthly paper with a circulation of about 10,000. A speakers' bureau keeps some 30 people busy around the state, each averaging four or five speeches a week on the need for a two-party system.

In the current campaign, Republicans plan to distribute some 8,000 precinct workers' kits, each with campaign buttons and leaflets and detailed instructions for door-to-door proselytizing. There'll be two GOP booths at next week's Mississippi state fair (compared to one for the Democrats, who took theirs only after hearing of the GOP plans.) Mr. Phillips has been campaigning almost full-time ever since February, sometimes making two or three speeches a day to party rallies, student assemblies and civic groups. He'll use TV heavily.

GOP Label Played Down

But the Dixie GOP has troubles, too, and nowhere are they more obvious than here. There is still a tremendous traditional pull to the Democratic party throughout the South, particularly in state and local elections. GOP candidates play down the party label; the word is omitted or buried in Mr. Phillips' campaign material.

Democratic leaders play on rural dislike for Republican "city slickers." Mississippi Republicans, sneers a Democratic campaign leaflet, "are a silk-stocking type that hold Coca-Cola and coffee drinking parties in the big houses on the hill." To lure rural voters, Republicans have hired Roy Acuff's Grand Ole Opry troupe to provide free entertainment at 96 rallies.

Above all, Democrats rely on the race issue to slow the white conservatives' drift to the Republican banner. "Stand tall with Paul" is almost the entire theme of the Democratic campaign, referring to Mr. Johnson's campus appearance at Oxford in 1962. Democrats charge the Mississippi Republican party is tied to the national Republican party and that the national GOP is just as wrong on race as the national Democratic party.

Arizona, South Dakota

Arkansas Gazette 10-10-63

Two States Needed On Poll Tax Ban

By Congressional Quarterly

Washington.

Ratification of the proposed anti-poll tax amendment to the Constitution in time for the 1964 elections could come with favorable votes by the Arizona and South Dakota state legislatures next year.

To date, 36 states have approved the measure banning the poll tax in federal elections, and only two more states are needed to ratify. Of the remaining states which have not taken final action, none have regular legislative sessions scheduled for the remainder of 1963.

However, six of these state legislatures will meet in 1964. Of the six, four—Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia—are not expected to approve.

Ratification, therefore, depends largely on the legislatures of the other two states, Arizona and South Dakota.

The Arizona legislature will convene Jan. 13 for 60 days, and the South Dakota legislature will meet for 30 days under a 1963 amendment to the state constitution calling for annual legislative sessions. The South Dakota legislature has met previously for regular sessions only in odd-numbered years.

Though there is no guarantee that either Arizona or South Dakota will take action on the anti-poll tax provision, neither is considered definitely opposed. In 1963, the Arizona House approved ratification, but the amendment did not come to a vote on the floor of the Senate. South Dakota took no floor action on the proposal during its 1963 legislative session.

President's Telegram

President Kennedy had hoped that 38 states—the number equivalent to three-fourths of the states needed to ratify Constitutional amendments—would approve the measure by 1963. In a personal telegram March 22 to 23 state governors, the president noted that: "Because very few state legislatures will meet in 1964, action by individual states now is essential if the proposed amendment is to be effective during the 1964 elections."

The amendment would become effective immediately following ratification by the 38th state. It would have practical effect, however, only in the five Southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Virginia and Texas) that now levy a poll tax as a requirement for voting.

Anticipating possible 1964 ratification by the states, Virginia Governor Albertis S. Harrison Jr. (D) has indicated that a late 1963 special session of the Virginia legislature may be called to consider a substitute method of "keeping an up-to-date list of registered voters." The governor has said he favors keeping the poll tax on state and local elections.

The Texas legislature has taken no action on the proposal, but Texas residents, in a Nov. 9 referendum will vote on a proposal that would replace the poll tax there with an annual voter registration system.

The proposal would, if ratified, become the 24th amendment to the Constitution. It was successfully introduced in the 87th Congress by Senator Spessard L. Holland (D Fla.), a Southerner who has long favored abolition of poll taxes and has introduced similar legislation in every session of Congress since 1949.

Committee Bypassed

Previous attempts got no farther than the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D Miss.). In 1962, however, the amendment was brought to the floor of the Senate by adding the anti-poll tax provisions to a resolution making Alexander Hamilton's home a national monument. This parliamentary move effectively bypassed the Judiciary Committee.

The Senate, after a mild Southern filibuster March 27, 1962 passed the provision by a 77-16 roll-call vote. Approval followed in the House Aug. 27, 1962, when the amendment passed by a 295-86 roll call.

The proposal, as approved by the Congress, provides that: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any other state by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax."

Illinois Nov. 4, 1962 became the first state to ratify. Though there has been no organized campaign for ratification, a favorable vote June 26, 1963 by the Kentucky state legislature brought the number of states approving the measure to 36.

A list of states which have already ratified the proposed amendment follows:

Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Nevada, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

(Copyright 1963, Congressional Quarterly Inc.)

Poll Tax

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RB
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Board

Fact Sheet — On Poll Tax Amendment

TWO STATES HOLD KEY TO POLL TAX FOR '64 ELECTIONS

Whether the proposed anti-poll tax amendment to the Constitution will be ratified in time to be effective in the 1964 elections now appears in doubt.

Thirty-six states have approved the measure, and only two more are needed to ratify. However, of the 13 remaining states which have not taken final action (Mississippi has voted against ratification), none have regular legislative sessions scheduled for the remainder of 1963.

Six of these 13 state legislatures will meet in 1964, but four of them (Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia) are not expected to approve. (Weekly Report 5-664). The other two states are Arizona and South Dakota. Though neither state is considered definitely opposed to the amendment, there is no guarantee either will take action in 1964.

In 1963, the Arizona House approved ratification but the proposal did not come to a vote on the floor of the Senate. South Dakota took no floor action on the amendment proposal during its 1963 legislative session.

There is also some possibility the Wyoming legislature will hold a special session next year, mainly to consider tax problems. This might give Wyoming a chance to ratify.

Background

President Kennedy March 22, in a personal telegram to 50 state governors, urged ratification in 1963. Because very few state legislatures will meet in 1964, the telegram said, "action by individual states now is essential if the proposed amendment is to be effective during the 1964 elections." Even if unhesitatingly approved in 1963, the amendment would affect only federal elections.

Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Virginia and Texas are the only states still levying the poll tax. Anticipating possible 1964 ratification by the states, Virginia Gov. Albertis S. Harrison Jr. (D) has indicated that a late 1963 special session of the Virginia legislature may be called to formulate a substitute method of "keeping an up-to-date list of registered voters." The Governor has said he favors keeping the poll tax on state and local elections.

Texas has taken no action on the proposed Constitutional amendment. However, Texas will vote in a referendum Nov. 9 on a proposal that would replace the poll tax with an annual voter registration system.

The proposed amendment was introduced in the 87th Congress by Sen. Spessard L. Holland (D-Fla.), who has long favored the abolition of poll taxes. The Senate, after a mild Southern filibuster, March 27, 1962, passed the proposition by a 77-16 roll-call vote. The House approved the amendment by a 295-86 roll-call vote (1962 CQ Almanac, p. 494).

The proposal provides that: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any other State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax." It would become effective immediately following ratification by the 38th state, the number required under the Constitutional provision that three-fourths of the states ratify amendments.

Illinois, Nov. 4, 1962, became the first state to ratify the poll tax amendment. A complete list of states ratifying follows, together with the vote in each house of the state legislature:

STATES RATIFYING

	Senate	House	Date of Final Ratification
1. Illinois	29-12	150-12	11/14/62
2. New Jersey	18-0	58-0	12/ 3/62
3. Oregon	25-3	51-4	1/25/63
4. Montana	51-4	56-37	1/28/63
5. West Virginia	32-0	94-0	2/ 1/63
6. New York	52-2	unanimous	2/ 4/63
7. Maryland	37-0	125-3	2/ 6/63
8. California	34-0	70-3	2/ 7/63
9. Alaska	19-0	27-0	2/11/63
10. Rhode Island	38-0	72-0	2/14/63
11. Indiana	47-0	voice vote	2/15/63
12. Michigan	30-0	98-0	2/20/63
13. Utah	23-0	51-4	2/20/63
14. Colorado	32-0	64-0	2/21/63
15. Minnesota	unanimous	unanimous	2/27/63
16. Ohio	31-0	119-3	2/27/63
17. New Mexico	18-10	63-0	3/ 5/63
18. Hawaii	25-0	51-1	3/ 6/63
19. Idaho	35-1	58-2	3/ 4/63
20. North Dakota	27-20	79-28	3/12/63
21. Vermont	voice vote	157-63	3/15/63
22. Washington	44-0	95-1	3/14/63
23. Nevada	14-0	34-0	3/19/63
24. Connecticut	33-0	254-4	3/20/63
25. Tennessee	22-1	35-20	3/21/63
26. Pennsylvania	50-0	183-1	3/25/63
27. Wisconsin	30-0	98-0	3/28/63
28. Kansas	24-5	111-0	3/28/63
29. Massachusetts	36-0	223-0	3/28/63
30. Nebraska	41-0*		4/ 4/63
31. Florida	36-6	106-3	4/15/63
32. Iowa	48-0	93-4	4/25/63
33. Delaware	10-5	24-8	5/ 1/63
34. Missouri	31-1	150-7	5/ 9/63
35. New Hampshire	voice vote	voice vote	6/12/63
36. Kentucky	29-2	74-0	6/26/63

*Unicameral Legislature

Pine Bluff Commercial
12-12-63

They Say...

WAB

Poll Tax Primer: The Behead Tax

CONGRESSMAN HENRY B. GONZALEZ
In the Texas Observer

Legally, a poll tax is a tax of a specific sum levied upon each person within the jurisdiction of the taxing power and within a certain class without reference to the person's property or lack of it.

Its origins go back to ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem to be enrolled for the poll tax because Caesar Augustus decreed "that all the world should be taxed" (Luke 2:1).

After 1377 England used the poll tax extensively.

It was abolished there in 1698, but not before the early American colonists had transplanted it to the New Wrold. It was never as popular in the Southern colonies as in the Northern colonies. The poor classes disliked it because of its regressiveity. Naturally, the Southern planters did not like paying such levies on their slaves. Still, it had not yet been made a qualification for voting so as to restrict the franchise.

There have been two poll tax eras in this country, divided in point of time by the Civil War. After the American Revolution, by which we became the first people in the history of Western civilization to throw off the shackles of imperialism, the poll tax was used to broaden suffrage.

Many states permitted only property owners to vote, and the poll tax was imposed as a substitute for property qualifications. After the Civil War, the former Confederate states enacted the poll tax laws as part of a program of disfranchisement. Anyone who doubts this should be referred to the remarks of Carter Glass as he told the 1901 Virginia constitutional convention that "Negro enfranchisement was a crime to begin with." Senator Glass died in 1946 after having been a member of Congress for more than 40 years.

Five states still retain the poll tax as a qualification to vote: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Together with the other six former poll tax states in the South this group has the worst voter stacle, incorporating the poll tax, early registration, and discrimination.

Texas dces not seem to be plagued by the type of racial discrimination practiced in other Southern states, whereby Negroes are not permitted to vote by force, coercion, and other forms of skulduggery. We are plagued by the poll tax and by early registration. Unfortunately, even if the poll tax is abolished in Texas, we will still be bothered by early registration. But, the abolition of the poll tax will be a giant stride toward the reform of our election laws.

The poll tax was not made a qualificaton for voting in Texas until our constitution was amended in 1902. Since that time there have been several attempts at abolition of the tax as a prerequisite for voting, most recently in 1949 when the voters rejected a constitutional amendment to accomplish this purpose by a margin of less than 40,000 votes in a referendum in which more than 200,000 participated. It will be recalled that in 1962, the people voted in favor of abolition in conjunction with the Democratic and Republican primary elections, setting the stage for the proposed constitutional amendment which was passed by the legislature last spring and which must now be approved by the people. If it is approved, it will take effect on December 1, 1963.

On August 29, 1962, Congress passed the proposed 23rd Amendment to the federal Constitution to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections. It states:

> "The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative, in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax."

It can be easily demonstrated that the levy of a poll tax is an antiquated mode of raising revenue and that it is not an important source in Texas. It remains alone of all the early American economic barriers to a free

The Behead Tax

CONGRESSMAN
HENRY B. GONZALEZ
In the Texas Observer

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Its origins go back to ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem to be enrolled for the poll tax because Caesar Augustus decreed "that all the world should be taxed" (Luke 2:1).

After 1377 England used the poll tax extensively.

It was abolished there in 1698, but not before the early American colonists had transplanted it to the New Wrold. It was never as popular in the Southern colonies as in the Northern colonies. The poor classes disliked it because of its regressiveity. Naturally, the Southern planters did not like paying such levies on their slaves. Still, it had not yet been made a qualification for voting so as to restrict the franchise.

There have been two poll tax eras in this country, divided in point of time by the Civil War. After the American Revolution, by which we became the first people in the history of Western civilization to throw off the shackles of imperialism, the poll tax was used to broaden suffrage.

Many states permitted only property owners to vote, and the poll tax was imposed as a substitute for property qualifications. After the Civil War, the former Confederate states enacted the poll tax laws as part of a program of disfranchisement. Anyone who doubts this should be referred to the remarks of Carter Glass as he told the 1901 Virginia constitutional convention that "Negro enfranchisement was a crime to begin with." Senator Glass died in 1946 after having been a member of Congress for more than 40 years.

Five states still retain the poll tax as a qualification to vote: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Together with the other six former poll tax states in the South this group has the worst voter percentage record in the country.

The lowest percentage of persons who voted in 1960 in Alaska and Hawaii may be explained by the fact that the people there are not yet used to voting in presidential elections. Still, their percentage of voters was higher than all five of the poll tax states. Texas chauvinists may glory in the fact that of the five, Texas is right on top: another first for Texas.

But the poll tax is not the sole cause of poor voter participation in the South. Georgia, South Carolina, and the other Southern states that have repealed their poll taxes are right down there with the rest of us. Three factors have been suggested to explain voter apathy and a tradition of non-voting in this region: restrictive registration procedures, the one-party system, and the white primary.

Of these three factors, one, the white primary, has been invalidated by the courts, and another, the one-party system, is breaking down and may no longer be relevant. Restrictive registration procedures are the most important obstacle to voter participation. They are a three-pronged obstacle, incorporating the poll tax, early registration, and discrimination.

Texas does not seem to be plagued by the type of racial discrimination practiced in other Southern states, whereby Negroes are not permitted to vote by force, coercion, and other forms of skulduggery. We are plagued by the poll tax and by early registration. Unfortunately, even if the poll tax is abolished in Texas, we will still be bothered by early registration. But, the abolition of the poll tax will be a giant stride toward the reform of our election laws.

The poll tax was not made a qualificaton for voting in Texas until our constitution was amended in 1902. Since that time there have been several attempts at abolition of the tax as a prerequisite for voting, most recently in 1949 when the voters rejected a constitutional amendment to accomplish this purpose by a margin of less than 40,000 votes in a referendum in which more than 200,000 participated. It will be recalled that in 1962, the people voted in favor of abolition in conjunction with the Democratic and Republican primary elections, setting the stage for the proposed constitutional amendment which was passed by the legislature last spring and which must now be approved by the people. If it is approved, it will take effect on December 1, 1963.

On August 29, 1962, Congress passed the proposed 23rd Amendment to the federal Constitution to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections. It states:

> "The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative, in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax."

It can be easily demonstrated that the levy of a poll tax is an antiquated mode of raising revenue and that it is not an important source in Texas. It remains alone of all the early American economic barriers to a free franchise. It has been abandoned by seven states during the last 35 years: North Carolina in 1930, Pennsylvania in 1933, Louisiana in 1934, Florida in 1937, Georgia in 1945, and South Carolina and Tennessee in 1951.

The primary beneficiaries of the poll tax have been the state public schools. But according to the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, the amount of revenue produced in fiscal 1962 was less than 0.5 per cent of the total school revenue and 0.2 per cent of the total state revenue. Also, the income produced by the tax varies greatly with the type of elections held each year.

Most importantly, the poll tax is an economic deterrent against voting to the poorer classes. It discriminates against those persons of low economic status. It has discouraged the poor white man's vote just as it has minimized the Negro vote and the Mexican vote. The law dictionaries define poll tax as a capitation tax, that is, a head tax. It would be more accurate to call it a decapitation tax, because it has served to behead large bodies of voters, to snuff out their political lives.

Maine Approves Piece Against Poll Tax Laws

see world 1/17/64

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — Maine became the 37th state Thursday to ratify the constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax, giving either Arizona or South Dakota the chance of providing final ratification.

Sen. Spessard L. Holland, who has fought for the amendment since 1949, said he was informed Thursday that the Maine legislature completed action on its resolution.

He reported that Perrin Edmunds, majority leader of the Maine Senate, announced the amendment was unanimously approved. The Maine House passed the ratification resolution by a 108-34 vote Wednesday.

The Arizona and South Dakota legislatures are in session, according to Holland, and a resolution of ratification is pending in the South Dakota body.

Either could become the 38th state to ratify the amendment and thus provide the required approval of three-fourths of the states.

The constitutional amendment would eliminate the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections. It would have no effect on state and local elections.

Poll Tax

Atl. Daily World

Sen. Johnson Asks Ga. To Ratify Anti-Poll Tax

1-21-64

A resolution urging the State of Georgia to ratify a United States consitutional amendment outlawing the State Senate.

Only last week the State of Maine ratified the measure which brought to a toal of 37 states approving the action. Only two additional states are needed to bar the payment of poll tax which still exists in Texas, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina.

Georgia ended the payment of poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in 1945.

Johnson said that his introduction of the resolution and hope for passage of a bill to ratify is to "show the State of Georgia's good faith" on the amendment.

Poll Tax

Poll Tax Changes

Within a few days, if not already, poll tax receipts won't be required in Mississippi for Presidential and Congressional elections.

The proposed 24th amendment to the U. S. Constitution has been ratified by 37 states and South Dakota is expected to give it the magic 38, or three-fourths of the states, vote of approval.

The poll tax amendment reads thus: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for president or vice president, for electors for president or vice president, or for senator or representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax."

The amendment won't change a great deal in Mississippi. Poll tax receipts are required only for party primaries. They have never been required for general elections or special elections, such as bond issues and the like. Mississippi has no presidential primary. So, apparently the amendment will add only the congressional elections — for the two state senators and district representatives to the non-tax list of elections. Senators and representatives in Mississippi have traditionally been elected in Democratic Primaries and voters have been required to show two poll tax receipts to participate in the elections. Under the amendment, apparently, this will no longer be the case.

Although the poll tax is anathema to many people, Mississippi is certainly not the only state to impose it. Northern and border states have had a poll tax until recent times. President Johnson's native state of Texas recently voted to retain it in a referendum issue.

Still, the poll tax isn't universally loved by all Mississippians, despite its history as a segregation measure. The practical effect of the tax in many instances has been to disenfranchise otherwise qualified voters. Many persons who feel they are more capable of choosing candidates on the basis of the common good than some others, have let poll tax time slip by only to realize that those individuals with a direct personal stake in the outcome of an election would sooner forget to eat breakfast 16 days in January than forget to take their $2 down to the sheriff's office during that month. In small subdivisions of government, the matter of remembering to pay the poll tax can be crucial.

Governor Ross Barnett, commenting on the amendment the other day, said that "voting is a privilege that must be earned." The governor undoubtedly made the statement to express as strongly as possible his opposition to the amendment, but nobody can seriously entertain the notion that voting in America is a "privilege that has to be earned."

If it ever was, the job would seem to have been accomplished during an ordeal called the Revolutionary War, and a later one known as the Woman's Suffrage Movement. (There were lesser landmarks which further spread the franchise to the propertyless at diferent periods of the growth and broadening of American democracy.)

However, that doesn't mean that the principle that a state is empowered by the U. S. Constitution to set up reasonable qualifications for voters hasn't been well established.

Still, there are many valid arguments on behalf of the poll tax.

The money goes to the schools. For many years Mississippi's schools were supported solely from the poll tax take.

The tax serves a psychological purpose in broadening the base of the electorate. The fact that a tax has been paid for the right might motivate more persons to take the trouble to cast ballots.

Proponents of the tax can say that a citizen who doesn't want to pay $2 per year for the vote cares little for his right as an American, although the opponents will probably disagree with that assumption.

At any rate, the 24th Amendment will change little in Mississippi, as politics is presently practiced in this state. Many important elections will still be decided by voters who are paid up at the sheriff's office, because the Mississippi legislature isn't about to repeal the tax.

There are seven more "shopping days" to pay yours. (T. W.)

Greenwood Commonwealth 1/22/64

Poll Tax

C.R. 1-22-64

Poll Tax Amendment

ATE

January 22

By Mrs. SMITH (for herself and Mr. MUSKIE):

A resolution of the Legislature of the State of Maine; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

"RESOLUTION RATIFYING THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES RELATING TO THE QUALIFICATION OF ELECTORS

"Whereas the 87th Congress of the United States of America, at the 2d session begun and held at the city of Washington, on Wednesday, the 10th day of January 1962, by a constitutional two-thirds vote in both Houses adopted a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to wit:

"'Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the qualification of electors

"'*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein)*, That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within 7 years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"'"ARTICLE —

"'"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

"'"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."': Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Legislature of the State of Maine hereby ratifies and adopts this proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the secretary of state of the State of Maine notify the President of the United States, the Secretary of State of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, the Administrator of eGneral Services of the United States, and each Senator and Representative from Maine in the Congress of the United States of this action of the legislature by forwarding to each of them a certified copy of this resolution.

"Read and adopted in the house of representatives January 15, 1964.

"HARVEY R. PEASE,
"*Clerk.*

"Read and adopted (in concurrence), in senate chamber, January 16, 1964.

"CHESTER T. WINSLOW,
"*Secretary.*"

Poll TAX

WB
RTB
BW

JAN 23 1964

Senate Resolution 149

By Senator Johnson of the 38th.

A RESOLUTION

Ratifying the proposed Amendment to the Comstitution of the United States relating to the qualifications of Electors; and for other purposes.

WHEREAS, a Joint Resolution (S.J. Res. 29) was passed during the Second Session of the 87th Congress of the United States, proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the qualifications of Electors; and

WHEREAS, such Joint Resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"Article_____

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

~~(Pink) Georgia~~ Ratification of Poll Tax

"Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA that the aforesaid proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby ratified as provided by the Constitution of the United States.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that pursuant to Section 106b, Title 1 of the United States Code, the Secretary of the Senate is hereby instructed to transmit a certified copy of this Resolution to the Administrator of General Services, Washington, D. C.

Pine Bluff Commercial

Registering Voters

A constitutional amendment effectively nullifying the poll tax is likely to become a reality almost immediately. Only action by the South Dakota Senate is needed to complete ratification, and this is expected momentarily.

Predictable as the end to the poll tax has been, Arkansas nevertheless confronts its imminent demise without having taken action to provide a substitute elector qualification and voter registration system.

A special session of the legislature is now unavoidable. It is regrettable that an alternative to the poll tax was not provided by the legislature in 1963 but there is still time to set up a new system outside a crisis atmosphere.

There will be, in the special session, the advantage that public attention will be sharply focused on the voter registration legislation. A model registration system was offered in the legislature in 1963 but this was beaten down by members of the legislative old guard.

Few things in state government are more important than voter registration requirements. These can determine the quality of the electorate and are as important as the laws governing actual balloting in determining how easy it will be to keep elections honest and fair. It will be surprising if the battles of 1963 are not refought in the special session.

The most important of these concerned literacy requirements, absentee registration and party affiliation.

There is room for honest disagreement on whether people who cannot even read a ballot should be permitted to use one. The question is, however, rendered somewhat abstract by a near-universality of discrimination in the administration of literacy requirements. In an absence of impersonal techniques for testing literacy, any literacy requirement seems to us a temptation which should not be imposed on courthouse politicians.

• • •

Whether a voter should have to declare his party allegiance when registering seems to us an open question. The advantage of party declaration is that it more sharply defines party membership and cuts down on party line crossing. The disadvantage is that it tends to restrict the voter and to impede the growth of minority parties. If Arkansas had a strong two-party system, with close races between Democrats and Republicans at the local, state and national levels, a strong case could be made for party declaration, in our judgment. Arkansas doesn't have such a two-party system and party declaration therefore seems to us a move in the wrong direction. By discouraging party-line crossing, it would tend to freeze the great majority of Arkansans in the Democratic Party when the need is for a great many Democrats to move into the Republican Party. Without such movements there can never be a strong two-party system.

Entrenched politicians, including legislators, are naturally reluctant to encourage Republican growth, but what advantages entrenched politicians does not necessarily advantage the state or its people.

• • •

In the dispute over registration the conflict is between ease of registration and effective control of fraudulent voting.

It is obviously an inconvenience for each individual to have to appear before a county official and register in person. But such a requirement, it is also clear, should constitute a potent deterrent to tombstone voting.

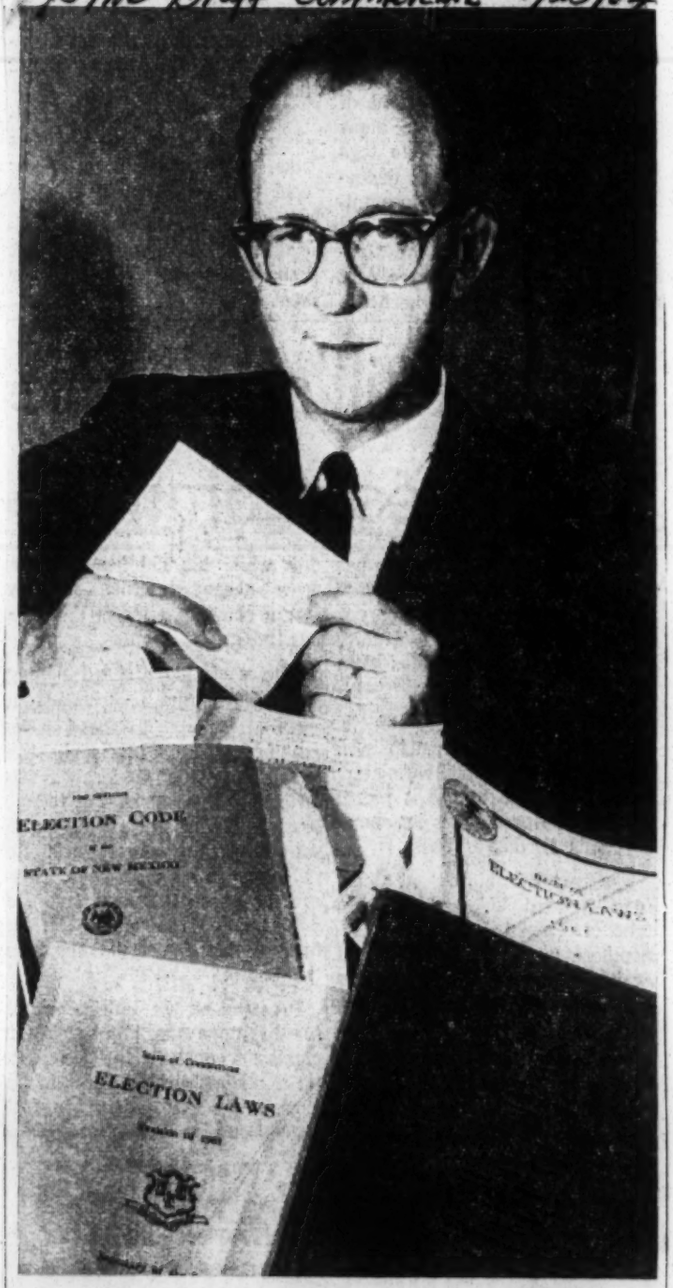
There has so far been less hostility then might have been expected to the idea of permanent registration. Unless something unforeseen happens it should be possible for a registered voter to remain qualified simply by going to the polls with moderate frequency.

• • •

Governor Faubus is now on record as favoring a cutoff date on registration as near the election date as is technically practical. We hope reform will be possible here too.

Poll Tax

Pine Bluff Commercial 1/23/64



United Press International

Auditor Studies Voter Data

Jimmie (Red) Jones, state auditor, looks over voter registration material from 20 other states. Jones gathered the material for reference when an amendment to the United States Constitution to ban the poll tax in federal elections became likely.

Faubus Considering Action on Poll Tax

LITTLE ROCK (AP)—Governor Faubus took steps yesterday to determine a course of action if the poll tax is outlawed.

The South Dakota legislature was expected to pass today the proposed 24th Amendment to the United States Constitution, banning the poll tax in federal elections. Arkansas is one of five remaining states using the poll tax.

Faubus talked with William J. Smith, his legal adviser, and Representatives Paul Van Dalsem of Perry County, L. H. Autry of Mississippi County, Doris McCastlain of Monroe County and John E. Miller of Izard County.

The governor must decide whether to call a special legislative session to enact a voter registration bill or to let Arkansas hold its Democratic primary under a legal cloud this summer.

Faubus said he favored a liberal registration bill that would make it easy for anyone to register and vote.

He said party loyalty, a requirement that the registrant state whether he is a Democrat, Republican or indpendent, was sure to stir debate.

Faubus said he was not convinced that the poll tax system of voter registration would be illegal in this summer's primary elections even if the South Dakota legislature approves the amendment.

"The law strictly applies only to federal elections and it may be that we can separate them," Faubus said.

Wiley Branton, a Negro lawyer, had said that if the poll tax were used in the summer primaries, court suits would be filed.

Faubus said, "That's all right. I just don't think they will get anywhere with it."

Poll Tax

Poll Tax Laws Are Now Illegal

Arkansas Gazette

South Dakota Ratifies The 24th Amendment

© New York Times News Service

The long battle to abolish the poll tax ended Thursday in the legislature of South Dakota, but important skirmishes by its defenders may continue for years, delaying the impact of repeal where its effects would be felt the most.

The South Dakota Senate had the honor of making final the ratification of the 24th Amendment to the United States Constitution. South Dakota's Republican-controlled legislature was was the 38th to ratify the Amendment, a process that requires approval of three-fourths of the 50 states.

The General Services Administration, which serves as the custodian of federal documents, said the amendment abolishing

Related Article on Page 1B.

the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections became law the instant the South Dakota legislators completed action on it.

Only the Formalities

There remained only the formalities here of official certification by the GSA administrator, Bernard L. Boutin, and publication of the certification in the Federal Register. GSA officials said this would take just a few days.

But the official victory over the poll tax—a resilient fixture of Southern politics that had survived nearly two decades of reformers' assaults—there were elements of paradox.

One was that repeal came very late in the history of the poll tax as a "legal" method of disfranchising Negro voters. Its usefulness as an instrument of white supremacy has declined [redacted] pi, Texas and Virginia—elaborate schemes to perpetuate a voting tax or to substitute other obstacles to registration and voting in state elections already are in motion or are being planned.

The language of the 24th Amendment applies only to elections for federal offices—president, vice president, senator and representative. It leaves it up to the states to determine the qualifications for voting for governors, members of state legislatures and other state and local officers.

In Virginia and Texas, the two poll tax states which have displayed the most forehanded determination to preserve visible obstacles to general suffrage, this distinction between federal and state elections has been siezed upon in drafting alternative impediments to the franchise.

The poll tax as a revenue measure is an ancient device, but through history it proved difficult to collect. As a source of government income in this country it has been insignificant.

A Democratic Aid

During its first wave of popularity in America—during post-Revolutionary times—it was actually an inducement to expanded suffrage, replacing former requirements that voters must be land owners or members of certain guilds or professions. The equal payment of a poll tax was clearly a democratic advance.

But after Reconstruction, in the period from 1890 to 1908 when Democrats resumed control of the legislatures of the South, the poll tax was openly and popularly a device to "purify the electorate" of Negroes, carpetbaggers and scallawags.

Poll Tax

Federal Poll Tax Ban Passed by 38th State

Pine Bluff Commercial 1/24/64

President: A Triumph Of Liberty

WASHINGTON (AP)—President Johnson has hailed as a triumph of liberty a new amendment to the Constitution outlawing the poll tax as a requirement for voting in elections for federal office.

Johnson said in a statement that it was a "verification of the people's rights which are rooted so deeply in the mainstream of this nation's history."

"This triumph, now, of liberty over restriction is a grateful and proud moment for me," Johnson said. He added:

"The tide of a strong national desire to bring about the broadest possible use of the voting process runs too strong to hold back.

"In a free land where men move freely and act freely, the right to vote freely must never be obstructed."

While certification ceremonies probably will be held here later, they are only a formality. Once South Dakota's legislature completed its ratification, no further legal action was required.

The amendment provides that the right to vote in any primary or general election for president or vice president, or for senator or representative in the Congress, shall not be denied because of the failure to pay a poll tax or any other tax.

The poll tax, the payment of a fee as a requirement for voting, has long been caught up in controversy with civil rights defenders charging that it was used to keep Negroes from casting ballots.

Only five states—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia—still have the poll tax.

The new amendment will not bar these states from continuing to require voters in state elections to pay a poll tax, since it applies ony to elections for federal office.

Already Virginia has taken action to offset the impact of the amendment. It has passed a law that in addition to retaining the state's $1.50 poll tax for state elections, provides that anyone wishing to vote only in federal elections must file a certificate of residence six months in advance.

Faubus Is Undecided On Election Action

LITTLE ROCK (AP) — A federal prohibition against using the poll tax for registration in federal elections has created many complicated problems in Arkansas, Governor Faubus said yesterday.

He indicated at a news conference that it might be some time before he decides what course Arkansas should follow.

And if he determines that a special legislative session is needed to iron out the difficulties, he must decide whether to call it soon or to wait until the matter can be studied further.

Faubus said one thing that must be determined was whether Arkansas should try at this time to set up a permanent voter registration system or simply provide stop-gap measures to get the state through this year's elections, and then let the 1965 legislature take its time about setting up a permanent system.

Faubus said it might be possible to separate federal and state offices in the Democratic primary so that the poll tax could be used for state offices and some other system for federal offices.

One problem is that few legislators want a special session so near to the summer's primary campaigns.

Payment of the current $1 a person poll tax closed last October 1. The deadline for paying this year's tax would have been next October 1.

Arkansas collected poll tax from 633,658 persons last year, with the revenue going to the public school fund.

The legislature may be asked to enact some kind of per-capita tax to replace the revenue that will be lost because of the anti-poll tax amendment. The amount has run more than $500,000 a year for a decade.

Vote Brings Uncertainty In the Poll-Tax States

By the Associated Press

There were some bewildered voters and puzzled election officials in parts of the South today after the ratification of a constitutional amendment banning payment of a poll tax as a condition for voting in federal elections.

Texans began preparing a dual poll tax system. There was talk of possible election confusion in Alabama and a special legislative session in Arkansas.

The Mississippi legislature expected to consider the matter during the present session. Virginia had a new law on the books designed to offset the effect of the amendment to some extent.

Here is reaction, state by state:

Texas

County tax collectors were readying a dual poll tax system and answering a barrage of questions from puzzled citizens.

Complications included two types of poll tax receipts and separate lists of the two classes of voters.

Alabama

Judge Roy Mayhall, chairman of the State Democratic Central Committee, said, "This amendment will cause considerable confusion in Alabama if we are forced to hold separate elections."

"If the Alabama members of Congress are to be elected without Alabama voters paying a poll tax," Mayhall said. "It is my judgment that all voters ought to be able to participate in all elections alike."

Vote Puts Proposal Into Effect

PIERRE, South Dakota (AP)—The South Dakota Senate ratified the 24th Amendment to the federal Constitution yesterday, putting into effect the ban against the use of poll taxes in voting for federal offices. The vote was 34-0.

South Dakota became the 38th and key state to ratify the amendment, which does not affect poll tax requirements in state or local elections. Ratification of three-fourths of the 50 states was required to put the amendment into effect.

The measure had been at the bottom of the Senate calendar, following House approval last week, but minority Democrats won approval of a move to boost the resolution to the head of the calendar.

75 States Affected

Five states—Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Virginia—now employ poll tax requirements.

Republicans had bridled at what they considered undue pressure to get the measure approved. President Johnson had put in a telephone call on the amendment's behalf to the state Democratic chairman, John Engel.

The anti-poll tax amendment written into the Constitution represents the culmination of a long fight spearheaded, ironically, by a Southern senator— Spessard L. Holland, a Florida Democrat.

While formal certification ceremonies probably will be held here later, they are only a formality arranged by the General Services Administration. No further legal action was necessary to make the amendment effective after South Dakota completed its ratification.

Neither the President nor Congress were required to take any further action in the ratification process.

The Amendment

The amendment provides that the right to vote in any primary or general election for president or vice president, or for senator or representative in Congress, shall not be denied because of the failure to pay a poll tax or any other tax.

Adoption of the amendment will not bar these states from continuing to require voters in state elections to pay a poll tax, since it applies only to federal elections. But whether this will be administratively feasible remains to be seen.

Efforts by civil rights forces in Congress to outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections date back more than 20 years.

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Arkansas

There was talk of a special session of the Arkansas legislature to set up a voter registration system, but Governor Faubus said he did not know when it would take place.

The governor said it might be possible to hold this summer's primaries under the poll tax system if state and federal offices are separated.

Virginia

Governor Albertis S. Harrison Jr. said Virginia's new law was enacted "in order to provide an orderly means by which citizens of Virginia who so desire might register and vote in federal elections without payment of poll taxes."

Mississippi

Attorney General Joe Patterson of Mississippi said he expected the Legislature now in session would "reckon with the matter and set up machinery to cope with it." He did not reveal details.

But Patterson said "it won't pose as big a problem for Mississippi as some other states, since Mississippi does not elect any state officials at the time it elects senators, congressmen and presidential electors."

—The South Dakota Senate ratified the 24th Amendment to the federal Constitution yesterday, putting into effect the ban against the use of poll taxes in voting for federal offices. The vote was 34-0.

South Dakota became the 38th and key state to ratify the amendment, which does not affect poll tax requirements in state or local elections. Ratification of three-fourths of the 50 states was required to put the amendment into effect.

The measure had been at the bottom of the Senate calendar, following House approval last week, but minority Democrats won approval of a move to boost the resolution to the head of the calendar.

75 States Affected

Five states—Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Virginia—now employ poll tax requirements.

Republicans had bridled at what they considered undue pressure to get the measure approved. President Johnson had put in a telephone call on the amendment's behalf to the state Democratic chairman, John Engel.

The anti-poll tax amendment written into the Constitution represents the culmination of a long fight spearheaded, ironically, by a Southern senator— Spessard L. Holland, a Florida Democrat.

While formal certification ceremonies probably will be held here later, they are only a formality arranged by the General Services Administration. No further legal action was necessary to make the amendment effective after South Dakota completed its ratification.

Neither the President nor Congress were required to take any further action in the ratification process.

The Amendment

The amendment provides that the right to vote in any primary or general election for president or vice president, or for senator or representative in Congress, shall not be denied because of the failure to pay a poll tax or any other tax.

Adoption of the amendment will not bar these states from continuing to require voters in state elections to pay a poll tax, since it applies only to federal elections. But whether this will be administratively feasible remains to be seen.

Efforts by civil rights forces in Congress to outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections date back more than 20 years.

State Solons Defend Vote On Poll Tax

The Atl. Journal 1/24/64

Georgia state senators Friday defended their 47 to 0 vote to ratify the anti-poll tax amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

But they declined to get into a verbal tiff with U.S. Sen. Richard Russell. He said in Washington their action makes him "hang my head in shame" and is "a source of humiliation to me."

Sen. Al Holloway of Albany pointed out that the people of Georgia spoke against the poll tax in 1945 by eliminating it. He added:

"I'm certainly not going to make any effort to veto the people of Georgia irrespective of my feelings. It was the only way a representative of the people could vote."

FULTON SEN. Charlie Brown said the Senate is justified in its vote since there has been no poll tax in Georgia for [illegible] years. "The Senate's action is to be commended."

DeKalb Sen. H. McKinley Conway Jr. said the Senate acted in the best interest of the state.

A vote against the poll tax could have "effectively sabotaged" the state's advertising program nationally, involving tourism and industrial development.

He said whether Georgians must pay a poll tax has long been settled. The Senate vote Thursday was "a matter of public relations."

SEN. ROBERT Smalley Jr. of Griffin said Sen. Russell is entitled to his view of the wisdom of the Senate's action just as the Georgia Senate is entitled to its views.

"I happen to think that the action of the Georgia Senate is correct irrespective of Sen. Russell's views."

"As far as I'm concerned, the Senate's action speaks for itself," Sen. Ben Johnson of DeKalb said.

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Arkansas Gazette 1/24/64

Faubus Considers Splitting Election To Keep Poll Tax

Splitting the primary in two—with one for federal offices and the other for state and local offices—is one of the possibilities this year, Governor Faubus said Thursday.

This way the poll tax could be used in the primary for state and local offices and some other system of voter registration for federal offices, he said.

But Faubus conceded that even this plan might require a special session of the legislature. He doesn't know and he is in the process of finding out.

"It's a very complicated situation," Faubus said to newsmen a few hours before South Dakota became the 38th state to ratify the 24th Amendment to the federal Constitution. The amendment prohibits use of the poll tax in voting on federal offices in both primaries and elections. It became effective with the South Dakota action.

Faubus said that Arkansas had a form of registration for maiden voters which possibly could provide for registrations in federal elections without requiring a special session.

Faubus appeared reluctant to call a special session. He said that many legislators don't want such sessions in election years. Some legislators have said that Faubus wants also to avoid a special session for reasons of his own.

Making Study

He said he was devoting considerable time exploring the ramifications of the repeal of the poll tax requirement and that he wasn't far enough into the study to be definite about anything.

Earlier this week he said he expected any move to write even a liberal voter registration law would run into a dispute over whether to require a party affiliation designation.

Since then Faubus said he has received letters asking that a literacy requirement be included.

"One writer suggested that a high school diploma be required," he said with a smile.

"This would disqualify a lot of my friends," he added.

Suit Threatened

The state chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has promised to file a lawsuit if any attempt is made to hold the summer primaries under the poll tax system.

The 1963 Arkansas General Assembly failed to pass a registration system in a dispute over literacy and party designation provisions. The Legislative Council, an interim legislative group, has been asked to cast around for a suitable registration law.

Poll Tax

The Atl. Journal
1/24/64

Poll Tax Ban Stirs 5 Southern States

By The Associated Press

There were some bewildered voters and puzzled election officials in parts of the South Friday following ratification of a constitutional amendment banning payment of a poll tax as a condition for voting in federal elections.

Texans began preparing a dual poll tax system. There was talk of possible election confusion in Alabama and a special legislative session in Arkansas.

The Mississippi legislature expected to consider the matter during the present session. Virginia had a new law on the books designed to offset the effect of the amendment to some extent.

THE FIVE states, which make poll tax payments a requirement for voting, came face to face with a long expected development Thursday when South Dakota approved the 24th Amendment.

It was the 38th state to do so and thus made the amendment part of the Constitution. Ratification was required by three-fourths of the 50 states.

The amendment provided that the right to vote in any primary or general election for president or vice president, or for senator or representative in Congress, shall not be denied because of the failure to pay a poll tax or any other tax.

Here is reaction state by state:

TEXAS — County tax collectors were readying a dual poll tax system and answering a barrage of questions from puzzled citizens.

"It's not going to be any fun, but we don't anticipate any great problems," said an official in a county tax collector's office at Austin.

Complications included two types of poll tax receipts and separate lists of the two classes of voters.

Frank Erwin Jr., secretary of the state Democratic Executive Committee, reported a drop in poll tax payments this year because of confusion over the federal amendment.

"There is a real danger that many Texans will be unable to vote in state and county races this year unless that confusion is eliminated," he said.

ALABAMA Judge Roy Mayhall, chairman of the state Democratic Central Committee said, "This amendment will cause considerable confusion in Alabama if we are forced to hold separate elections."

"If the Alabama members of Congress are to be elected without Alabama voters paying a poll tax," Mayhall said, "it is my judgment that all voters ought to be able to participate in all elections alike."

ARKANSAS — Tentative plans are being made to call a special session of the Arkansas legislature to set up a voter registration system, but Gov. Orval E. Faubus said he does not know when it would take place.

The governor said it might be possible to hold this summer's primaries under the poll tax system is state and federal offices are separated and federal offices voted on under some other system.

VIRGINIA — Gov. Albertis S. Harrison Jr. said Virginia's new law was enacted "in order to provide an orderly means by which citizens of Virginia who so desire might register and vote in federal elections without payment of poll taxes."

The law retains Virginia's $1.50 poll tax for state elections. In addition it provides that anyone wishing to vote in federal elections must file a certificate of residence six months in advance.

MISSISSIPPI — Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson of Mississippi said he expects the legislature now in session "will reckon with the matter and set up machinery to cope with it." He did not reveal details.

But Patterson said, "It won't pose as big a problem for Mississippi as some other states, since Mississippi does not elect any state officials at the time it elects senators, congressmen and presidential electors."

Poll Tax

more than anything is losing the $500,000 or $600,000 from poll taxes that goes to the schools," Mays said. "I have a proposal for replacing this money that would not involve any raise in taxes, but I want to discuss it with state fiscal officials before making it public."

Edward L. Works of Dallas County said he thought the governor would "do what's right" about calling a special session. He said he thought some form of literacy test might be a good idea.

Works said he did not favor separate registration for state and federal elections, but "we will have to find some way to provide money for the schools." He said he did not see the necessity of registration by party.

Edwin E. Hopson Jr. of Desha County said, "I think the right to vote should not be lightly bestowed. He said that it was the governor's prerogative to call a special session but that he did not favor one before the primary unless it was necessary. Hopson felt that it was all right for a member of a family to register for other members.

Arthur E. Deckelman of Drew County doesn't favor a special session before the primary because he said no contests appeared to be in the making for federal offices. He said each legislator should discuss three or four proposals with his constituents before reaching a decision.

W. R. (Witt) Stephens of Grant County said, "I would not care to comment at this time because I have been out of town and I'm not up on the situation."

G. W. (Buddy) Turner Jr. of Jefferson County said he would favor a special legislative session as soon as possible. "I was in favor of taking care of it during the regular session," he said.

He favors Faubus's proposal on moving the cut-off date closer to an election. He said he felt that except in instances of severe illness persons should be required to register for themselves. On the literacy test issue, he commented: "I think it would be nice if everyone were literate, but illitrate people should be given an opportunity to vote if they have interest enough to register themselves."

T. L. Greenlee of Jefferson County said the questions surrounding a new voter registration law were "too important to answer without first making a thorough study."

J. P. Walt of Jefferson County said that a special legislative session was the only way he could see to handle the situation unless "we want to take the chance that it will be decided in court." He said he would favor one registration system for both state and federal elections. He said a new law should require personal registration in all cases possible. He favors a party registration requirement.

James O. Stevens of Jefferson County said "in my opinion the legislature should meet immediately to set up a law to cover this year's primary. If it doesn't there will be a lot of doubts."

Stevens said he would favor having a cut-off date 90 days before this year's primary and from three to six months before the elections in following years. He said he would not favor a permanent registration system. "I think voters should re-register at least every two years," he said.

Stevens favors requiring each voter to register personally. "But I am not in favor of a literacy test because some people who can hardly read or write take a definite interest in politics. They know what they stand for and what a candidate stands for," Stevens said.

G. D. Smith Jr. of Lincoln County said he was in no rush to hold a special session. "There will be ample time after the April 29 filing deadline for the primary to pass a stopgap bill if there should be a federal contest," he said.

He said he felt that the present voter registration deadline of October 1 in the year preceding an election would should be kept in force, because "it is a stabilizing force in our state elections."

Smith said he would not want to do away with "the right of any member of a family to register for another member because it (personal registration) would be too much of a burden on rural areas."

Smith said he did not favor a literacy test, but that he was in favor of registration by party. He explained: "Jumping party lines leads to crooked elections. For instance in the northwest part of the state where the parties are more evenly divided, the Republicans will run a weak man in the Democratic primary. Then they will run a Republican in the general election and will vote in both the Democratic primary and the general contest."

Senators

James W. (Jim) Raney of Warren (16th District) said he thought the state would be "completely within its rights to wait until after the primary" before enacting a new registration law. Raney said he had never been in favor of letting anyone register for another person. He said a literacy test might be advisable, but "I don't think it would work." He said he thought that a cut-off registration date closer to the election would be a good idea.

Knox Nelson of Pine Bluff (20th District — Jefferson and Lincoln Counties) said he thought the new registration law should not "deprive anyone of the privileges of voting, but at the same time I think it should be strong enough to not permit abuses." He said he would favor having a special legislative session before the primary because it would give more time to explain the new law to the voting public.

He said he agreed with Faubus on the cut-off date "because it would create more interest in voting."

He said there would be confusion is there were a separate set of rules for voting in federal and state elections.

Nelson said he was studying registration laws in other states.

Morrell Gathright of Pine Bluff (20th District) said he felt that there would be no need for a dual system of election laws. "The general state revenues are growing, and sufficient funds could be allocated to the schools to make up for the loss of the poll tax revenues," Gathright said. He said he felt that a special session would be in order before the July primary because of the possibility of having federal contests in that election.

Merle F. Peterson of Dumas (21st District—Desha and Drew Counties) said he would not favor a literacy test requirement. He said he understood that "some states use the literacy test to keep colored folks from voting. In Arkansas we have never tried to keep them from voting. We ask them to vote for us."

Peterson said he would favor a cut-off date closer to an election. "I would not be a strong advocate of separate elections (for federal and state offices.)," Peterson said, but added that it would be necessary to have some source of revenue for the schools.

George L. Pugh of Portland (22d District — Chicot and Ashley Counties) said he definitely thought there should be a special session before the July Primary.

He said he was in favor of some type of registration requirements but that he didn't feel that a literacy test could be properly given. "I don't know who could administer it, and I think there would be a possibility of fraud on both sides, Pugh said.

Pugh said he thought a family member should be able to register for others in his family because in the rural areas it was difficult for everyone to get to the county seat.

Pugh said he did not think registering party affiliation should be necessary. "Good party members will vote the right way anyway," he said.

Pine Bluff Commercial 1/26/64

Special Session Is Expected

By JOHN R. STARR
Of the Associated Press

LITTLE ROCK—Governor Faubus has spent the last few days looking for a loophole through which Arkansas could pass its primary elections without bringing them under a legal cloud.

If he has found one, he has not said.

Other key government figures, including many legislators, feel a special session is inevitable.

No one wants to be quoted to this effect while the governor is studying the matter. But the general comment has been, "I don't see any other way."

Amendment 24, which became a part of the Constitution on ratification by South Dakota on Thursday, prohibits use of the poll tax as a qualification for voting for federal offices, including congressmen, in either primary or general elections.

The name of any congressman who draws opposition will be on the primary ballot.

Perhaps none will draw opposition in the primary. All escaped without opponents two years ago.

With no congressional race on the ballot, Arkansas apparently could use the poll tax to qualify voters for the primary.

But Faubus cannot afford to hold to this hope. His foes could embarrass him by providing a token opponent any time before the ticket closes April 29. That would necessitate a special session right at the beginning of the campaign season.

No one who has to run this summer wants a special session, now or later. But they would rather have it now if it has to come.

Faubus's friends believe he would do better to get the session out of the way before announcing his political plans. They believe he has enough strength to get a voter registration bill through the General Assembly with a minimum of controversy.

Any attempt to settle the problem without legislation will, of course, be open to court attack. A suit could confuse the picture enough to benefit Republicans in the general election.

And, in any event, some kind of registration system will have to be set up before the general election. A special session between the primary and general elections would be unpalatable to candidates with GOP opponents.

One "out" offered by legal authorities calls for separating the congressional and state races on the primary ballot. A voter who presents himself without a poll tax receipt could be, for example, given a ballot which would permit him to vote only for the congressional candidates.

Faubus has said he favors a bill that would make it easy for everyone to register and vote. This is the kind of bill that can be expected to come from any special session.

Efforts will be made in advance of the session to get a non-controversial bill, although it may provide only a temporary solution to the poll tax problem. The 1965 legislature would have plenty of time to draw up a permanent plan.

The 1965 session also probably will be asked to consider replacing the revenue which will be lost if the poll tax is no longer collected. This comes to more than $600,000 a year. It goes to the public school fund.

Lawmakers might elect to keep collecting the tax, for state elections only, or they might enact a straight per capita tax on every adult, without regard to voting privileges.

The poll tax originally was a per capita tax. Only since 1920 has it been used for voter qualification.

Slim Majority From Area Wants Session

By BRENDA TIREY
Of The Commercial Staff

A slim majority of Southeast Arkansas legislative delegates favor a special session of the state legislature to decide on a voter registration system to take the place of the poll tax.

The majority of the legislators said they would not favor a separate registration system for federal and state elections in order to keep the poll tax. However, several expressed concern over the loss of revenue to the schools that would result from abolishing the tax.

There was no consensus on the issues that stalled a new registration law in the 1963 legislature —literacy requirements, absentee registration and statement of party affiliation. Many had no comments on these subjects.

Most of the area delegates favor moving the cut-off date for voter registration closer to an election date.

Governor Faubus favors this.

Following are the comments of the legislators, polled by telephone:

Representatives

Albert M. Hayes of Arkansas County said he had no statement.

Nap B. Murphy of Ashley County said there should be a special session soon. He felt that if the session were after the primary there would be court cases on the issue that could bring adverse publicity to the state. Murphy said he would not favor restrictions on the registrant. He said he would not favor a statement of party affiliation. He said he did think a person should register in person if he were physically able. He said he would favor a cut-off registration date in the spring of the current year of an election.

Bill Wells of Bradley County would favor a simple law. "I think we very easily could get an act that would be complicated to the extent that it might be used against the better interests of the voting public," he said.

Ben Bynum of Chicot County said he didn't think a special session would be necessary before the primary. He said he felt that a cut-off registration date closer to an election would give more people an opportunity to vote. He said he could see no need for party registration because "there are so few Republicans in the state."

Raymond L. Mays of Cleveland County said he favored any voter registration law that would require voters to register in person in the county in which they live. He added that an exception should be made for servicemen.

Mays favors a special session before the primary. He said he saw no need for literacy tests. He said he would favor having state and federal elections at the same time, as they have been in the past.

"The thing that concerns me

(Continued on Page 3)

Rockefeller Asks Study By a Special Committee

Special to The Commercial

LITTLE ROCK — Winthrop Rockefeller said yesterday that Arkansans should demand a study of voter registration by a special committee.

He issued a prepared statement in which he said:

"I think that a commission or committee, composed of prominent citizens from all segments of our state-wide community should be formed for the purpose of evaluating and considering laws of our sister states in order to determine the best and fairest election code and to submit these considered proposals to the Legislature for its thoughtful consideration."

Would Include Lawyers

He suggested that membership of the proposed committee include representatives of the Arkansas Bar Association, prominent judges and other authorities on law.

Rockefeller is considered a possible likely candidate for governor this year on the Republican ticket. He is the Republican national committeemen.

He said it was "imperative that the commission should be completely nonpolitical, with no ax to grind and no desire to favor any political group or organization."

Urges Speed

"No time should be lost in embarking upon this important task," he said.

Rockefeller said, when reached by telephone Friday night, that he feared a system of registration by party would be used as a political tool by those in power in the state.

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head the Nation's naval reactors program. Indeed, in the words of a resolution approved by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on December 20, 1963:

Continuity of management in the joint AEC/Navy nuclear propulsion program must be maintained and supported.

It is my hope and expectation that this fine man will continue to serve the Nation with distinction. There can be no retirement for a man of the heart and spirit of Admiral Rickover.

I express to the Admiral my heartfelt wishes for a very happy birthday.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a brief biographical sketch of Admiral Rickover.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF H. G. RICKOVER, VICE ADMIRAL, U.S. NAVY

BACKGROUND

Born: January 27, 1900; graduated U.S. Naval Academy, 1922; selected for engineering duty only (EDO), 1937; assigned to nuclear reactor development, 1947; Assistant Chief of Bureau of Ships for Nuclear Propulsion, in charge Navy Department's nuclear ship propulsion program since 1947; Assistant Director for Naval Reactors, Division of Reactor Development, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission since 1949.

EDUCATION

B.S., U.S. Naval Academy, 1922; M.S. (electrical engineering), Columbia University, 1929; completion nuclear power instruction course, Oak Ridge, Tenn., 1947.

AWARDS

Awarded Legion of Merit for performance of duties as head of the Electrical Section, Bureau of Ships, 1946.

Made commander, Order of British Empire, 1946.

Awarded Gold Star in lieu of Second Legion of Merit for performance of duty in development of nuclear ship propulsion program, 1952.

Awarded Congressional Gold Medal for his accomplishments in successfully directing the development and construction of the world's first nuclear-powered ships and the first large-scale nuclear powerplant devoted exclusively to the production of electricity, 1959.

Presented the Distinguished Service Medal for exceptionally meritorious service from January 17, 1955, to January 17, 1961, while in charge of the naval nuclear propulsion program in the Department of the Navy and in the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, January 1961.

NUCLEAR PROGRAM (UNDER DIRECTION OF ADMIRAL RICKOVER) TO DATE

Design first nuclear submarine begun 1949; first atomic powerplant in the world, land prototype of *Nautilus* "goes critical" March 30, 1953; keel of *Nautilus* laid, 1954; *Nautilus* underway on nuclear power, 1955.

Today completed: 36 nuclear submarines, 17 of them Polaris subs; 1 nuclear aircraft carrier; 1 nuclear cruiser; 1 nuclear destroyer.

Also world's first nuclear powerplant built exclusively for generation of electricity completed 1957 (Shippingport, Pa.).

PUBLICATIONS

In addition to numerous articles, two books, and two reports to the House Appropriations Committee (issued as separate publications): "Education and Freedom" (1959), E. P. Dutton & Co.; "Swiss Schools and Ours: Why Theirs Are Better" (1962), Little, Brown & Co. (under auspices Council for Basic Education); "Report on Russia" (1959), Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives; "Education for All Children: What We Can Learn From England" (1962), Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives; "American Education—A National Failure," E. P. Dutton & Co. (1963).

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I join in everything the distinguished senior Senator from Vermont, the ranking Republican Member of this body, has had to say about our friend Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover.

Admiral Rickover has had to overcome almost insurmountable odds. He is obstinate, for which we can thank the Lord; he is determined; he is patriotic; he has made a real contribution to the welfare and defense of this country. He has achieved renown, not only because of the work he has done in the field of nuclear propulsion, but also because of his work in the field of education.

I am glad to join the distinguished Senator from Vermont in complimenting and congratulating this distinguished American on his birthday anniversary. Our congratulations and commendations to him are certainly well deserved.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Wyoming will state it.

Mr. SIMPSON. Is the Senate now in executive session?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Yes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. SIMPSON. I yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, let me inquire of the Chair whether the addition to rule VIII which was adopted last Thursday by the Senate applies to the consideration of the Executive Calendar.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, that rule does not apply to the consideration of the Executive Calendar at this time.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Further inquiring, Mr. President, I gather, then, that as a name is called on the Executive Calendar, any Senator may be recognized, and he need not speak to the nomination in question; is that correct?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Yes.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, on Thursday——

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, first, will the Senator from Wyoming yield?

Mr. SIMPSON. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, what is the present status of the Executive Calendar?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Navy nominations are being considered en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Have the Navy nominations been approved?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. No, the Navy nominations are pending. Does the Senator from Montana wish to have the President immediately notified of the nominations thus far confirmed?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes; I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the nominations thus far confirmed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if the distinguished Senator from Wyoming will yield briefly, let me say that I have not yet made a request in connection with the morning hour; but I intend to do so at the conclusion of the call of the Executive Calendar.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I should like to have made clear for the RECORD whether the new rule applies to the Executive Calendar. I gather from the interpretation by the Chair that when nominations are called up and they are subject to debate, any Senator can discuss any question in connection with any nomination.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is an old tradition and custom in the Senate. The distinguished minority leader has read Senate Resolution 89 and knows that the rule of germaneness of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], under the resolution agreed to by the Senate last Thursday, does not go into effect until conclusion of the morning hour.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. METCALF in the chair). The Senator from Missouri will state it.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Is the Senate in the morning hour; and, if not, when is it planned to enter the morning hour?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is now in executive session, and there is no consideration of legislative business at this time.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield briefly to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S TELEGRAM TO GENERAL MACARTHUR ON HIS 84TH BIRTHDAY

As in legislative session,

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from Wyoming in yielding to me at this time.

This morning an article was published in the Baltimore Sun entitled "Johnson Sends MacArthur Telegram on 84th Birthday."

The article expresses the respect and the high regard of President Johnson for General MacArthur, and also the respect and the high regard that is held by General MacArthur for President Johnson.

I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOHNSON SENDS MACARTHUR TELEGRAM ON 84TH BIRTHDAY

NEW YORK, January 26.—General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, celebrating his 84th birthday today, fingered a congratulatory telegram from President Johnson and remarked whimsically:

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"I remember well decorating him with a Silver Star for his coolness and courage in an air mission in New Guinea.

"Had I known at the time he was to become President, I would have looked after his welfare better than I did—but he seemed well able to take care of himself."

PRESIDENT SENDS WIRE

The President's wire read:

"Your country sends you, with affection and warmth, prayers for God's blessing on your 84th birthday. You are one of the authentic American heroes of this century.

"On behalf of the American people, please accept the appreciation of a grateful nation for what you have given and all you have done."

CADETS VISIT MAC ARTHUR

President Johnson went on active duty as a lieutenant commander the day after Pearl Harbor. He was the first Member of the House to do so. He served in the South Pacific and went on bombing missions which won him the Silver Star. He served for 8 months, returning when President Roosevelt ordered all Members of Congress out of service.

MacArthur, in his Waldorf Towers suite, also received five cadets from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. One of the cadets was John Putnam Otgen, 22, of Elm Grove, Wis.

MacArthur told Otgen: "Your great grandfather appointed me. I knew him well."

Representative Otgen, of Wisconsin, appointed MacArthur to the Academy in 1899.

Read to the general was a letter from the West Point cadets which termed him "a man who exemplifies by his accomplishments, past and present, the true meaning of dedication to country."

The letter was read by Richa Allen Chilcoat, 24, first captain and brigade commander of the corps. He is the son of Mrs. Edna B. Chilcoat, of Millersville, Md., and Floyd D. Chilcoat, of Minneapolis, Minn.

OTHER CADETS PRESENT

The other cadets present were Dennis K. Culp, Jr., 23, of Fresno, Calif.; Norman Lee Grunstad, 24, of Ortonville, Minn., and Harold Paul Kindleberger, 22, of El Paso, Tex.

Also present was Maj. Gen. James B. Lampert, Academy Superintendent, and Brig. Gen. Michael Davison.

In acknowledging the cadet letter, MacArthur said: "High honors have come my way, but I shall believe that the greatest honor was being a West Point graduate."

Officers who served with MacArthur in World War II arranged for their annual birthday party for him. The private affair at the Waldorf was organized by retired Maj. Gen. L. J. Sverdurp, of St. Louis.

As in past years, no guest list was issued. About 100 persons attended, mostly his former comrades in arms.

As the general walked into the Basildon Room, a voice called the assembled guests to attention. They then sang "Happy Birthday."

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield briefly to the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRANSMITTAL OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 1 AS ADOPTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA, RATIFYING A PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

As in legislative session,

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, as the senior Senator of the State of South Dakota, it gives me great pleasure to present today, for appropriate referral, a certified copy of House Joint Resolution 1, as adopted by the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, ratifying the proposed 24th amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America relating to the qualification of electors.

Attached with the official certificate is a letter of transmittal from the Honorable Essie Wiedenman, Secretary of State for the State of South Dakota.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the conclusion of my remarks the official certificate from Secretary of State Wiedenman and the text of the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request by the Senator from South Dakota? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, last Thursday, January 23, when news reached the Chamber that my home State of South Dakota had become the 38th State to ratify and make immediately effective the 24th amendment to the Constitution, the distinguished majority leader said: "I believe this is a great day in the history of the Nation."

No better description could be given to this event, Mr. President, than that delivered by the majority leader. I would only wish to add that it is a proud and happy occasion for my State—in the year of its 75th anniversary of statehood—to become the legal instrument by which the proposed amendment became the 24th amendment to our Constitution.

South Dakota takes a back seat to no State in its desire and in its efforts to achieve equal rights and equality of opportunity for our citizens.

The action of the State legislature last week to add this further guarantee to our citizens' rights to vote is in keeping with my State's record in this vital area of human liberties. For example, we were among the first to make certain that our Indian citizens received the right to vote.

Mr. President, South Dakota marks this occasion—as does the Nation—as another illustrious chapter in our continuing success to make liberty a living, working vehicle by which each citizen can fulfill his honest and dedicated aspirations as a fundamental part of a free society.

I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from Wyoming in yielding briefly to me.

EXHIBIT 1

STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Pierre, S. Dak., January 24, 1964.

Hon. KARL MUNDT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR KARL: As directed by the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, I am transmitting herewith a certified copy of House Joint Resolution 1, ratifying a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America relating to the qualification of electors.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ESSIE WIEDENMMAN,
Secretary of State.

STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

This is to certify that the attached instrument of writing is a true, correct, and examined copy of House Joint Resolution 1, as adopted by the Legislature of the State of South Dakota on January 23, 1964, and filed in this office on January 24, 1964, and the whole thereof, and has been carefully compared with the original now on file in this office and found correct.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the State of South Dakota at the city of Pierre, the capital, on this 24th day of January 1964.

[SEAL] ESSIE WIEDENMAN,
Secretary of State.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 1

Joint resolution ratifying a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America relating to the qualification of electors

Whereas both Houses of the 87th Congress of the United States of America by a constitutional majority of two-thirds of each House thereof, made the following proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States of America in the following words and figures, to wit:

"Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the qualifications of electors

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

" 'ARTICLE—

" 'SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

" 'SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation' ": Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of South Dakota (the Senate concurring)

SECTION 1. That said proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America be, and the same is hereby, ratified by the Legislature of the State of South Dakota.

SEC. 2. That certified copies of this preamble and joint resolution be forwarded by the secretary of state of this State, to the Secretary of State of the United States, and to the Presiding Officers of both Houses of the Congress of the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, identical with the foregoing, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

POLITICAL SMOKE SCREEN ON LIVESTOCK IMPORTS

As in legislative session,

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, on Thursday, January 16, 1964, Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, held a briefing for Members of Congress on beef imports. It was a well attended meeting which demonstrated the concern Members of Congress have for the problem which confronts our livestock industry.

Atl. Daily World

Branton Ready To Push Amendment

1-29-64

Wiley A. Branton, director of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Registration project, said he is prepared to meet head-on expected resistance from several southern states to the recently ratified 24th amendment to the U. S. Constitution outlawing the poll tax.

The anti-poll tax amendment which was formally ratified Jan. 23 when South Dakota became the 38th state to approve it, applies only to primaries and elections for President, Vice President and members of Congress. Approval of the required three fourths of the 50 states came in time to apply the new amendment to the 1964 presidential elections.

States now requiring payment of the poll tax are Virginia, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Texas.

Branton says he expects efforts will be made in all these states, except possibly Texas, to still use the poll tax device to prevent Negroes from voting in the forthcoming federal elections.

"If such is done," he said, "I am ready to go to court to enforce the new amendment."

Branton filed the lawsuit leading to the desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School in 1957.

For example, Arkansas's poll tax will be illegal in federal elections but there has been some conjecture that the state might be able to conduct its primaries using the poll tax on the ground that technically a primary isn't an election —only nominees for the election are chosen in the primary.

It's all up to Governor Faubus, who must call a special legislative session sometime to set up a vote registration system replacing the poll tax.

"If there is any attempt at all to keep people from voting in the primaries unless they have a poll tax," Branton said, "I'm serving notice here and now that there is going to be a lawsuit to restrain them."

Branton urged in a speech here that a special session be called and a "meaningful, liberal voter registration law" be adopted "so that people can register permanently and participate in the affairs of their government."

Branton said that the 24th Amendment is a boon to Negroes because it allows more of them to vote.

"This week will mark a major milestone in the South in attaining something that the NAACP has been working for, for years — the abolition of the poll tax," he said. He called the poll tax a vicious [redacted] the 24th Amendment believed it would discourage states from levying poll taxes in state elections. But the Virginia Legislature, anticipating the enactment of the amendment, had already acted to ensure that its poll tax would be retained in state elections.

A new Virginia law would permit residents to vote for Federal candidates by filing certificates of residence but would require annual payments of $1.50 per person for voting in state elections.

The South Dakota Senate hurriedly suspended its rules and rushed the proposal to a vote after the Georgia Legislature threat-
state to a vote.
state to avote.

The Georgia Senate approved the amendment, 43-0, Thursday, but the Georgia House working on other legislation, which had priority, delayed immediate action on the poll tax measure.

The 24th Amendment resolution was submitted to the states Sept. 24, 1962, after the United States House and Senate approved it by the required two-thirds majorities. Illinois was the first state to approve the measure, acting Nov. 14, 1962.

Of the 11 states of the old Confederacy, only Tennessee and Florida had approved the amendment by the time it was made a part of the Constitution. Mississippi formally rejected it.

Poll Tax

Va. poll taxes face two suits

afro-Ames 2/29/64

RICHMOND

Virginia's poll tax, as well as its hastily enacted companion "certificate of residence" election provision, has both the Commonwealth legislators and citizenry clamoring.

Two high - ranking state Republicans, in this connection, last week filed suits in Federal District Court charging both the poll tax and the residece provision are unconstitutional.

In addition, they ask an injunction to block any Federal election results until the matter is cleared up.

The separate suits were filed by Horace E. Henderson of McLean, state GOP chairman, and Lars Forsenius of Roanoke, vice chairman of the Virginia Young Republican Federation.

* * *

DEFENDANTS IN the suit filed by Henderson names as defendants the three - member election board and L. M. Coyner, Fairfax County director of finances, while Forsenius names the elecion board and James E. Peters, Roanoke County treasurer.

Both complainants charge the certificate of residence requirement was hastily enacted by the General Assembly last November in an effort to nullify the 24th Amendment banning the poll tax.

The class action suits were filed on behalf of persons like Henderson, who has his poll tax and Forsenius has not, who want to vote in both elections without paying a tax or filing a certificate.

* * *

R. H. Hailer, the mortician is among a field of five candidates for two city council seats in the Camden Democratic primary.

Richard McGriff, 44, the Lancaster city council candidate in the special March 10 election, said he's running "because I've lived in this ward (One) all my life and feel I can be of service to the community."

* * *

AND ANOTHER probable reason for the growing number of colored candidates in the South as well as elsewhere in the nation is the constant reminder that the colored vote is the prize plum.

The colored population is only one-tenth of the nations total.

And the colored voters' strength is even smaller at 6.5 per cent. Yet the colored vote is put in another perspective when the 6.5 is changed into 4,500,000 well - placed ballots.

Ask Richard Nixon. The number of colored votes John F. Kennedy received for President far out-weighed his national plurality over Nixon.

* * *

MEANWHILE, BACK at Capitol Hill, some 14 senators have signed a resolution calling for Virginia to repeal the poll tax and get in tune with times as other states which have done so.

Sen. William V. Rawlings of Southampton County, who also represents Suffolk, Franklin and Nansemond and Isle of Wight Counties, said the people who sent him to Richmond are "weary of studies."

They either "strongly resent" the poll tax, he said, or are in the group that would retain it but in any case "are tired of being disallowed the right to vote on it."

* * *

OTHER ACTION by Virginia senators included heavy support for a "states rights" resolution urging a higher court than the U.S. Supreme Court.

Despite Gov. Albertis S. Harrison, who has twice spoken against the measure, 24 of the 40 senators are supporting the call for a constitutional convention to create a "Court of the Union."

Such a court would be composed of chief justices from the 50 highest state courts and would be authorized to review and reverse U.S. Supreme Court decisions.

The resolution, which has been circulating around the nation, hasn't gained any appreciable popularity—having been passed by only Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina and Wyoming.

* * *

AND IN South Carolina, here Joseph H. Rainey became the first colored man to be elected to Congress in 1870, the spirit of public office has attracted a mortician and a cotton mill work-

Poll Tax

Poll Tax

Poll Tax

Poll Tax Dying Slow, Confusing Death in 5 Southern States

By the Associated Press

The poll tax is dying hard and its death agony is spreading election confusion in the five Southern states that are trying to keep it alive.

In Texas, Alabama and Virginia — and probably in Mississippi—those who do not pay the tax will be able to vote only in elections for federal offices.

The fifth state—Arkansas—is inclined to let non-poll tax payers vote in all elections but state courts will have to decide if this is legal under the state Constitution.

The tax is small, $2 a year in Mississippi, $1 in Arkansas and $1.50 in the other states. So for revenue it is insignificant. But it has become one of the symbols of states rights and as such is jealously guarded.

Texas, Alabama and Virginia already have set up complicated dual systems under which those who pay the poll tax can vote for all offices but those who do not can vote only for president, vice president, United States senator or United States representative.

Mississippi has an act to implement a similar system pending in its legislature.

In these states, the voters will still have to pay the poll tax to vote for governor, sheriff, mayor, justice of the peace or any of the host of other state, county and local offices.

Arkansas is taking another course, if the courts permit. A bill to be introduced with strong support in a forthcoming special legislation session will allow those who do not pay the poll tax to obtain a free tax receipt that will qualify them for all elections.

Arkansas Attorney General Bruce Bennett is of the opinion, however, that the state Constitution requires payment of the poll tax for voting in state elections. If the courts so hold, Arkansas, despite its good intentions, would wind up with the same system as its four sister states.

But there seems to be little inclination in Arkansas for keeping the poll tax any longer than it will take to amend it out of the state Constitution in November 1966.

In Texas

Texas voters, on the other hand, recently defeated an anti-poll tax amendment, invalidating a 25-cent registration law set up by the legislature in anticipation of adoption of the amendment.

Texas then set up a 30-day period of free registration with registrants restricted to voting in federal elections.

Alabama has taken no formal action but in its Democratic primaries May 5 and June 2, voters who have paid the poll tax will get a ballot listing all offices; those who have not will receive a short ballot listing only federal races.

The Virginia legislature set up its dual system in November. A voter can qualify for federal elections without paying a poll tax if he files a certificate of residence six months before the election.

Dying for Decades

The poll tax has been dying by degrees for decades. It received a mortal blow early this year when the 24th Amendment was ratified by South Dakota and became a part of the United States Constitution. The amendment outlaws the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections.

At one time, almost all Southern states had a poll tax. All except the five voluntarily abolished it as a voting requirement. The last to do this was Tennessee in 1953. Georgia eliminated it in 1945.

Some states—such as Oklahoma—have a poll tax written into the Constitution but have never collected it.

Others, including Kentucky and North Carolina, retain it simply as a revenue measure.

Florida enacted a poll tax in 1889 to restrict voting of Republican Negroes, then repealed the law in 1937 when most Negroes had become Democrats.

Senator Spessard Holland (Dem., Fla.), led the fight in Congress to get the 24th Amendment submitted for ratification.

More moves can be expected in each of the five states toward replacing the poll tax voter qualification system, either as a result of court action or a change in sentiment of lawmaking bodies.

Virginia's dual system already is under legal attack from the state Republicans. The Texas leaders who pushed for the anti-poll tax amendment probably will try again. Alabama eventually will have to do something to provide at least for registering those who do not pay the poll tax.

And even in Mississippi — which proposes to charge non-taxpaying registrants $1 as a fee for issuing a voter certificate — court attacks are likely on whatever voting system the legislature approves.

POLL TAX BAN OFFICIAL NOW

Wed. Sun. 3/7/64

WASHINGTON — The poll tax ban has now become officially incorporated into the Constitution of the United States as the 24th Amendment after being certified last Tuesday in a ceremony at the White House with President Johnson as a witness.

Poll Tax

3 Anti Poll Tax Suits Combined In Virginia

Atl. Herald 3/27/64

RICHMOND, Va. — (ANP) — Three law suits, seeking an end of the poll tax in Virginia for voting in state and local elections, have been combined to simplify and strengthen the legal battle against a franchise tax.

The move includes two Republican anti-poll tax law suits in U. S. District Court here and one filed in Norfolk by Mrs. Evelyn Butts of Norfolk.

In an order entered Tuesday last week, the three judges who will hear the suit said the three cases should be heard together because they have the same aim.

Earlier, the judges consolidated the two Republican suits.

The three-judge panel will hear arguments in the cases May 12.

The suits contend that Virginia's system of poll tax for voting and the certificate of residence violate the U. S. Constitution. The certificate of residence law was enacted at a special session of the General Assembly last November to bolster the state's control of voting, despite passage of the recent anti-poll tax amendment to the U. S. Constitution wiping out the poll tax in federal elections. Virginia officials who support the Byrd Machine are opposed to the 24th

(Continued on Page 8, Col. 3)

(Continued from Page One)

Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

Mrs. Evelyn Butts, a Norfolk civil rights leader, filed suit last fall after the legislature passed the new laws.

The Republican suits were filed last month by Horace E. Henderson, state Republican chairman, and by Lars Forssenius of Roanoke, vice chairman of the Young Republican Federation of Virginia.

Anti-poll tax Virginians are complaining about the road block which the state has set up against voting.

Poll Tax

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LIFE p. 4

Date: APR 9, 1964

That Certain Smile

If you haven't registered to vote in the Congressional and Presidential races—and there's still time, since April 20 is the deadline—you might be interested in the following true story.

Not long ago a friend of ours went down to the Board of Registrars in the Tuscaloosa County Courthouse. He was twenty-one and wanted to register to vote. He was second in line, right behind an old Negro man. The Negro told the lady behind the desk that he wanted to register to vote. She said it was too late, since he had not paid his poll tax. Without a word the old man turned and slowly shuffled out of the office.

Then our friend stepped up and told the lady he was twenty-one and wanted to register to vote. She told him, too, that he could not register since he had not paid his poll tax. Our friend whipped out his copy of the 24th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America and quoted the part about not having to pay poll tax in elections for national offices.

The lady behind the desk smiled and let him register.

Poll Tax

Substitute For Poll Tax Ruled Illegal

Atl. Const, 5-31-64

RICHMOND, Va. (AP) — Virginia's certificate of residence plan, a plan enacted by a special legislative session last November to take up the slack once the poll tax was outlawed for federal elections, was declared unconstitutional Saturday.

A three-judge federal court, in throwing out the certificate plan, said, however, the poll tax was still valid in state elections.

The opinion, written by Judge Albert V. Bryan of the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, said the effect of the ruling would be suspended for 30 days to permit an appeal—if one is desired—to the United States Supreme Court.

Virginia's new laws kept the poll tax for state and local elections. Any person who, otherwise quaiflied, paid the $1.50 a year poll tax was permitted to vote in federal, state and local elections.

Should an otherwise qualified voter desire to vote in federal elections without paying the poll tax, he would have been permitted to do so by filing the certificate of residence—a form setting out his name, address and a statement certifying that he intended to remain at that address a least until the forthcoming election.

The certificate was required six months before the general election, the same date set for payment of the poll tax.

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Year Ago.
2,628,000

Poll Tax

Court Order On Poll Tax Fight Shakes Solons

Selma Times-Journal 6/2/64

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—With election officials under federal court restraint, Democrats nominate a senator and five representatives today.

County election officials, under a court order issued Monday, were barred from requiring that voters producue a poll tax receipt.

A new amendment to the U.S. Constitution forbids a poll tax in a federal election.

However, the legislature has tried to go around this by quietly passing a law that voters didn't have to pay the tax—but had to obtain a receipt, anyhow.

Voters who refuse to produce a receipt will have to sign an affidavit that they were registered as voters at least 30 days before the election. Then their vote will be put aside, to await the outcome of the court fight on whether the new "receipt" law is constitutional.

The ballot included four Negro candidates. They agreed they had no chance. They said their campaigns was mainly to show that Negroes find it difficult to vote in this Deep South state.

The six congressmen, all veterans, were expected to win renomination. Since Reconstruction Days, Democratic renomination has meant election in Mississippi.

The six—Sen. John Stennis and Reps. Jamie L. Whitten, William M. Colmer, William A. Winstead, John B. Williams and Thomas G. Abernethy.

Polls opens at 6 a.m. and close at 7 p.. Secretary of State Heber Ladner predicted a turnout of about 200,000.

Stennis was opposed by Victoria Jackson Gray, a Hattiesburg Negro. She campaigned actively. Stennis remained in Washington for the fight against the livil rights bill.

Fannie Lou Hamer of Rueville opposed Whitten. The Rev. John Cameron, a Negro minister from Hattiesburg, was among those opposing Comer. J. M. Houston, a retired Negro furniture dealer from Vilksburg, opposed Williams.

Reliable figures are impossible to compile but it is estimated that less than 30,000 Negroes are qualified to vote. Negroes make up about half of the state's population.

Poll Tax

Memo from BARBARA PATTERSON

Jack & Randolph:

I think the Voter Education Project would be interested in the following:

Years when poll tax passed as a requirement for voting	State
1877	Ga.
1889	Fla.
1890	Miss.
	Tenn.
1893	Ark.
1895	S.C.
1898	La.
1901	Ala.
1902	N.C.
	Va.
	Tex.

Memo from WILEY A. BRANTON

List of States ratifying the Anti-Poll Tax Amendment.
38 required for adoption

FOR	AGAINST
1. Illinois	1. Mississippi
2. West Virginia S,H, Unan.	2.
3. New York S,55-2	3.
4. New Jersey	4.
	5.

Note: Above 4 may not be listed in order of date of approval by respective states

5. Maryland 125-3
6. Oregon
7. Montana S,51-4,H,56-37
8. California S34-0,H70-3
9. Indiana
10. Rhode Island
11. Michigan
12. Alaska
13. Ohio
14. Idaho
15. Hawaii
16. New Mexico
17. Utah
18. Minnesota
19. North Dakota
20. Colorado
21. Washington
22. Vermont
23. Tennessee
24. Nevada
25. Connecticut
26. Wisconsin
27. Pennsylvania
28. Kansas
29. Massachusetts
30. Nebraska
31. Florida
32. Iowa
33. Delaware
34. Missouri
35. New Hampshire
36. Kentucky
37. Maine
38. South Dakota

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CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
Suite 111, 7750 Roosevelt Boulevard
Philadelphia 15, Pennsylvania
DE 8-7333 Code 215

July, 1964

ANNUAL REPORT of MODERN COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS, INC. and PLANNED COMMUNITIES, INC.

This is a report to you - my 1500 bosses, the stockholders of M.C.D. and P.C. - on the what, the why and the how of our companies:

Since MCD was formed in '58, as a result of successful open housing in Philadelphia and Princeton, we have gone through two separate stages of development. The first involved the period from MCD's formation when we started building homes in eight states, to 1961 when we realized the full import of the Deerfield battle - that building new communities was fine - but could be painfully slow! We began planning for a new policy. The four year Deerfield battle ended in June, 1963 with a major financial loss to our wholly owned subsidiary Progress Development Corporation, when the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear our appeal from the condemnation of our two sites in this all-white Chicago suburb.

Fallout from this battle hurt our job in Waterbury, Conn., where the "massive integration" slogan of Illinois opposition was used to label the new community being built by our subsidiary Meadow Homes.

The Deerfield battle resulted however in a myriad of new friends and in a major change of policy . . . the purchase of apartment houses to open them to all. Just as we have been operating with separate corporations for each job to protect the interests of MCD stockholders in case any one of the jobs had difficulties, each apartment house venture is a separate one in the form of a limited partnership where the investor's liability is limited to the amount he puts up. Thus, if a building does well each investor gains and our company gains to the extent of our share of ownership.

APARTMENT HOUSES The first, 72 apartments, was purchased early in 1962 with the assistance of a $250,000 revolving apartment house fund established by an MCD board member. This building, after paying 4% the first year, is now paying investors 8% cash flow, tax free for several years due to depreciation, plus additional tax benefits. For the past year investors have found a ready market for their $1,000 limited partnership units at $1,085. Six non-whites are living there. No one has moved out because of integration.

Before MCD was formed pioneer projects did use quotas to advance integration. No quotas are used in our apartment houses. We use our knowledge of the housing market to reach all people, keeping in mind always our goal of integration.

Our second building, twice the size of the first, was purchased early in 1964 with MCD buying the ground under it and Planned Communities receiving a $65,000 interest in ownership of the building. This too was integrated without incident. Our accountant's projections show it too should pay an 8% cash flow after the first year of preliminary operation and improvement.

The third development, over 400 garden apartments, was purchased in June. MCD received $65,000 interest in it.

Management fees and profits to MCD and PC from these three buildings should provide almost 90% of our $35,000 a year overhead.

OTHER OPERATIONS

Maryland A new, 40 acre site which we had purchased was taken in part for a high school, leaving us 10 acres or 29 lots to be developed.

Waterbury All houses are sold. There are eleven white and two Negro purchasers. A self-help project is planned for our twenty finished lots and co-op garden apartments on 24 acres. We are working with the FCH Corporation on plans for both. Foundation help has been promised for the self-help housing, where a non-profit group will erect shell houses, and families who complete them will get sweat-equity of several thousand dollars.

Providence A construction contract is signed and building should start shortly on this $7,500,000, 480 unit garden apartment-shopping center job. Our board member, Irving Jay Fain is president of the local group, University Heights, Inc.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Construction has begun on the second half of the 120 unit Rutland Towers middle income co-op. Occupancy begins this summer.

Riverdale - Bronx, N. Y. We have decided to sell the six acre site overlooking the Hudson because the cost of development has become excessive. Interest has been shown by builders friendly to open occupancy.

Wilmington Three new families moved into Runnemede in the past year. Three of twelve families now in are Negro. We believe our success here influenced an open occupancy policy adopted recently by the builders and realtors of the great Wilmington area with the support of the power structure.

BUDGET The MCD budget was cut sharply. From January to June of 1963 we were running at an annual rate of $65,000; prior to that $100,000. We cut the budget to $35,000 and are doing well. Meanwhile income is up. In 1963, there was a $16,000 profit for PC. MCD had a $172,000 loss, largely because of the Deerfield low condemnation award and legal costs. For 1964, the cash flow to date indicates a profit for both MCD and PC. PC could pay a dividend in 1965 if the board feels this is better than

putting profits back to work for you. It is not likely that MCD will pay a dividend for some years, but I do expect its book value will rise, based on growth in the apartment house field and profits made by MCD and PC. MCD holds 10,000 of 12,400 shares of PC common.

A market now exists for MCD and PC stock. Bengston and Company, 200 E. 36 street, New York City is specializing in it. Anyone wishing to buy or sell MCD or PC stock should write to them. Book value as of December 31, 1963 was $10.93 per share of MCD stock. It is increasing with the growth of MCD's equity in the land under one of the buildings and in other apartments. Planned Communities Class A, preferred in liquidation, sells for $100 a share, which was the original price and is book value. Planned Communities common, issued at $1, has been selling for $10 a share.

The National Committee on Tithing in Investment - (NCTI) was formed in May to urge non-profit institutions and individuals to invest about 10% of their available capital in open housing. Eliot D. Pratt is founding chairman; Congressman Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota, board chairman. Others on the Board: Sterling Tucker, John J.O'Connor, Kivie Kaplan, Daniel Singer, Emil Mazey, Seth Glickenhaus and myself. Executive secretary is Howard Smith.

NCTI sponsors, as we go to press, include: Msgr. John Egan, Wm. H. Scheide, Robert Spike, Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., Bishop John Burgess, Henry Hitt Crane, Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, Dorothy I.Height, Roland Gittlesohn, Balfour Brickner, Eugene Lipman, Bayard Rustin, Irving Jay Fain, Truman Douglas, Whitney Young, John Cronin.

How stockholders can help MCD grow:

1. Stockholders' meetings around the country are needed. Stockholders who want to plan such meetings should write MCD. Such meetings clarify operations for stockholders.

2. When people plan to move to Washington, New York, Philadelphia, Providence, Wilmington or Connecticut - urge them to write to MCD about housing.

3. Tithing in Investment Become a sponsor - Write NCTI for literature - Room 704, 1914 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C.

4. Live your beliefs If you can't move, try to integrate your neighborhood, and get friends interested in MCD's apartment house work.

5. We need more revolving funds for apartment houses, $250,000 to $1 million or more each. We need more institutional investors - churches, unions and other non-profit groups. Two foundations invested, along with individuals, in limited partnership units in our third apartment community.

The growth of MCD and PC has been largely due to a tireless board. All board members have worked loyally to make our progress possible. Also we owe much to our National Advisory Committee and to our 1500 stockholders many of whom work hard and sacrifice to build MCD.

Working together I know we can build a world where, in the words of Pauli Murray, every man can be "friend and brother to every other man."

At the Annual Meeting, June 10th, the following board was elected unanimously for the coming year:

Benjamin J. Anderson	Thomas A. Gaines	Robert R. Nathan
Harold M. Bailer	Seth M. Glickenhaus	Andrew E. Norman
William W. Brill	Morton S. Grossman	Eliot D. Pratt
Chester F. Carlson	Dorothy I. Height	Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
Albert Sprague Coolidge	Frank S. Loescher	William H. Scheide
Peter J. Davies	Norman P. Mason	David H. Scull
Max Delson	John A. McDermott	Herbert H. Tate
Irving Jay Fain	Morris Milgram	Sterling Tucker
James Farmer	Frank C. Montero	H. John Weisman
	Dorothy S. Montgomery	

Following the annual meeting the Averell Harriman Equal Housing Opportunity Award Luncheon was held. Honored with plaques by John Costanza were:

Max Weinrib, Chicago builder, executive vice president of MCD's Illinois Subsidiary, Progress Development Corp.

Dr. Arthur G. Falls, Chicago surgeon and Chairman of the board of Progress.

Eliot D. Pratt, Connecticut farmer, publisher of Current, chairman of the board of Goddard College and co-producer of film "Point of Order."

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. leading civil rights attorney, chairman of the board of MCD's Washington D.C. subsidiary, Homeparks: ADA's civil rights chairman; chief counsel in the Deerfield freedom of residence case.

At the board meeting, June 10, 2:00 p.m. vice-chairman Frank C. Montero was elected chairman of the boards of MCD and PC. Former chairmen David H. Scull and Andrew E. Norman were elected vice presidents. Other officers; President, Morris Milgram; Treasurer, Harold M. Bailer; Secretary, Max Delson; Asst. Secretary-Treasurer, Thomas V. Garth; Counsel, Max Delson; Asst. Secretary, Herbert Max.

The new board chairman, Frank C. Montero of Riverdale, New York City was a founder of MCD. He was associate executive director of the National Urban League and is special assistant to Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Mission to the United Nations. He brings to this post broad knowledge of the field and the company and a rare ability to work with people.

A summarized financial report is enclosed. Copies of the CPA's complete report are available on request.

Sincerely,

Morris Milgram

Morris Milgram

A FIRST YEAR REPORT

BY THE PLANS FOR PROGRESS ADVISORY COUNCIL

August 1964

PLANS FOR PROGRESS

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • AREA CODE 212 – 751-0300

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Clayton R. Yates
Dwight R. Zook

Arthur Q. Funn
Legal Counsel

October 23, 1964

OCT 26 1964

Dear Wiley:

The National Urban League is pleased to invite your participation in a three-day "Community Action Assembly", to be held in Washington, D. C., at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, from December 9th through 11th. This meeting is being held especially for the purpose of sharing information with you, and focussing on the challenges imposed on all of us to see to it that the new programs made possible under government and private auspices which can significantly affect the socio-economic conditions of Negro citizens are understood, given proper direction, and made meaningful to those persons for whom they are particularly intended.

Our meeting is directed especially to heads of national organizations who bear a responsibility for community action programs, and to other community leaders. In initiating this Assembly of Negro leadership, the National Urban League is carrying out its historic responsibility as a professional agency in the social welfare field. Because of our trained staff and an experience gained over a period of 54 years the League is uniquely equipped to contribute importantly in the implementation of these measures.

We firmly believe that this Assembly will be one of the most significant meetings of our time, concerned as it will be with the "meat, bread and potatoes" issues that affect us all. We are deliberately restricting the number of persons who will participate; invitations are going only to organizational heads and to some key individuals.

Ours will be an action conference. We have been assured of the participation of the Administration, appropriate Cabinet members and their key aides. They will counsel with us as we work to develop guidelines for local community action based on these new, expanded programs - and to answer questions which might be raised concerning their effective implementation. These are crucial times. It is incumbent upon us to see to it that slogans such as "Freedom Now" and "Equal Opportunity" are transformed into tangible programs leading to better jobs, better housing, better education and a richer, fuller life for all Americans.

UL Poverty Corp

Affiliated with National Social Welfare Assembly, National Conference on Social Welfare
Contributions to the National Urban League are tax deductible

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The Urban League believes that it would be a tragic indictment on all of us if the unprecedented efforts which led to the passage of the Civil Rights Bill and the Anti-Poverty Bill are dissipated because leadership fails to move effectively to insure their implementation. Many of our organizations can conceivably qualify as recipients of funds for these programs - and many of the new opportunities will be meaningless unless resources are secured to put those programs into operation.

We know that many demands are being made upon you at this time, but the urgency of these issues requires that you give this high priority. We regret that we have not been able to secure the financial resources to make it possible for us to defray your expenses in connection with the meeting. We are confident, however, that the significance of the meeting will be so clear there will be no question of your organization's bearing the necessary expenses. We are eliminating the "conference extras" - registration fee and the like - in order to reduce the over-all cost.

Please fill out the enclosed registration card and return it to us at once. Insure your hotel accommodation by sending in the hotel reservation card direct to the Sheraton-Park.

I look forward to having you as a participant in this important meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

From: Public Relations Department
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017
212 751-0302

Guichard Parris, Director
Sherwood Ross, News Director

FOR RELEASE
MONDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1964

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The National Urban League is taking quick action in an effort to get Federal anti-poverty funds flowing out of Washington and into Negro communities across the nation.

Its three-day Community Action Assembly, which will attract 300 top national Negro spokesmen to Washington, Dec. 9-11, would be notable if only for the star-studded roster of high-ranking Federal officials who will speak, capped by an appearance of President Johnson.

But it's less spectacular long-range effect, League spokesmen hope, will be even greater. Their aim: to bring together the Administration's cabinet secretaries and their aides with Negro leaders to open pipelines of self-help for poverty-struck Harlems from New York to Seattle.

The League itself has gotten off to an early start in obtaining Federal grants for retraining programs in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and New York, and for a housing upgrade operation in Milwaukee. The League's national director, Whitney M. Young Jr., believes that scores of non-profit and community-serving agencies are also entitled to a chunk of the funds.

Reading over the roster of participating spokesmen indicates that other Negro leadership groups have like ideas. The roll of delegates, representing a veritable cross-section of Negro life, will be boning up on the delicate art of "grantsmanship." Some, whose past activities concentrated predominantly on picketing and marching to topple racial barriers now may revamp part of their operations to topple qualification barriers.

"As the racial walls come down," Young says, "we must have the live, warm

. . . more

Urban League Poverty Cop

bodies of qualified men and women to pour through the breech. We must have scholars as well as football stars and engineers as well as entertainers."

Workshop sessions, consequently, have dull and undramatic titles like "Implementing the Economic Opportunity Act in Health and Welfare," or "Voluntary Agencies and the Economic Opportunity Program." For the YMCA or settlement house director serving Negro citizens in a southern or midwestern city, this may mean a lesson in how to get crucially-needed dollars for taking kids off the streets and replacing the lure of the pool hall with apprenticeship training or tutoring help.

Telling how to do it at these high-level "workshops" will be cabinet-rank experts like W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor; Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; and Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA). An added attraction will be R. Sargent Shriver, War on Poverty Director. An appearance by the President on Dec. 10th in The Sheraton-Park Hotel conference site will highlight the meeting.

In his keynote address opening the parley Young will portray what non-profit organizations can accomplish by citing the League's work. In Milwaukee, the local League has received a $103,000 HHFA grant to establish five information centers where low-income families can bring their housing problems.

In Cleveland, the League recently secured a $211,000 on-the-job training grant from the Labor Department to help 350 unemployed workers rise out of poverty. Pittsburgh's League got a $100,000 contract to train 100 workers.

The Urban League of Greater New York, in co-operation with Yeshiva University, has received Federal aid to prepare Negro school teachers from southern States qualify for State certification. And the National Urban League has received foundation grants for a wide variety of undertakings ranging from youth motivation to establishing regional headquarters.

"We cannot afford 35,000,000 American poor, whatever their race," Young said recently. "We have the resources and the 'know how' to mobilize our society and lift the afflicted out of the shadow of poverty and into the light.

. . . more

"If we do not, we shall appear to the world as selfish, callous and not understanding what democracy is all about, and we shall have failed ourselves."

Coordinator for the Assembly is Isobel C. Clark, National Urban League Associate Director for special programs.

National Urban League
COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY
Washington, D. C.

HEALTH AND WELFARE SESSION

Delaware Room
Thursday, December 10, 1964

Presiding: Jeweldean Jones, Associate Director Health and Welfare

THEME: LIFE LINE TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HEALTH AND WELFARE

9:00 "PRIORITY NEEDS OF NEGROES IN HEALTH AND WELFARE" — Jeweldean Jones

KEYNOTE ADDRESS — Anthony J. Celebrezze
Secretary
Health, Education and Welfare

9:45 IMPLEMENTING THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT IN HEALTH AND WELFARE

Leader — Lisle C. Carter
Assistant Director
Interagency Relations
Office of Economic Opportunity

The Team: Governmental and Non-Governmental

Dr. Richard A. Prindle
Chief
Division of Public Health Methods
U. S. Public Health Service

Andrew R. Truelson
Assistant Director
Bureau of Family Services
Welfare Administration

Jules H. Berman
Chief
Division of Welfare Services
Welfare Administration

Dr. Mabel Ross
Special Assistant in
Mental Health
Bureau of State Services
U. S. Public Health Service

Campbell G. Murphy
Director
Special Programs Department
United Community Services of
Metropolitan Boston

10:45 GROUP DISCUSSIONS LEADING TO ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS

DISCUSSION LEADERS	RESOURCE PERSONS
GROUP I Delaware Room	
Miss Lisbeth Bamberger Assistant Director Department of Social Service AFL-CIO	Dr. Mabel Ross Dr. Kenneth Clement** Past President National Medical Association
GROUP II Delaware Room	
Clarence D. Coleman Director NUL Southern Regional Office	Lisle C. Carter, Jr.*** Walter Lewis, Deputy Director Federal Programs Division Civil Rights Commission, U. S.
GROUP III Delaware Room	
Dr. Paul B. Cornely* Head, Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health Howard University	Dr. Richard A. Prindle Dr. William Jackson, Dean Atlanta University School of Social Work
GROUP IV Maryland Suite	
James R. Dumpson* Commissioner Department of Welfare New York City	Campbell G. Murphy Dr. Grace L. Hewell Program Coordination Office Department Health, Education and Welfare

*Member, NUL Health and Welfare Committee

**President-Elect Cleveland Urban League Board

***Member, NUL Board of Directors

	DISCUSSION LEADERS	RESOURCE PERSONS
GROUP V	Maryland Suite	
	Mrs. Naomi T. Gray* Field Director Planned Parenthood Federation of America	Jules H. Berman Dr. Inabel Lindsay, Dean Howard University School of Social Work
GROUP VI	Maryland Suite	
	Nelson C. Jackson Director NUL Eastern Regional Office	Andrew R. Truelson Mrs. Ersa Poston Director New York State Office of Economic Opportunity

12:00 Delaware Room

ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE GROUPS: Jeweldean Jones

*Member, NUL Health and Welfare Committee

COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY
sponsored by the
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Washington, D. C. December 9-11, 1964

OUTLINE OF IMMEDIATE ACTION

WHAT WILL THE URBAN LEAGUE DO?

The National Urban League will:

1. Send you a report of the Assembly. - by January 15
2. Prepare and send you a supplement to the Handbook. This supplement will include the Community Action Guidelines. - by January 30
3. Produce a "how to do it" film to help you interpret the Anti-Poverty program. - by February 15
4. Make available to you the services of the entire Urban League organization - National Headquarters, Washington Bureau, Regional Offices, Local Offices.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. REPORT AT ONCE TO YOUR MEMBERSHIP AND TELL THEM ABOUT THE ASSEMBLY - ITS INFORMATION, ITS INSPIRATION, ITS CHALLENGE.
2. Urge that the Anti-Poverty Program be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of your affiliate, branch or chapter.
3. Send the National Urban League your roster, with the names and addresses of the head and secretary of each affiliate, branch or chapter. (The NUL will send supplementary materials to you and to each one of them at nominal cost.)
4. Alert your affiliates, branches or chapters to be ready for unified community cooperation in the War on Poverty.
5. Follow-up with your constituency as soon as the Community Action Guidelines and other materials are received.

The National Urban League would like to feel that it can contact you at some future date with reference to progress being made by your organization in working on the War on Poverty.

: : :

National Urban League -- 14 East 48th Street -- New York, New York 10017

Code 212 751-0300

COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY

PROGRAM

Theme: "Lifeline to Equal Opportunity"

Sponsored
by the
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

December 9-11, 1964
The Sheraton-Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

14 East 48th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9th

Registration	9 AM – 12 PM Upper Concourse

OPENING SESSION

1:30 PM
Delaware Room

Presiding: RAMON S. SCRUGGS
NUL Vice-President
Public Relations Manager
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

Greetings: **"THE REGIONAL AND WASHINGTON VIEWPOINT" –**

MRS. CERNORIA D. JOHNSON
Director, NUL Washington Bureau

Keynote Address: WHITNEY M. YOUNG, Jr.
NUL Executive Director

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9th

HOUSING SESSION — 2:30 PM, Delaware Room

THEME: **LIFELINE TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY – ELIMINATING THE GHETTO AND SLUM**

Presiding: PAGET L. ALVES, Jr.
Associate Director, Housing

Statement on: "Problems and Needs"

RESOURCE PANEL:

DR. FRANK S. HORNE
DR. BOOKER T. McGRAW
GEORGE B. NESBITT
J. LAWRENCE DUNCAN
PHILIP G. SADLER
OLIVER W. HILL

RESOURCE PERSONS:

Government	Labor
MILTON P. SEMER Deputy Administrator Housing & Home Finance Agency	ROLAND M. SAWYER National Housing Consultant United Steelworkers of America

The Housing Industry	Community Groups
JAMES G. BANKS Executive Director United Planning Organization	JACK E. WOOD, Jr. Associate Executive Director National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

WORKSHOPS — 3:30 PM

DISCUSSION LEADERS:

DR. FRANK S. HORNE
DR. BOOKER T. McGRAW
GEORGE B. NESBITT
J. LAWRENCE DUNCAN
PHILIP G. SADLER
OLIVER W. HILL
JACK E. WOOD, Jr.
ROLAND M. SAWYER
EDWARD RUTLEDGE
WILLIAM H. OLIVER
JAMES G. BANKS
STERLING TUCKER

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: POVERTY–CIVIL RIGHTS–HOUSING — 4:30 PM
DR. ROBERT C. WEAVER
Administrator
Housing & Home Finance Agency

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9th
(CONT'D.)

REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WORKSHOPS		5:00 PM
SUMMARY	PAGET L. ALVES, Jr.	5:15 PM
ADJOURNMENT		5:30 PM

GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION		8:30 PM Delaware Room
Presiding:	HON. HOBSON R. REYNOLDS NUL Trustee; Grand Exalted Ruler, Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World	
An Address:	HON. R. SARGENT SHRIVER Director Office of Economic Opportunity and Peace Corps	

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10th

HEALTH AND WELFARE SESSION — 9:00 AM, Delaware Room

THEME: **LIFELINE TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY**

Presiding: JEWELDEAN JONES
Associate Director
Health and Welfare

Statement on: "Priority Needs of Negroes In Health and Welfare"

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: ANTHONY J. CELEBREZZE
Secretary
Health, Education and Welfare

DISCUSSION GROUP: IMPLEMENTING THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT IN HEALTH AND WELFARE — 9:45 AM, Delaware Room

Group Leader: LISLE C. CARTER, Jr.
Assistant Director
Interagency Relations
Office of Economic Opportunity

Federal Public Health	Federal Welfare Services
DR. RICHARD A. PRINDLE Chief Division of Public Health Methods U.S. Public Health Service	JULES H. BERMAN Chief Division of Welfare Services Welfare Administration

Federal Family Services	Community Services
ANDREW R. TRUELSON Assistant Director Bureau of Family Services Welfare Administration	CAMPBELL G. MURPHY Director Special Programs Department United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston

GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH MEMBERS OF THE TEAM AND GROUP LEADERS LEADING TO COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS — 10:45 AM

Appropriate Resource Persons will be used.

REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE GROUPS — 12:00 Noon

SUMMARY — JEWELDEAN JONES — 12:15 PM

ADJOURNMENT — 12:30 PM

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10th
(CONT'D.)

EDUCATION AND YOUTH INCENTIVES — 1:30 PM, Delaware Room

THEME: **LIFELINE TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION**
...Problems and Resources for the Education of Negro Citizens

Presiding: OTIS E. FINLEY, Jr.
Associate Director
Education and Youth Incentives

Statement on: "Education and Vocational Opportunities from Nursery to Adulthood"

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: HON. FRANCIS KEPPEL
Commissioner
U. S. Office of Education

DISCUSSION GROUP: "OPENING DOORS TO EXISTING LAWS AND PROGRAMS" — 2:30 PM, Delaware Room

RESOURCE PERSONS:

I-Vocational Education Program
ROY DUGGER
Chairman
Manpower Administrator, HEW

II-Adult Education Program
DR. EDWARD BRICE
Chairman
Director, Adult Education Branch
U. S. Office of Education

III-Private Responsibilities
DR. ARTHUR SINGER
Chairman
Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of N. Y.

IV-Elementary & Secondary Education Programs
DR. HELEN McINTOSH
Chairman
Chief, Div. of Elementary Education
U. S. Office of Education, HEW

V-Higher Education Programs
DR. BROADUS BUTLER
Chairman
Assistant for Special Higher Ed.
U. S. Office of Education

Appropriate Resource Persons will be used in the Workshop Sessions.

REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WORKSHOPS — 4:00 PM

SUMMARY — OTIS E. FINLEY, Jr. — 4:25 PM

ADJOURNMENT — 5:00 PM

GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION — 8:00 PM, Delaware Room

An Address: THE HONORABLE LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
The President of the United States

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Followed by: PRESIDENTIAL RECEPTION — Maryland Suite

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11th

JOB OPPORTUNITY SESSION — 9:00 AM, Delaware Room

THEME: **LIFELINE TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY – BETTER JOBS MEAN STRONGER FAMILY TIES**

Presiding: M. T. PURYEAR
Associate Director
Job Development and Employment
Project Director, National Skills Bank

Statement on: "Problems of the Negro Worker"

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: HON. W. WILLARD WIRTZ
Secretary
Department of Labor

Presentation: DR. ANDREW BRIMMER
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Economic Policy Review
Department of Commerce

Statement on: "The Economics of Full Employment" – with special emphasis on the utilization of Negro manpower.

WORKSHOP SESSIONS — IMPLEMENTING THE EMPLOYMENT PHASES OF THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES ACT — 10:15 AM

Workshop #1 — Presiding: HEMAN M. SWEATT
Field Representative
National Skills Bank

I. MANAGEMENT'S RESPONSIBILITIES

G. WILLIAM MILLER
Chairman
Advisory Committee
Plans for Progress
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

RESOURCE PERSONS:

DON M. THOMAS
(Attorney, American Airlines)
Administrative Coordinator
Plans for Progress
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

CHARLES WEXLER
Special Assistant
Corporate Personnel Staff
Chrysler Corporation

WORKSHOP SESSIONS (Continued) 10:15 AM

Workshop #2 Presiding: ADOLPH HOLMES
Assistant Director
Job Development and Employment
Assistant Project Director
National Skills Bank

II. LABOR'S RESPONSIBILITIES

DONALD SLAIMAN
Director
Civil Rights Dept.
AFL-CIO

RESOURCE PERSONS:

FREDERICK O'NEAL
President
Actors Equity Association

WILLIAM H. OLIVER
Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Dept., UAW-CIO

BOYD L. WILSON
International Representative
United Steelworkers of America

Workshop #3 Presiding: MERRILL TRIBBLE
Training Coordinator
Job Development & Employment, NUL

III. UTILIZING PRESENT RESOURCES OF GOVERNMENT

JOHN C. DONOVAN
Manpower Administrator
U. S. Department of Labor

RESOURCE PERSONS:

ARTHUR A. CHAPIN
Special Assistant
to the Secretary of Labor
U. S. Department of Labor

DONALD GLOVER
Special Assistant
Bureau of Employment Security
U. S. Department of Labor

LAWRENCE O. HOUSTON
Chief, Div. of Special Group Activities
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training
U. S. Department of Labor

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11th
(CONT'D.)

WORKSHOP SESSIONS (Continued) 10:15 AM

Workshop #4 Presiding: CLARENCE D. COLEMAN
Director
Southern Regional Office, NUL

IV: ATTACKING PROBLEMS NOT COVERED BY PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED PROGRAMS

DR. WILLIAM P. GORMBLEY
Associate Director
Program in Economic Development and Administration
The Ford Foundation

RESOURCE PERSONS:

WILLIAM M. SEABRON
Assistant to
Carl B. Barnes,
Personnel Director
U.S. Department of Agriculture

EDWARD S. DULCAN
Executive Secretary
Task Force for Equal Opportunity in Business
U.S. Department of Commerce

RANDALL L. TYUS
Special Assistant to the Administrator
U.S. Small Business Administration

Workshop #5 Presiding: DESMOND H. SEALY
Associate Director
Washington Bureau, NUL

V. GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

JOHN W. MACY, Jr.
Chairman
U.S. Civil Service Commission

RESOURCE PERSONS:

JOHN HOPE, II
Director
Federal Employment Program
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

JAMES R. POOLE
Assistant to the Director
College Relations & Recruitment
U.S. Civil Service Commission

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11th
(CONT'D.)

REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WORKSHOPS		11:45 AM
SUMMARY	M.T. PURYEAR	12:20 PM
ADJOURNMENT		12:30 PM
SUMMARY SESSION		1:30 PM Delaware Room

Presiding: HENRY A. TALBERT
Los Angeles, California
Director
NUL Western Regional Office

REACTION PANEL: Representatives of National Organizations

REV. DR. D.E. KING – New York City
Member
National Baptist Convention U.S.A., Inc.

DR. BENNETA WASHINGTON – Washington, D.C.
Member
National Council of Negro Women

MR. BERKELEY G. BURRELL – Washington, D.C.
President
National Business League

MRS. ROBERTA WOOTEN – Cincinnati, Ohio
Supervisor
Family Services Association of Cincinnati

Q.V. WILLIAMSON – Washington, D.C.
President
National Association of Real Estate Brokers

STAFF

CONFERENCE OFFICE
Adams Room

ISOBEL CHISHOLM CLARK
Assembly Co-ordinator

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE
Madison Room

FRANK L. STANLEY, Jr.
Director

REGISTRATION OFFICE
Calvert Suite
(Upper Concourse)

BEATRICE S. FAULKNER
Administrative Assistant

SYLVIA LAUTER
Program Analyst

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

NATIONAL OFFICE

14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

WASHINGTON BUREAU

Mrs. Cernoria D. Johnson, Director
777 Fourteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

REGIONAL OFFICES

Eastern: Nelson C. Jackson, Director
14 East 48th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

Mideastern: Raymond R. Brown, Director
1226 First National Tower
106 South Main Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

Midwestern: M. Leo Bohanon, Director
Chemical Building
721 Olive Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63101

Southern: Clarence D. Coleman, Director
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Western: Henry A. Talbert, Director
945 South Western Avenue
Los Angeles, California

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

150

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY
The Sheraton Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.

December 9 - 11, 1964

Housing Session
Delaware Room
Wednesday - December 9, 1964
2:30 - 5:00 PM

Presiding
Paget L. Alves, Jr.
Associate Director - Housing

LIFELINE TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY - BUSTING THE GHETTO AND SLUM

2:30 PM Opening Session

The Problems and Needs - Paget L. Alves, Jr.
Associate Director - Housing

The Resources

Government - Milton P. Semer
Deputy Administrator
Housing & Home Finance Agency

Labor - Roland M. Sawyer
National Housing Consultant
United Steelworkers of America

The Housing Industry - James G. Banks
Executive Director
United Planning Organization

Community Groups - Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director
National Committee Against
Discrimination in Housing

Resource Panel and Discussion Leaders

Dr. Frank S. Horne, Consultant on Human Relations, Housing and Redevelopment Board, New York
Dr. Booker T. McGraw, Assistant to the Administrator for Intergroup Relations, Housing & Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C.
Mr. George B. Nesbitt, Director, Low-Income Housing Demonstration Program, Housing & Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C.
Mr. J. Lawrence Duncan, Intergroup Relations Officer, Urban Renewal Administration, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Philip G. Sadler, Special Assistant to the Commissioner, Public Housing Administration, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Oliver W. Hill, Assistant to the Commissioner, Intergroup Relations Service, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Jack E. Wood, Jr., Associate Executive Director, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, New York, N. Y.
Mr. Roland M. Sawyer, Housing Consultant, United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mr. Edward Rutledge, Executive Director, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, New York, N. Y.
Mr. William H. Oliver, Co-Director, United Automobile Workers Union, Solidarity House, Detroit, Michigan
Mr. James G. Banks, Executive Director, United Planning Organization, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Sterling Tucker, Executive Director, Washington Urban League, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Milton Semer, Deputy Administrator, Housing & Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C.

4:30 PM	Poverty - Civil Rights - Housing	-	Dr. Robert C. Weaver Administrator Housing & Home Finance Agency
4:45 PM	Summary	-	Paget L. Alves, Jr.
5:00 PM	Adjournment		

COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY

(HANDBOOK)

Theme: "Lifeline to Equal Opportunity"

Sponsored
by the
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

December 9-11, 1964
The Sheraton-Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.

National Urban League

National Office

14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

Washington Bureau

777 Fourteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Regional Offices

Eastern: 14 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

Mideastern: 1226 First National Tower
106 South Main Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

Midwestern: Chemical Building
721 Olive Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63101

Southern: 250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Western: 945 South Western Avenue
Los Angeles, California

HANDBOOK INTRODUCTION

This handbook of scholarly information, prepared recently by the program staff of the National Urban League, for use by Community Action Assembly delegates, focuses on the immediate problems, needs, resources, and priorities that disadvantaged Negroes face in Housing, Employment, Education, and Health and Welfare.

Your careful perusal of this document preparatory to discussion would substantially enhance the opportunities for the Assembly to develop meaningful sets of guidelines for community action. Following the Assembly, the National Staff will forward a handbook supplement including Community Action Guidelines and other significant materials.

November 27, 1964

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CHAPTER I

PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO WORKER

I. Discrimination

Discriminatory practices in recruiting, screening, processing, hiring, upgrading, transfer and promotion by employers in all areas of work still loom as the number one problem facing Negro job-seekers and workers.

II. Education and Training

A. Lack of Vocational and Technical Schools

Lack of opportunity to pursue training in good vocational and technical schools continues to limit the number and kind of available skills among Negro job-seekers. Too often what is offered can be found among those backgrounds listed as "disappearing jobs."

B. Lack of Apprenticeship Opportunities

Of the 100,000 apprentices enrolled in U. S. Department of Labor approved programs, less than 2,500 of these were Negroes. Improving apprenticeship opportunities are a must, in order to provide more Negro workers in the craft and apprenticeable trades.

C. Inadequate Educational and Vocational Counseling

Lack of information about Negro youth, their aspirations, their ambitions, and their problems, grouped with present processes used in the selection of counselors, has resulted in unrealistic educational and vocational counseling programs for Negro youth.

III. Unemployment

Negroes represent 11 percent of the work force but 25 percent of unemployed. Among Negro youth, 19 through 24 years old, 24 percent are unemployed as compared to 14 percent to white youth. Lack of educational training and background make Negroes most susceptible to lay-offs due to technological changes and automation.

IV. Recruiting

A. Unrealistic Programs

Recruiting programs, whether intended for the high school level, college level or for experienced workers, need re-examination. Too often there is misunderstanding about the background of prospective Negro workers with regard to education experience and motivation, on the part of recruiters. Lack of information about present day work situations and requirements is a handicap to Negroes.

B. Lack of Cooperation Between Negro Colleges and Employers

The dialogue which has been going on between Negro educators and employers has not been sufficient to change materially stereotyped notions about the quality or quantity of education Negro youth receive. Teachers in Negro colleges, on the other hand, have not had an opportunity to work or participate in industry oriented programs which might give them an opportunity to become more familiar with work situations.

C. Misinformation About Negro Job-Seekers

Lack of communication between employers and the Negro community, particularly as it relates to education and counseling, serves to perpetuate the idea that Negro job-seekers are "special" and, as such, have low aspirations and ambitions.

D. Inability of Negro Youth to Pass Written Examinations

The fact that testing procedures have not always been used positively and Negro youth have had little experience with organized testing programs, has resulted in the development of present negative attitudes about testing in general.

V. Advancement on the Job

A. Integrating the Work Force

Although there have been policy statements prepared relating to integration and equal employment by most major employers, there has been difficulty in translating these statements into practices.

B. Lack of Opportunities for On-the-Job Training and Retraining

Employers have long recognized the fact that schools and colleges could not do the full job of training as required by any given industry. To meet this need, they have set up their own training programs to take up where the schools left off. However, Negro job-seekers have only participated in very limited numbers.

VI. Inadequate Placement Services

Inadequate placement services in schools and colleges, together with discriminatory practices of public and private employment agencies, still loom as a major problem for Negro job-seekers.

VII. Underemployment

Discriminatory hiring practices have resulted in developing a very substantial group of underemployed Negro workers. Lack of opportunity for promotion, transfer, and upgrading, no matter what the training, has put a ceiling on the use of Negro skills.

VIII. Lack of Community Concern

A community which operates inferior schools for Negro youth; which does not understand the aspirations, ambitions and hopes of Negro youth and adults; which limits employment opportunities for Negroes; which fails to enforce vigorously equal opportunity laws and regulations; which does not provide for full participation of its Negro citizens in all areas of community concern, is, in fact, not meeting its full responsibilities to all its citizens.

SUGGESTED CONSIDERATIONS FOR SOLVING SOME OF THE PROBLEMS FACED BY NEGRO WORKERS

I. Discrimination

Every vestige of discrimination in recruiting, hiring, training, promotion, transfer and upgrading must be eliminated from every area of employment in our economy. Negro citizens must utilize the provisions of every means of legal redress from local city ordinances up to and including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 whenever discrimination appears to be the cause for failure to hire, upgrade or be transferred.

II. Education and Training

A. Youth

1. Motivation and Stimulation

Parents play the major role in motivating and stimulating their children; however, since many of them have had unfavorable work experiences, this would be reflected in what is passed on to the children. Therefore, all segments of the community, not only need to be made aware of the problems, but must implement positive programs including changes in schools and attitudes of counselors in order to give meaning to Negro youth of their place in our society.

2. New Careers

There must be a realistic appraisal of the trends in future manpower requirements. More information must be disseminated in realistic terms as to the emerging occupations resulting from automation and technological change.

B. Adults

1. Training and Retraining

Adults must take advantage of all training programs whether they be in-service, on-the-job, adult education, technical or college offerings. Negro leaders must encourage their constituents to avail themselves to such training. They should serve on boards of institutions where such training is conducted to insure that realistic programs to meet the needs of minority group citizens are developed and implemented.

2. Reassessment of Occupation Status

The Negro parent must talk about manpower needs in relation to the abilities, skills and interests of his children. While there will be an increasing need for professional, technical, business and other white-collar jobs in the years ahead, there will also be need for larger numbers of workers in the skilled trade areas. Adults and youth alike should appraise their own abilities and interests with an aim toward examining the possibility of achieving success in the skilled trades area. If community acceptance and status are based on income and the solid family life, the well paid skilled worker has a good chance to become a community leader.

III. Mobility

Negroes, either at the time of initial employment, or when it is necessary to move with a firm which, for one reason or another, finds that relocation is necessary, must be mobile.

IV. Changes in Occupational Opportunities

The Negro community must be convinced that every positive activity represents an additional opportunity. Parents, as well as youth, must accept the fact that changes are taking place. Employers must be more convincing in the ways that they present this information to Negro job-seekers in order that it have more meaning. The responsibility of preparation for the change rests upon all of us.

RESOURCES

Resources available to community leaders and groups for providing materials, information and manpower as might be needed as plans are developed to raise the economic status of the Negro citizens.

I. Community

The Urban League *

Individuals and groups may work with local and national staff and volunteers in many programs that have been designed to assist Negroes to find rewarding jobs.

Presently in operation is a National Skills Bank in New York and 56 local Skills Banks in Urban League cities all over the country. Here, qualified Negroes may register their skills for consideration by employers.

In addition, the League is sponsoring secretarial training projects, on-the-job training projects with industry.

For further information you should contact:

Mr. M. T. Puryear, Associate Director
Job Development and Employment
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

Organized Labor

United Friends Services Committee

Local Employment Services

Other Agencies and Groups with Programs Specifically Geared to Help Minority Group Citizens

II. Government

U. S. Department of Labor
Office of Manpower and Training (MDTA Programs)
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training

U. S. Department of Commerce
Area Redevelopment Administration

Office of Economic Opportunity
Anti-Poverty Act

U. S. Office of Education
National Defense Act
Vocational Education Acts

Armed Forces

U. S. Civil Service Commission

Various Federal Government Departments and Installations

Veterans Administration

Small Business Administration

U. S. Civil Rights Commission

U. S. Community Services Department

* A statement similar to that under Urban League will be prepared for each Resource.

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CHAPTER II

HOUSING PROBLEMS OF NEGRO CITIZENS

I. Discrimination

Negro citizens today find themselves living in the readily identifiable ghetto directly due to discriminatory practices on the part of developers, realtors, landlords, Federal, State and Municipal Governments.

II. Present Housing

A. Dilapidation

The substandard housing in which minority group citizens are forced to reside are in need of repairs and renovation. Much of this housing has become available due to the "flight" of the previous tenants. It usually is old and without adequate heating and plumbing.

B. Overcrowding

Many times because of the high cost of rental, non-acceptance in other areas, and economic circumstances, Negroes are forced to live in overcrowded conditions. Housing, health, and sanitary codes frequently are not enforced.

C. Rental

Regardless of his ability to pay, the Negro cannot obtain adequate housing. Moreover, through various subterfuges where he has the means, he is unable to rent.

D. Ownership

The Negro buyer does not have freedom of choice in the selection of location of the property sought. He is obviously eliminated from even seeing houses in all areas because of the attitudes of certain realtors. Mortgage loans are more difficult for him to obtain irrespective of his position or income. In most instances, the points charged are higher than that of other buyers.

III. Urban Renewal

A. Selection of Areas and Projects

Most projects that have been implemented under this program have had as an express purpose, the elimination of slums. This has resulted in the program being identified as "Negro removal." These programs are generally in the Negro areas.

B. Relocation

Negro citizens in many instances have not been moved into integrated situations while being relocated, but rather into another ghetto. In some instances where these relocation projects specifically state that relocated residents have first priority in returning to the new housing built upon the cite, the Negro finds himself eliminated because of some administrative restriction.

C. Citizen Participation

Far too often, the decisions on the type and area of the urban renewal program have been made and the Negro citizen has been the last to know. He has not participated in the formulation of the plans for such projects although the regulations covering the program specifically state that there should be broad based community participation.

D. Non-white Participation in Redevelopment Process

The minority group citizen is used rarely as appraisers, contractors, staff assistants, etc. in the redevelopment process.

E. Slum Clearance

In slum clearance projects, evidence indicates that other low rental income housing is not available to those being relocated. Also, the cite which is cleared in many instances is being used for other priced rentals or for something other than housing. Hence, those who need the housing most, and can least afford to pay, are often victims of slum clearance projects.

IV. Neighborhood Conservation and Rehabilitation

More often it has been the unavailability of funds under this program which has prevented the full implementation in Negro communities.

V. Legislation

Very few cities and states have open occupancy housing laws. Such laws when proposed, have been very actively opposed and defeated by realtors and other groups with a vested interest.

SUGGESTED CONSIDERATIONS FOR SOLVING SOME OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE NEGRO IN HOUSING

I. Discrimination

The opportunity to secure adequate housing based upon the ability to pay must not be restricted by artificial barriers of discrimination based upon race, creed, color or national origin. Negro citizens must have free access to such housing. Therefore, restricted covenants, etc. must be eliminated from all housing.

II. Present Housing

A. Dilapidation

Dilapidated housing has to be eliminated from all American cities. To this end, the various Federal, state and municipal programs and financial resources concerned with this problem must be intelligently brought to bear in solving this problem.

B. Overcrowding

City ordinances must be passed and enforced to prevent overcrowding. Present health and sanitation codes must be vigorously enforced. Citizen groups have a responsibility in reporting violations and working with city officials to eliminate this problem.

C. Rental

Rentals, particularly of the low and middle income variety, must be increased to accommodate the present and anticipated need. Under the provisions of current legislation and regulations, church, civic groups, and banks should undertake the sponsorship of such housing projects in order to increase the supply.

D. Ownership

All housing insured by the FHA or Veteran's Administration upon being foreclosed, must be made available to all home seekers. Banks and other financial institutions must not have any differential in lending policies and/or point charges. Realtors must show all listings without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. Negroes should not create new ghettos when purchasing homes.

III. Urban Renewal

A. Selection of Areas and Projects

Areas designated for renewal must not be selected solely for the purpose of reducing Negro concentration. The citizens living in the area should be consulted with, in the initial stages of the comprehensive program for an area rather than after decisions are reached for a specific project.

B. Relocation

Relocation projects should be reported in detail, to all who are affected. There must be Negro representation upon the planning commissions where such decisions are made.

C. Non-white Participation in Redevelopment Process

Bidding for all contractual work from planning, up to and including landscaping, must be open to everyone. All contracts should include a non-discriminatory clause that will be enforced. Contracts must be immediately withdrawn when and wherever discrimination practices are found to exist.

IV. Neighborhood Conservation and Rehabilitation

A wider and more creative use of these funds must be made by all communities. There has to be a more creative use of rent strikes to force landlords to improve properties. Neighborhood groups and civic organizations can sponsor clean-up and similar programs to enhance the appearance of neighborhoods.

V. Legislation

Existing Federal, State and Municipal laws must be rigidly enforced. Every violation should be reported and followed until satisfactory decisions are rendered. Efforts must be made to strengthen those laws currently in existence. New laws must be sought where none are present. Negro citizens must join with other groups and/or take the leadership in obtaining passage of such laws.

RESOURCES

Some of the resources available to community leaders and groups for providing information, materials, and manpower or plans are formulated to eliminate housing problems facing Negro Citizens.

I. Community

Groups such as Fair Housing, Housing and Planning Councils, Community Social and Welfare Agencies and the local Urban League have knowledgeable persons interested in assisting you with housing problems.

II. Government

Public Housing Administration

Urban Renewal Administration

Federal Housing Administration

Veterans Administration

Federal National Mortgage Associations

III. Labor

AFL - CIO Housing Department

United Automobile Workers Housing Department

IV. Housing Industry

Realtors

Savings & Loan Associations

Modern Community Developers

Home Builders

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CHAPTER III

LIFELINE TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION

Problems and Resources
for the Education of Negro Citizens

I. Specific Problems in Education

A. Reports from 71 Urban League affiliates in 31 states, in addition to five Urban League regional offices blanketing the country, indicate a number of problems which limit the opportunity of Negroes in education. Among those which are fairly common to all sections of the country are the following:

1. Disproportionately high dropout rate among Negro students.

2. Discriminatory practices barring Negro youth and adults from apprenticeship and "on-the-job" training programs.

3. Failure of many boards of education to initiate policies and programs for quality integrated education.

4. Lack of effective communication between parents, teachers, and students in schools changing in racial composition.

5. Overcrowded schools.

6. Need for better teachers and instructional materials in schools of predominant Negro enrollment.

7. Inability of many children to pay for school supplies - and even lunch.

8. Lack of sufficient Negro male images both in and out of the schools with which Negro youth can identify and hope to emulate.

9. Insufficient programs in vocational guidance, both in and out of school, to better interpret to young people and their parents a true picture of what jobs are available, and their training and skill requirements.

10. Lack of programs which interpret to all children the true meaning and implication of guarantees and safeguards, as well as individual responsibilities, provided by the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

11. Limited opportunities for vocational - technical education and preparation for the many new skill areas of our economy.

12. Limited public-supported vocational training programs beyond the high school level.

13. Lack of significant financial assistance for average students and particularly the non-college bound student.

14. Lack of opportunities for merit promotion of Negro personnel in many school systems beyond a certain level.

15. Limited employment of Negro school personnel in schools other than predominant Negro concentration.

16. Lack of representation of non-whites on school governing committees and boards.

17. Limited audio visual aids, counseling information and services to inspire and motivate Negro children.

18. Continued use of instructional materials which fail to include positive and constructive reference of the contributions of Negroes in the American culture.

19. Lack of adequate training of educators from teacher level through administration in intergroup relations and behavioral sciences.

20. Insufficient compensatory services (such as pre-school centers and reading clinics) in schools where children need extra help the most.

21. Need for a more coordinated approach in youth programs among Negro leadership organizations.

B. In addition to this sampling of problems with racial implications, other school problems of broad community concern impose additional handicaps on Negroes. They include:

1. Inadequate financing of schools.

2. School building shortages.

3. Inadequate library facilities in many sections of the country.

RESOURCES

Resources available to community leaders and groups for providing materials, information and manpower as plans are developed to raise the educational status of the Negro citizen.

I. Community

Local, regional, and national organizations and foundations with programs and other resources specifically geared to improve opportunities for minority group citizens in education and vocational training, such as:

The Urban League

The Urban League sponsors career clinics, back-to-school campaigns, workshops for parents, in-service programs for guidance counselors in Urban League cities all over the country. The Urban League also produces films and booklets to motivate minority group, such as: "A Morning for Jimmy," "Speaking of People," "Charm by Choice," and "The Road Ahead."

II. Government

U. S. Department of Labor
Manpower Administration

U. S. Department of Commerce
Area Redevelopment Administration
Small Business Administration

U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity
Job Corps
Community Action
VISTA Volunteers

U. S. Office of Education
National Defense Education Act
Vocational Education Acts

Armed Forces

U. S. Department of Agriculture
Farmers Home Administration

U. S. Department of Health Education and Welfare
Welfare Administration

U. S. Civil Service Commission

U. S. Civil Rights Commission

State and Local Government Commissions and Councils

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CHAPTER IV

PRIORITY NEEDS OF NEGROES IN HEALTH AND WELFARE

I. Pressing Health and Welfare Needs

A. A program to stop loss of life and health in areas particularly urgent in your community, such as:

1. Reducing non-white infant mortality rates, which are alarming and almost twice as great as for white babies.

2. Enrolling pregnant Negro women into prenatal care programs. They should also be included in postnatal care programs.

3. Early detection and treatment of communicable diseases, such as Tuberculosis and Veneral Diseases, which are now increasing, especially among teenagers.

4. Providing and increasing available services to unmarried Negro parents.

5. Making available family planning services among lower socio-economic groups.

6. Expanding services in the homes of elderly Negroes who need institutional care.

B. A program to implement the 1962 public welfare amendments and to build an understanding of the relationship of dependency and discrimination, with special attention to:

1. Coverage of unemployed parents in Aid to Dependent Children Programs.

2. Community work training programs.

3. Day Care Facilities - more Negro than white mothers must work even though they have pre-school age children and have little, if any, day care services for their children.

4. Seek legislation to raise the level of public assistance grants at the State level to the recognized standard index of living.

II. Considerations for Programs to Eliminate the Needs

A. Eliminating overt and subtle discrimination and segregation from all health and welfare facilities.

1. Fact Finding and Documentation.

2. Confrontation with health and welfare establishment with facts and a bill of particulars which must be met within a reasonable time limit.

B. Accelerating utilization of services by low-income Negro families.

1. Carrying services into neighborhoods and working with community leaders as case aides, recruiters, etc.

2. Extensive health education in public housing units, store front churches, etc.

3. Intensive work with families through FAN, parent education groups, home demonstration programs, and consumer education programs.

4. Extensive use of the mass media and selected mailing campaigns directed to low-income Negro families on community health and welfare services and their rights and privileges.

RESOURCES

Some of the resources available to community leaders and groups for providing information, materials and manpower as might be needed to improve the health and welfare status of Negro citizens.

I. Community

Family Service, Child Welfare, Health and Welfare Councils, The Salvation Army, The Florence Crittenton Home, Hospital Associations, County Medical and Dental Societies, and other agencies and groups with programs specifically focused upon minority group problems. The Urban League in 70 cities, 5 regions and the National office have full-time professional staffs working in this area.

II. Government

Health Department

Public Welfare Departments

Home Demonstration Agents

Social Security Offices

Vocational Rehabilitation Offices

State Commissions on the Aging

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Excellent rationale for necessary special efforts in Negro family life, with factual data.

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Report To The President. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1963.

"The war on poverty is not a struggle simply to support people, to make them dependent on the generosity of others. It is a struggle to give people a chance . . . Our fight against poverty will be an investment in the most valuable of our resources — the skills and strength of our people. And in the future, as in the past, this investment will return its cost many fold to our entire economy."

— President Lyndon B. Johnson

Statement of
OTIS E. FINLEY, JR.
Associate Director
National Urban League, at the
COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY
Presented at Sheraton-Park Hotel
Washington, D. C., December 9 - 11, 1964.

LIFELINE TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION

.... Problems and Resources
for the Education of Negro Citizens

> "If there was one thing the Negro had yearned for in his days of slavery, it was education. To Frederick Douglass, education had been the beginning of freedom .... There was a great thirst for learning ... It was not just children who went to learn, but adults, too .... Few were too young, and none too old."
>
> -- from the book, Worth Fighting For

Education for Negro citizens has continuing significance as the accelerated drive for equality brings into focus the need to correct the historical injustice of inferior and inadequate schooling.

Education for Negro citizens, as for all Americans, takes on new meaning and importance as technology makes more demands upon the intellect. Work requires a higher order of skill training and the "compacted" urban society insists on a new minimum of understanding about social, economic, and interpersonal relationships.

The myth that Negroes are not interested in education has been exploded. Parents have demonstrated beyond a doubt that they do care about the quality of preparation for life which their children receive. Adults have indicated that they want a new opportunity for training in order to be upgraded on the job.

The National Urban League is committed to bringing about change for the benefit of all Americans. The National Urban League believes that the lifeline to equal opportunity in education can be strengthened only through concerted effort by community leadership and through expanded resources, both public and private.

Fortunately, there are new resources both public and private to help Negro and other disadvantaged citizens in their march with others to the platform of equal opportunity in education. The U. S. Supreme Court, in 1954, outlawed segregation in the public schools. Expanded provisions of the National Defense Education Act will make it somewhat easier for the poor to obtain a higher education. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 is designed to carry out the intent of Congress that disadvantaged youth shall receive better vocational training.

There are other public measures such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which sets the stage for new patterns of education, employment and use of Federal funds. The U. S. Department of Labor has several programs merging training with basic education and youth counseling.

Finally, a start on the great war against poverty by the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity places education at the heart of this effort. According to The New York Times, "education is the new growth stock, and everybody wants a few shares."

Negro community leadership, as evidenced by the tremendous response to the National Urban League's call to Washington, is committed as never before to raising the sights of Negro children, and to helping the Negro adult continue his basic education and retrain for the skills of tomorrow.

The National Urban League thus calls for a new partnership of effort with all responsible leadership to improve the status of the whole educational enterprise in America which at present tends to favor the privileged, denies to the poor, and stifles the economic growth towards a truly "Great Society."

THE PROBLEM

An indication of some of the problems which limit the opportunity of Negroes in education is contained in reports from 71 Urban League affiliates in 31 states, in addition to five Urban League regional offices blanketing the country. Those problems fairly common to all sections of the country are the following:

1. Disproportionately high dropout rate among Negro students
2. Discriminatory practices barring Negro youth and adults from apprenticeship and "on the job" training programs
3. Failure of many Boards of Education to initiate policies and programs for quality integrated education
4. Lack of effective communication between parents, teachers, and students in schools changing in racial composition
5. Over-crowded schools
6. Need for better teachers and instructional materials in schools of predominant Negro enrollment
7. Inability of many children to pay for school supplies - and even lunch

8. Lack of sufficient Negro male images both in and out of the schools with which Negro youth can identify and hope to emulate

9. Insufficient programs in vocational guidance, both in and out of school, to better interpret to young people and their parents a true picture of what jobs are available, and their training and skill requirements

10. Lack of programs which interpret to all children the true meaning and implication of guarantees and safeguards, as well as individual responsibilities, provided by the Constitution and Bill of Rights

11. Limited opportunities for vocational education and preparation for the many new skill areas of our economy

12. Limited public-supported vocational training programs beyond the high school level

13. Lack of significant financial assistance for average students and particularly the non-college bound student

14. Lack of opportunities for merit promotion of Negro personnel in many school systems beyond a certain level

15. Limited employment of Negro school personnel in schools other than predominant Negro concentration

16. Many school boards are not truly representative of the total community

17. Limited audio visual aids, counseling information and services to inspire and motivate Negro children

18. Continued use of instructional materials which fail to include positive and constructive references of the contributions of Negroes in the American culture

19. Lack of adequate training of educators from teacher level through administration in intergroup relations and behavioral sciences

20. Insufficient compensatory services (such as pre-school centers and reading clinics) in schools where children need extra help the most.

In addition to the above problems with racial implications, other school problems of broad community concern impose additional handicaps on Negroes. They include:

1. Inadequate financing of schools
2. School building shortages
3. Inadequate library facilities in many sections of the country.

Negroes are taking increasing advantage of growing opportunities for education. For example, from 1947 to 1961, the percentage of Negroes in colleges or professional schools rose at a much faster rate than whites. (See Table I in Appendix) However, the statistics revealing a disproportionate school dropout rate among Negro children, which is two-or-more times that of whites in many communities, is directly related to our ability to "reach" these children and to improve the educational system for their benefit.

The educational problem is due in part to an employment problem. All children need success images with which they can identify and hope to copy. If we are to encourage more Negro youth to stay in school and realize the full importance of education, we must show them a greater variety of exhibits in achievement by members of their race, until race, per se, is no longer an important factor. Negroes must be given the same financial rewards as others for whatever level of education they possess.

Statistics published by the U. S. Department of Commerce and the Council of Economic Advisors show that Negroes with a college education now earn less than whites with only a high school education. Negroes with no formal education earn less than whites with no formal education. According to these same sources, Negro service and domestic workers who have completed an elementary school education earn an average of $1,000 less than white service and domestic workers with the same education.

There are other economic aspects to poverty in education. Disadvantaged children can be helped if provided with special programs in the schools which would help them overcome early barriers to effective learning. For example, there is considerable merit in the establishment of pre-school centers in the public schools. However, according to a recent study by the National Education Association, three-tenths of the public school systems of 128 of the large cities surveyed with a population over 90,000 do not yet provide free kindergarten classes. (See Table II)

One-seventh of these school systems do not provide free textbooks to elementary school pupils. (See Table III)

One-fourth of these school systems do not provide free textbooks to secondary school pupils. (See Table III)

Effective community leadership to support the war on poverty becomes more of an urgent necessity when we review some of the effects of poor education and training received by Negroes.

Consider these few distrubing facts:

... Nearly 70 per cent of the young white population have graduated from high school but only 40 per cent of our non-white population have completed high school. To put it another way, 30 per cent of the whites and 60 per cent of the non-whites are "school dropouts."

... Of our adult population, 25 years and older, 6.2 per cent of whites and 22.1 per cent of non-whites have completed less than five years of school (1962).

... Almost 12 per cent of young white adults (age 25 - 29) have completed college, while only 5.4 per cent of this age group in the non-white population have done so.

... While 11 per cent of the total population is Negro, Negroes make up only 3.5 per cent of all professional workers - a major category slated for job expansion in the years ahead.

... Sixty-two per cent of the jobless Aid for Dependent Children (ADC) fathers have no education beyond elementary school, and the percentage of Negroes unemployed is still more than double the percentage of whites.

STRENGTHENING "LIFELINES"

The Urban League has observed many new approaches in the improvement of education for Negro and other disadvantaged citizens. They should be encouraged to continue and should be supported by more adequate resources.

These new approaches or innovations are characterized by a high incidence of creativity and imagination on the part of a few educators. The Urban League recommends the following innovations as representative of what can be done:

Full use of school facilities: afternoons, evenings, weekends, and during the summer;

Imaginative use of new housing facilities for experimental and on-going programs for children and adults, such as: housing projects, store fronts, empty theatres, boarded-up factory buildings, abandoned military bases, and church basements;

More non-graded schools;

More volunteer school aides;

More work-study programs for students;

More team-teaching;

More pre-school centers;

Public allowance funds for students to purchase acceptable paperback books;

More regional technical-vocational schools;

Expanded Health services for public school children.

RESOURCES AVAILABLE

The National Urban League is in a position to assist the national community through its national and regional offices, and its local affiliates. The Urban League sponsors youth incentive programs, publishes motivational films and booklets, promotes Back-to-School and Stay-in-School Campaigns, vocational guidance programs for boys and girls and their parents. For further information write to:

Otis E. Finley, Jr.
AssociateDirector
Education and Youth Incentives
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017.

The new Vocational Education Act of the Federal Government authorizes vocational education programs for persons in high school, for those out of high school available for full-time study, for persons who are unemployed or underemployed, and for persons who have academic or socio-economic handicaps that prevent them from succeeding in the regular vocational education program.

Here is a sampling of ten new Federal programs which provide opportunities for education and vocational training:

The Job Corps

Provides residential centers for young men and women, 16 through 21, in a coordinated program of basic education, skill training and constructive work experience. Designed for youth lacking schooling and skills for jobs. Smaller centers will be located on public lands; larger ones will be on unused Federal facilities near cities. A voluntary program. Forty thousand will be enrolled in the first year, and 100,000 in the second.

The Work-Training Program

Provides full or part-time work experience and training for youths, 16 through 21, enabling them to stay in or return to school, or increase employability. Can be carried out by agency of State, local government, or nonprofit organization. Will place youngsters in work in hospitals, settlement houses, schools, libraries, courts, parks and playgrounds.

The Work-Study Program

Provides part-time employment of college, university students from low-income families. On-campus jobs to include dormitory and plant maintenance, food service, clerical work, library indexing, lab assistance, and others. Off-campus employment, conducted under agreement with public or non-profit organizations, will place students as tutors, youth workers, recreation leaders, community service aides.

Community Action Programs

Provides financial support for local anti-poverty campaigns in urban and rural areas, or Indian reservations and among migrant workers. Possible projects in local anti-poverty programs include: remedial reading, literacy instruction, job training, employment counseling, homemaker services, job development, vocational rehabilitation, health services, among others. Will enable communities to attack the network of problems with network of positive, varied, coordinated programs. Federal assistance depends on community's determination to (1) mobilize its own public and private resources, (2) develop programs of sufficient scope and size that promise to eliminate the causes of poverty, (3) to involve the poor themselves in developing and operating the anti-poverty attacks, and (4) administer and coordinate the community action programs through public or private non-profit agencies, or a combination of these. Federal government to pay up to 90 per cent of cost of local programs in first two years; after that assistance on 50-50 matching basis.

VISTA Volunteers (Volunteers in Service to America)

Provides an opportunity for those, 18 and over, to join the War on Poverty. Volunteers will work with migrant laborers, on Indian reservations in urban and rural community action programs, in slum areas, hospitals, schools and in institutions for mentally ill and retarded. Period of service one year. Volunteers will receive a living allowance and $50 a month. Plans call for 5,000 VISTA Volunteers.

Adult Basic Education Program

Provides assistance to States for special programs of literacy instruction. Allotments to States is based on the number of adults 18 and over with less than a sixth grade education.

Special Programs to Combat Poverty in Rural Areas

Provides loans and technical assistance to help very low income farm families increase their income from farming or in other ways. The loans also will assist other rural families develop new opportunities for earning added income. In addition, there will be loans to start or strengthen cooperatives serving these families.

Assistance for Migrant Agricultural Workers and Their Families

Provides grants, loans, and loan guarantees to assist States and localities for special needs in housing, sanitation, education, and the day care of children.

An Employment and Investment Incentives Program

Provides up to $25,000 for small businesses not eligible under other loan programs. These include retail and service enterprises employing three or fewer persons, such as luncheonettes, filling stations, drug stores, barber shops, delicatessens, beauty parlors, furniture movers, cleaning shops, etc.

A Work-Experience Program

Provides funds for projects to help unemployed fathers and other needy persons to gain work experience and job training. Directed primarily toward jobless headsof families in which there are dependent children.

TABLE I

*ENROLLMENT IN COLLEGE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

1947 - 1961

Year	White	Nonwhite
1947	2,187,000	124,000
1953	2,249,000	128,000
1961	3,498,000	233,000
	Per cent Increases	
1947 - 1961	60.0	87.9
1947 - 1953	2.8	3.2
1953 - 1961	55.5	82.0

* Source: U. S. Office of Education

TABLE II

PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS WHICH DO NOT PROVIDE FREE KINDERGARTEN CLASSES

(Population 90,000 or over)

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Mobile
Montgomery

ARIZONA

Tucson

ARKANSAS

Little Rock

FLORIDA

Jacksonville
St. Petersburg

GEORGIA

Savannah

KENTUCKY

Louisville

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Greensboro
Winston-Salem

PENNSYLVANIA

Erie

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga
Knoxville
Memphis

TEXAS

Austin
Corpus Christi
Dallas
El Paso
Fort Worth
Lubbock
San Antonio
Wichita Falls

VIRGINIA

Newport News
Norfolk
Roanoke

WASHINGTON

Spokane

*Source: Project School Dropouts
National Education Association, 1964.

TABLE III.

*PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS WHICH DO NOT PROVIDE FREE TEXTBOOKS TO PUPILS

(90,000 pooulation or more)

Elementary and Secondary Grades	
Alabama	- Montgomery
Illinois	- Peoria
Indiana	- Evansville Fort Wayne Gary Hammond Indianapolis South Bend
Kansas	- Wichita
Michigan	- Grand Rapids
New York	- Utica
South Carolina	- Columbia

Secondary Grades Only	
Alabama	- Mobile Birmingham
Arkansas	- Little Rock
Colorado	- Denver
Kentucky	- Louisville
Michigan	- Detroit Lansing
Missouri	- Kansas City
North Carolina	- Charlotte Greensboro
Utah	- Salt Lake City
Virginia	- Norfolk Roanoke
Arizona	- Tucson Phoenix

* Source: Project School Dropouts
National Education Association

THE NEGRO WORKER

HIS STATUS, HIS PROBLEMS, AND HIS NEEDS

Background Paper

Job Development and Employment

Community Action Assembly
Sheraton - Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.
December 9 - 11, 1964

Prepared by:

M. T. PURYEAR
Associated Director
National Urban League

THE NEGRO WORKER

HIS STATUS, HIS PROBLEMS, AND HIS NEEDS

COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DECEMBER 9-10-11, 1964

: : : :

NEGROES - A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE WORK FORCE

Proportion and Status:

Eight million non-white workers, most of whom are Negroes, make up 11 percent of the total work force. However, proportionately more Negroes than white work - 45 percent of the total Negro population compared to 40 percent of the white.

The bulk of Negro workers, however, is concentrated in jobs reflecting the least amount of training, skill and opportunity, thus rendering them most susceptible to unemployment.

Furthermore, there is a marked difference in the occupational distribution of Negro and white workers.

From the point of view of their distribution in the occupational structure relative to that of whites, Negroes constitute far less than 10 percent of the four top occupational groups: professional and technical; proprietors and managers; clerical, sales, and skilled workers. Negroes' participation in semi-skilled jobs is 10 percent greater than that of whites; in farming, their participation is 50 percent greater; and in service and unskilled jobs, 200 percent greater.

Income:

The extremely disadvantaged position of the Negro in the work force is also reflected in the figures on family income. The median money income of Negro families in 1960 was $3,233 compared to $5,835 for white families.

Over the past two decades Negroes have increased by three years their status in median school years completed. Yet, in 1964, 80 percent of employed Negroes, compared to 40 percent of whites, are working at the bottom of the occupational ladder.

Moreover, the majority of Negroes have traditionally been denied access to vocational, technical, and professional training, and virtually excluded from apprenticeship programs, thereby limiting earning power.

Unemployment:

The trend upwards in employment generally, and in specific areas in particular, seems not to have been able to provide for full employment. During most of 1962 and into 1963, we have had approximately 4½ million or about 6 percent of the available work force unemployed continuously.

Of major concern to us is the disproportionate rate of unemployment among Negro workers. Although Negro workers constitute only 11 percent of the total work force, they constitute 22 percent of the unemployed and the largest percentage of the "hard core" category.

The greatest amount of unemployment is found among those whose jobs fall into the semi-skilled and unskilled groups. These are the groups encompassing the majority of Negro workers.

It is well known that those jobs which require little or no educational background or training are most heavily hit during periods of considerable unemployment. This group also lacks sufficient background for inclusion in training programs which could lead them to continuing employment or to new jobs.

To say that automation has been a major cause of unemployment is certainly not an over-simplification of known facts and figures that reflect the extent of technological changes in specific industries. Reports from sources in government, business, industry, and labor alike reveal that many, many jobs are disappearing from the labor market, and that automation is playing an important part in this unhappy development. Here, too, the hardest hit are those who are not prepared to benefit from retraining programs designed to employ them in making the tools of automation or to transfer to other jobs in related or new industries.

One of the most tragic aspects of the present unemployment situation is its impact on young new workers. Although they make up only 20 percent of the total work force, they are 33 percent of the unemployed.

Included in this group, of course, are the drop-outs, the poorly and/or insufficiently trained; those who have been educated in school systems that have not had equal opportunities for admission to apprenticeship training programs in the craft trades or in industry. Many of these are Negro youth who, one way or the other, have had to face one or more of these problems.

PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO WORKER

That the Negro worker faces problems in employment is a gross understatement. He is beset by problems in:

1. Discrimination

2. Education and Training

   a) Lack of Vocational and Technical Skills

   b) Lack of Apprenticeship Opportunities

   c) Inadequate Educational and Vocational Counseling

3. Recruiting

   a) Unrealistic Recruiting Programs

   b) Lack of Cooperation Between Negro Colleges and Employers

   c) Misinformation About Negro Job-Seekers

   d) Inability of Negro Youth to Pass Written Examinations

4. Advancement on the Job

   a) Integrating the Work Force

   b) Lack of Opportunities for On-the-Job Training and Retraining

5. Inadequate Placement Services

6. Underemployment

7. Lack of Community Concern

1. Discrimination:

Discrimination is the most serious issue underlying the problems of the Negro worker. This awesome monster crops up first in training and educational circles and plays an important role in turning out a poorly prepared product into the work-a-day world, thereby limiting opportunities for additional training. Most important is the fact that these poor backgrounds make it impossible for Negro workers to qualify for so many of the jobs which are available now or which will appear on the scene in the future.

While there may be no discrimination in a particular current job-related situation confronting a particular Negro, his difficulties in securing advancement or placement in such a situation stem directly from past discrimination. It may have been housing discrimination which restricted him to an inadequate education in inferior ghetto schools, or it may have been job discrimination which fixed his parents' income at a substandard level, thereby depriving him of financial support for a better education. The specifics vary, but the fundamental disease was there somewhere in his economic history.

Discrimination will be seen to reside at the core of each of the specific problems of Negro workers.

2. Education and Training:

a) Lack of Vocational and Technical Skills

Negroes have historically been denied equal opportunities for vocational and technical training. There was a feeling that they should not be trained for jobs unless there were job possibilities. On the other hand, Negroes

could not be employed because they did not possess the necessary skills and training.

Closely related to this problem is that of a shortage of job opportunities for high school graduates and adults in new and expanding industries. This problem is especially acute in those industries which move into communities which have denied Negro youth opportunities to participate in the training programs that were set up to prepare workers for the new industries.

At the same time new workers are finding it difficult to find suitable employment, older Negro workers find that their opportunities are limited because they could not learn new skills on the job or in organized educational programs.

b) Lack of Apprenticeship Opportunities

Of all training barriers, those in apprenticeships have been most unyielding to the Negro's efforts to upgrade his skills. Many persons consider the lack of apprenticeship opportunities the greatest tragedy facing Negro youth who wish employment in some areas.

Apprenticeships are controlled by three factors: 1) an employment opportunity provided by management; 2) a willingness by the union covering the trade to accept the new worker; and 3) meeting the standards set up by the Department of Labor. Only recently has discrimination been recognized as a barrier affecting Negro participation.

c) Inadequate Educational and Vocational Counseling

Contributing adversely to this situation has been the inadequate vocational counseling service provided for Negro youth. Many of the persons

who have been counseling Negro youth have gone about their jobs with little or no information about these youth, their ambitions, their aspirations or their problems. In addition, many have honestly thought they were helping Negro youth when they counseled them to accept early work permits, or to stop their educational programs any time a job became available.

While this situation prevailed in so-called "integrated educational settings", the problems of Negro youth in segregated schools with a full complement of Negro teaching personnel have been no less frustrating.

Here, there has been an almost complete absence of guidance and counseling services. What little there was became the responsibility of teachers whose orientation to the world of work consisted of what they had read or heard. Their own lack of experience with business, industry, government and labor made it impossible for them to do a realistic job.

The net result of discrimination in training and counseling opportunities of all kinds is the present glutting of the labor market with millions of unskilled, unqualified Negro workers and job-seekers.

3. Recruiting:

a) Unrealistic Recruiting Programs

As the number of Negro youth in colleges continues to rise, and the quality of their educational experience continues to improve, recruiting on college campuses should become a more fruitful medium for expanding job opportunities. The tragic fact is, however, that too many Negro youth still are not able to move into the broader job market because of inadequate recruiting and placement services available to them before they leave high school and college.

In predominantly Negro colleges, there is a grave shortage of placement services, and in predominantly white colleges a continuing reluctance on the part of placement officials to believe that recruiters have a genuine interest in interviewing all qualified candidates, regardless of race.

Negro youth do not see examples of progress and do not readily accept statements that changes are taking place. They believe that: 1) they will be required to be super human beings with skills in excess of those required of others; 2) they will need unrealistic amounts of patience and fortitude in the face of discriminatory practices that limit promotional opportunities; 3) it will always be necessary for them to institute complaints no matter what policy statements are made that guarantee them equal treatment; 4) their work performance will determine future job prospects for all other Negro youth.

b) Lack of Cooperation Between Negro Colleges and Employers

Closely related to the problems of recruitment and placement is the lack of information on the part of Negro colleges and industry about each other. This lack of knowledge, coupled with the reluctance of many firms to take positive steps to increase job opportunities, can be removed only as industry and business and the colleges work more closely in activities other than commencement and fund-raising.

c) Misinformation About Negro Job-Seekers

The extent to which misinformation and distorted notions about Negroes and their work habits affect their job opportunities can be observed in such

references as - "Jobs for Negroes", "White jobs", "Negroes work best at jobs which require muscle and endurance", "Negroes like to work with other Negroes", "White people will not work with Negroes", "Negroes cannot supervise white workers", "Negro men may not work with or around white women".

It has been almost impossible to bring about changes in the minds of some employers because of the difficulty of removing such ingrained notions.

d) Inability of Negro Youth to Pass Written Examinations

Negro job applicants fail in alarming numbers to pass written and oral screening examinations. Admittedly, many Negroes have not had a great deal of experience with tests and examinations, and the major problem has only indirectly to do with skills or abilities. It is a matter of attitudes toward tests and the belief that they will not be employed no matter how well they do on the tests. There is also evidence to show that even if the written portion is passed, they will be eliminated in the oral or personal interview, where the process is personal and an opportunity for bias and prejudice can enter.

4. Advancement On The Job:

a) Integrating the Work Force

The problem of integrating the work force in a given industry, North, South, East or West, is one which requires the attention of top management, followed by firm and definite plans for implementation of policy at all levels below. Policy statements have been made at the top level, but by the time these reach the working level, considerable watering-down has taken place.

a) Defects in the Public Employment Service

What happens in the public employment agency is another issue. For many years now, it has been illegal for public agencies to accept requisitions or make referrals on a racial basis. It is known, however, that where segregated offices are maintained, whether by race or by job classification, it is possible to practice discrimination.

Where the public employment service does its greatest disservice to Negro applicants is where it exercises no initiative or takes no leadership in trying to develop additional job opportunities with the service itself or other employers.

While some progress has been made in some aspects of services, there still remains a great deal to be done in changing the image the service has created in the minds of many Negroes. This lack of use of the service and its facilities robs the Negro of an opportunity to expand his field of possible job prospects.

6. Underemployment:

Discriminatory hiring practices have resulted in developing a very large group of underemployed workers, especially in many branches of the Government. It was not long ago that a study of employment practices among the several Federal agencies operating in the Southeast revealed that there were only two Negroes employed as high as GS-12, none at GS-11; one at GS-10; none at GS-9 or GS-8; a large group at GS-7 which group contained the mail-room supervisors and messengers who had been working for periods as long as twenty years. The study also revealed that many of the Negroes who were working at GS-7, and below, were college graduates, some of whom had completed many courses above this level.

PAGE (s) MISSING

Discrimination in Federal employment is magnified when one realizes that the Civil Service regulations, which were written in 1873, state specifically that there are to be no discriminatory practices. There is little doubt that this regulation has been ignored during all of these years. Even now, when a great effort is being made to do a more equitable job, it is possible to point out at least eleven ways available to appointing officers who wish to ignore the famous "rule of three", even when all three candidates are Negroes. The only way to achieve real change here would be to declare a moratorium on all Federal jobs until a more equitable pattern is developed and fairer proportions of Negro workers are employed at all levels.

The occupational status of the Negro worker is thus one link in a logic - tight chain: low job status - low income - low health - low skills - low family stability.

At the end of the chain emerges its inevitable products - personal incompetence and social liability.

WHAT THEN CAN WE DO SEPARATELY AND TOGETHER TO FURTHER ALLEVIATE THESE PROBLEMS?

Provide Motivation and Stimulation for Negro Youth:

Motivation and stimulation of Negro youth are major responsibilities of the community at large that cannot be delegated to teachers and professional counselors alone. First, industry, business, government, and

labor leaders alike need to be made aware of the problems which confront the Negro worker and job-seeker; and, second, positive plans to bring about desired changes in school and community need to be developed and implemented.

School programs must be expanded and given new direction. Counseling and teaching materials at all levels should be redesigned to provide teachers, counselors, and administrators with information and materials that depict the true image and worth of the Negro in our economy. Counselors, in particular, need special experiences that will help them to develop a background of information about the Negro - his ambitions, aspirations, needs, problems and progress.

The role of the family in solving the problems of youth in relation to their jobs is equally essential and will call for equally new and dramatic thinking on the part of parents. Many parents of Negro youth are to be found on the rolls of the unemployed, underemployed, and unhappily employed. Persons who fall into these categories are not in a position to give objective advice to fresh young minds that are anxious to try new ideas. A parent's own work experiences will be reflected in the advice and information he passes on to his children. Hence, it becomes doubly important that every effort be made to secure better jobs for adults.

Foremost in accomplishing these tasks should be provision for the participation of Negroes at all levels of policy-making and policy implementation - in overall community programs, not just any that might be developed to deal specifically with the Negro and his employment problems.

Devise Means for Helping Negro Youth Develop Interest in Pursuing Careers in New Areas of Work:

Negro adults and youth alike shy away from the opportunities for employment where the income is based on commissions. They shy away from trades and semi-professional skills. These are all jobs that have great demand now, and the demand will increase.

Help Youth and Adults Alike Reassess "Prestige Jobs" and Status:

For many years, Negroes were the builders, bakers and coffee makers. They were the chauffeurs and nurses. They shoveled the coal which heated the buildings or moved the trains along the tracks; they handled the passengers who passed through the transportation terminals all over the nation.

These were the jobs Negro parents knew about and held. They saw the school teacher making his way to and from school in his clean suit; the doctor going about his chosen profession but also building up personal status and community acceptance. They saw the social worker handling the problems of disturbed and disadvantaged families, and the preacher ministering to his flock. These became the symbols of success to him.

As a result of this, the Negro parent talked with his children about the disadvantages of "hard work", "outdoor jobs", "seasonal work", "serving other people", "working with your hands", being "bossed by white people", and the like. He did not talk about manpower needs in relation to the abilities, skills, and interests of his children. He did not talk about comparative wages and job security because he did not know how to do so, nor did he have the facts.

He did know that his opportunities for becoming foreman, supervisor, or "boss" were limited, if not non-existent.

This combination of events has resulted in several significant changes in the work status of Negro workers. When trains no longer required the services of a coal shoveler, and engines began to run on oil or electricity, white men took over the jobs of assisting the engineers.

When horses and buggies were used for transportation about the city, the jobs belonged to Negroes. However, when buses and taxicabs appeared, and it was no longer necessary to maintain stables, these jobs were taken over by white workers.

As wages in the craft trades increased and more attention was given to hours and working conditions, together with increased efforts on the part of union officials to organize these workers in the South and Southwest, there began the great influx of white skilled workmen into the brick masonry, woodworking, and painting trades. All the while, there was a lessening of interest, on the part of Negroes, in learning skills in these areas. Discriminatory union practices aggravated this situation by setting up segregated locals to bargain in favor of white workers.

When the industrial revolution came along, management considered the Negro as being able to work only in service or maintenance jobs, and never in production or supervisory classifications unless the work was in the foundry or out-of-doors. No thought was given to including the Negro in a training program or in clerical and office jobs.

Persons responsible for the education of Negro youth provided no leadership or information to Negro parents that might have helped them to better counsel their children about the changing nature of the job market.

Teachers and administrators, because they had little contact with workers, unwittingly helped in developing negative attitudes toward manual and technical work. When vocational training programs were in operation, they provided training in limited areas only; technical offerings were almost absent. Vocational schools were used as "dumping grounds" for problem children and those who did not do well in English and mathematics. No one ever thought that the children of professional families should have an opportunity "to select" vocational careers.

Consequently, today, Negroes are not employed in skilled trades where wages in most all areas exceed those of teachers and other white-collar workers. The doors of industry, business, and government have been "cracked" just enough to provide for a limited "peek".

While there will be an increasing need for professional, technical, business and other white-collar jobs in the years ahead, there will also be a need for larger numbers of workers in the skilled trades area. Adults and youth alike would be wise to appraise their own abilities and interests with an aim toward examining the possibility for achieving success in the skilled trades area.

If community acceptance and status are based on income and solid family life, the well paid skilled worker has a good chance to be a community leader.

Encourage Negro Workers to Move with Plants that Relocate in Other Communities:

Despite their widely proclaimed mobility, Negroes often fail to be mobile, either at time of initial employment, or when it is necessary to move with a firm which, for one reason or another, finds that relocation is necessary.

Encourage Negroes to Accept Facts Relating to Changes That are Taking Place:

Of major importance in motivating Negro young people to stay in school and aspire to higher goals is the task of convincing them that every positive activity represents an additional opportunity. There are still too many Negro youth who simply do not accept the fact that changes are taking place at home, in their region, in the country as a whole, and in the world at large. It is still difficult to convince them that they are now at long last regarded as worthy of consideration for jobs at all levels in an integrated society. They have good reasons for this.

There is also still too little being done by employers to show "good faith" in recruiting practices and in promotion practices after employment. Their parents are still smarting from the evil effects of the situations they find themselves in, and they need more information about changes in the world of work, and what one must do to be ready to make his niche therein.

Of particular interest to youth should be those jobs that are being created as a result of technological change and advanced scientific processes, including automation.

Take the Lead in Helping the Nation Solve its Manpower Problems:

Employers need special help in solving their manpower problems, whether in relationship to integrating the work force, recruiting and employing qualified Negro workers, or the full utilization of their skills after employment. As a group we have the responsibility to work incessantly to see that America makes a more equitable use of all its human manpower.

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Program Department
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Community Action Assembly
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-- Acute, and acutely painful, analysis of a state bedeviled by fantasies of its past and present. The author is a long-time Southerner and history professor at the University of Mississippi. "Offers little comfort, but much clarity and comprehension...a small classic."

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You Must Read This!

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-- An important domestic issue of the twentieth century - the Negro challenge to the American business community - is the subject of this most unusual and timely work.

Early in 1964 senior executives from sixty leading American corporations met at Arden House, Columbia University, with five eminently qualified experts to exchange ideas and opinions, and to illuminate diverse aspects of this complex problem. This book is a report of that meeting.

Each of the experts participating in this unique discussion is personally acquainted with this explosive matter and each has recently written a book on the Negro. The experts are:

Charles E. Silberman of Fortune Magazine.

Whitney M. Young, Jr., Director of the National Urban League.

Thomas Pettigrew, a Harvard University professor.

Kenneth Clark, a leading Negro intellectual and Professor of Psychology at the City University of New York, City College.

Patrick Daniel Moynihan, currently Assistant Secretary of Labor, and a long-time student of politics and minorities.

Eli Ginzberg, Professor, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University.

The result of this probing study is an authoritative book that both illustrates how we arrived at this crossroad - and points the way for a sound, steady advance.

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SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN LABOR FORCE

Background Paper

Job Development and Employment

Community Action Assembly
Sheraton - Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.
December 9 - 11, 1964

Prepared by:

M. T. PURYEAR
Associate Director
National Urban League

Background Paper

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN LABOR FORCE

Section I. A Working Population - Now

The nation has always been a population of working people. The characteristics of the work force, however, have undergone noticeable changes. Half a century ago, one out of every three persons lived and worked on a farm. By 1960, only one in ten persons lived there. There has been an ever-increasing shift of people from rural and farm areas to cities and urban areas. In addition, there has been a continuing shift of the population from the South to the North, the Middle West and the Far West. There has been some moving around of people within the South, but most of the shifting has been from farm to city. In 1940, the rural population was 57,245,563 or 43.5 percent of the total. By 1960, the rural population had dropped to 30.1 percent.

During this period of population growth, the work force increased, also, but at a somewhat smaller rate. In 1940, the work force was 56 million or 42.4 percent of the total population. By 1960, it had increased to 73 million, but was now 40.7 percent of the total.

The twenty-year period between 1940 and 1960 saw significant changes, not only in the size of the work force, but also in its composition. More women became wage-earners, more youth entered and remained in the work force, and more older workers continued or re-entered gainful employment. Some of these increases resulted from the war efforts and the necessity to make use of all available skills. This was especially true with regard to

women workers. It was during this period, too, that we had the greatest number of youth entering the job market, either as drop-outs or as non-entrants to college and other post-high school educational institutions.

Although women workers constitute only a third of the labor force today, they account for more than three-fifths of the overall increase in the labor force during the past fifteen years. Of the 22.5 million women in the labor force today, 7.6 million entered after 1947, as compared to 5.6 million men who entered during the same period. During this period, the percent of women in the labor force increased from 31 to 37 percent, while the percentage of men dropped from 84 to 79 percent.

Men have been and will continue to be the "bread-winners", but they will be receiving more and more competition from the ever-growing number of women who are leaving the home to become bread-winners, also.

Although the total number of men in the labor force has increased with the increases in population, there has been a significant decrease in the participation of boys and of men past 60 years of age. Between 1947 and 1962, the proportion of boys, 14 to 19 years, dropped from 54 percent to 44 percent. A partial reason for this was the population shift from rural to urban areas where work opportunities for boys were more limited in cities than they were on the farm.

There has been a slight decline in the participation of men in the 20 to 24-year bracket. The next older group, 25 to 54 years, continues to hold firm percentage-wise. During the age span, 55 to 65, men become victims of work-related illnesses and retirement, the latter receiving some encouragement from increased Social Security benefits or provisions for early admission to the program.

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SECTION II. SOME PROJECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Manpower Requirements

There seems to be no doubt in the minds of experts that there will be a continuing upward trend in employment during the next few years. For the labor force as a whole, it is estimated that the total number of persons gainfully employed will reach the 80.5 million mark by 1970, and 87.6 million by 1975. Projections for each of the major occupational groups are shown in the following table:

Table #3 (3)

Occupational Group	Percent Change from 1960	
	By 1970	By 1975
Professional and technical	43	65
Proprietors and managers	21	32
Clerical workers	31	45
Sales workers	23	34
Craftsmen and skilled workers	20	30
Semi-skilled workers	13	18
Service workers	34	51
Unskilled workers	0	0
Farm workers	22	28

During the past decade, job opportunities at the professional and technical levels have increased at the greatest rate and will continue to do so during the next decade. Other groups will also show rapid increases with the exception of the unskilled group, which will show no increase, and the farm workers group which will show a decrease.

Specific areas in which substantial increases may be expected are teaching, health professions, the social sciences, the clergy, law, engineering and the natural sciences. In engineering and the natural sciences, it is expected that the present 1.2 million employed may roughly double by 1975. These expectations are based upon the increasing manpower needs in space and defense programs.

Opportunities in the technical fields will show a significant rise due to expanding requirements for technicians needed to support engineers and scientists.

The teaching profession will account for an increase of some half-million new workers, as a result of an increasing school population and continuing interest in training programs for adults and other out-of-school citizens.

In health and medical sciences, the number of new workers will depend almost entirely upon the availability of training facilities, and the influx of forien medical school graduates who wish to practice in the United States.

Prospects for employment in the proprietorship and managerial occupations will depend upon the extent of the trend toward the formation of larger business enterprises. It is expected, however, that the number of small businesses, such as personal services, may increase.

Despite the expected increase in automative processes in business operations, economic experts estimate that there will be a great need for clerical and sales personnel. The increase will be due to the continuing volume of work in the communications field, the need for human beings to man the machines of automation, and the need for personnel in the growing field of sales and sales promotion. The bulk of this growth will result from the rapid expansion expected in banking, insurance, and retail business enterprises.

While it may be true that some workers will be replaced as a result of self-service counters and operations, these reductions may be offset by the increase in the need for cashiers, checkers, and persons with higher skills than those presently required for routine business operations.

Employment of skilled workers and craftsmen during the next decade is expected to show a steady and substantial growth resulting from increased building and construction activities of government and industry. These activities will provide very substantial increases in employment of workers in the fields of carpentry, masonry, the metal and iron trades, electricity, plumbing and pipefitting. Naturally, opportunities for foremen and supervisory positions in these fields will expand also.

Job opportunities for semi-skilled workers, especially those in industrial plants, are expected to increase at a much lower rate than has been indicated for many of the other occupational groups. This will be due in part to the fact that automation processes are expected to take over many of the jobs now listed in this classification. However, many of these persons may be retrainable and could be expected to qualify for jobs at the skilled level.

The overall increase in the population is expected to require many more persons in the service occupations: police and fire protection, nursing below the registered and graduate nurse levels, and other hospital and health service areas. An increase is expected in the need for general service workers due to expansion in travel, motel and hotel operations; food services outside the home; cleaning and laundry work; barbering; beauty culture; and others.

Hardest hit will be those who qualify for unskilled jobs only. Since this group is not expected to grow at all, considerable work must be done to increase the educational level of a large segment of the population in order to prepare these persons for training programs for jobs in other occupational classifications.

The number of farm workers will have dropped by some 28 percent by 1975. Many will be replaced by machines introduced in the process of

growing more foodstuffs for a growing population. Others will desert the farms to seek better job opportunities in cities near their homes or in distant places, depending upon the kind of occupational information available to them.

One important question which continues to confront those who assume responsibility for projecting future manpower needs is that of sources and supply. If the estimate of the United States Office of Education that the present college enrollment of 3.5 million will double by 1970 is correct, it is possible that there may be a sufficient number of professional and technical workers to fill the jobs that will be available. Supplementing this group will be an increasing number of persons who may secure on-the-job training which will lead to openings at the professional and technical levels.

Training programs to prepare new workers in the managerial, general business and clerical fields are largely the responsibility of persons who plan educational programs below the college and university levels. The need for workers in these fields will not be met unless we drastically expand and improve educational programs in vocational and technical schools, business schools, two-year colleges, on-the-job training programs and other related training programs.

Projected manpower needs in the skilled trades indicate that much needs to be done to increase beginning opportunities in the craft trades. This may require a drastic change in the present apprenticeship programs of many unions, and a fresh interest and approach to the problem by management and government, for cooperation by all three will be required if any substantial results are to be obtained. It is estimated that there are some 160,000 apprentices enrolled in registered apprenticeship programs in the construction, metal, and printing trades. An equal

number is estimated to be enrolled in programs that have not been certified by the United States Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, or by various state apprenticeship agencies.

There seems to be little doubt that the present apprenticeship programs cannot provide enough new skilled craftsmen to fill the jobs that are to become available as the result of retirement, death, and new opportunities as reflected by increases in manpower requirements.

Of special interest is information on specific manpower needs and sources in some of the basic occupations over the next decade. It is estimated that we will need 225,000 new electrical workers by 1970; 80,000 new tool and die workers, with 30,000 to come from the apprenticeship program; 690,000 engineers with a possible deficit of some 238,000; 750,000 new elementary and secondary school teachers, with the possibility of a shortage of some 85,000 by the end of the decade.

What are the implications of these anticipated shortages for the Negro worker? Surely a substantial reduction in expected deficits could be achieved by extensive upgrading of the 80 percent of the Negro work force now concentrated in lower-level occupations. Such occupational upgrading will require a commensurate upgrading in the Negro's educational status.

Educational Requirements

The following table shows the relationship between the kinds of jobs people hold and their educational attainment:

Table #4[4]

Occupational Group	Years of Schooling (1962)
Professional and technical	16.2
Managers and proprietors	12.5
Clerical and sales	12.5
Craftsmen and skilled	11.2
Operatives and semi-skilled	10.1
Laborers	8.9
Service workers	9.8

[4] See Table Appendix

The fact that Negro workers are not found in large numbers in the professional and technical, proprietors and managers, clerical workers, and sales workers groups may not be attributed alone to the fact that they lack the necessary education.

The median number of school years completed by non-whites over the past twenty-five years has risen from 5.8 years in 1940 to 8.1 years in 1959. The median for the population as a whole is 11.0. In 1940, 8 percent of the Negro population had completed high school; today the figure is 20 percent.

It becomes apparent then that much must be done to bring the utilization of Negro manpower into line with the Negro's educational attainment before we may expect any great change in the number of Negroes in the higher levels of job opportunities.

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National Urban League

14 East 48th Street New York, N. Y. 10017

WB

Organization Leaders and Individuals
attending the
COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY
sponsored by the
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Sheraton-Park Hotel December 9-11, 1964 Washington, D. C.

:::

ALLEN, J. Claude	Bishop, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church	755 West 26th Avenue Gary, Indiana 46407
AHMANN, Mathew	Executive Director National Catholic Conference For Interracial Justice	21 West Superior Street Chicago, Illinois 60610
ALSTON, Harry L.	Program Coordinator United Packinghouse, Food And Allied Workers, AFL-CIO	608 S. Dearborn Street Chicago, Illinois 60605
AVERY, James S.	President, National Association of Market Developers	60 West 49th Street New York, New York 10020
BARBUTO, James	Law Director City of Akron Law Department	City Building High Street Akron, Ohio
BAKER, Irving A.	President Reveille Club of New York	799 Columbus Avenue New York, New York
BAKER, Mrs. Sara T.	Chairman, Civic Action Committee Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority	25 Wellbrook Street Staten Island, N. Y. 10314
BANKS, Rev. A.A., Jr.	Pastor, Second Baptist Church of Detroit	441 Monroe Avenue Detroit, Michigan 48226
BANKS, James G.	Executive Director United Planning Organization	1225 Nineteenth St., N.W. Washington, D. C.
BANNER, Maryland L.	Executive Secretary Booker T. Washington Center	629 French Street Erie, Pennsylvania 16501
BARKSDALE, Miss Marie	Member, National Council of Negro Women	1712 Sixteenth St., N.W. Washington, D. C. 20009
BEAMON, Mrs. Vivian	President, Links, Inc.	850 Rockdale Avenue Cincinnati, Ohio 45229
BELAFONTE, Mrs. Margurite	Director Margurite Belafonte School of Elegance	Washington, D. C.
BELL, Edward B.	Assistant to Director Advertising & Sales Promotion Atlantic Refining Company	260 S. Broad Street Philadelphia, Pa.

Urban League Poverty Corps

BELL, Dr. Haley	President Radio Stations WCHB-AM and WCHD-FM	80 East Boston Detroit, Michigan
BELL, Mrs. Mary	Trustee National Urban League	80 East Boston Detroit, Michigan
BERRY, Hon. Theodore	Councilman City of Cincinnati, Ohio	18 East Fourth Street Cincinnati, Ohio 45402
BLEDSOE, Mrs. Geraldine	Chief, Equal Employment Opportunity Section Michigan Employment Security Commission	7310 Woodward Avenue Detroit, Michigan 48202
BRADSHAW, Booker T.	President Virginia Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company	112 East Clay Street Richmond, Virginia 23219
BRANTON, Wiley A.	Executive Director Council for United Civil Rights Leadership	5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30313
BRIGHT, John D.	Bishop, African Methodist Episcopal Church	6608 Lincoln Drive Philadelphia, Pa. 19119
BROOKS, Joseph Tate	Executive Secretary American Teachers Association	145 Ashby Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314
BROOKS, Lester	Staff Associate National Urban League	12 Marshall Ridge Road New Canaan, Connecticut
BROWN, Dr. George William C.	Executive Secretary Tidewater Area Council for Community Improvement Virginia State College	2401 Corprew Avenue Norfolk, Virginia 25304
BROWN, Theodore E.	Director American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa	Suite 1203, 15 E. 40th St. New York, New York
BROWNE, Dr. Vincent J.	Director of Foreign Affairs Scholars Program Howard University	2400 Sixth Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20001
BROWNING, Grainger	Associate Professor Hampton Institute Sociology Department	Hampton Institute Hampton, Virginia
BRYANT, A. H.	Vice-Chairman of Executive Board Nash County Voters League	P. O. Box 43 Rocky Mount, N. Carolina
BRYANT, Mrs. Marion E.	National President National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs	652 Bryn Mawr Road Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

BURKE, Alonzo		405 12th St., N.E. Washington, D. C.
BURKE, Mrs. Alonzo		405 12th St., N.E. Washington, D. C.
BURELL, Berkeley G.	President National Business League	3418 Georgia Ave., N.W. Washington, D. C. 20010
BURESS, Thomas H., III	Associate Director Small Business Opportunities Corporation	437 Commercial Trust Bldg. 16 S. Broad Street Philadelphia, Pa. 19107
CALLOWAY, Mrs. Marvin	President New York State Beauty Culturists, Inc.	266 William Street Buffalo, New York 14204
CANN, Braxton F.	M.W. Grand Master Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ohio	5223 Ward Street Cincinnati, Ohio 45227
CAPPS, Mrs. Marian P.	President Women's Auxiliary Old Dominion Medical	968 Anna Street Norfolk, Virginia 23502
CHAMBERS, Mrs. Mary	First Supreme Anti-Basileus Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority	Alabama A & M College Normal, Alabama 35762
CHOATE, Robert B.	Coordinator National Conference on Poverty in the Southeast	Security Bldg., Room 604 Phoenix, Arizona
CLARK, Enoch H.	Grand Master Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of New York	454 West 155th Street New York, New York
CLEMENT, Dr. Kenneth	Immediate Past President National Medical Association	13815 Kinsman Road Cleveland, Ohio 44120
COCHRANE, Mrs. Hortense	Associate Professor Syracuse University School of Social Work	926 S. Crouse Avenue Syracuse 10, New York
COFFEY, Mrs. Virginia	Community Relations Supervisor Seven Hills Neighborhood Houses	717 Lincoln Park Drive Cincinnati, Ohio
COLE, Mrs. Robert L.	Attending with husband, Robert L. Cole, Special Assistant Department of State	U.S. Department of State Washington, D. C.
CONLIFFE, Calvin H.	Project Engineer General Electric Company	3627 Forest Park Drive Cincinnati, Ohio 41229

CORNELY, Dr. Paul B.	Head of Department Preventive Medicine and Public Health Howard University	520 W Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
COWELL, Catherine	Grand Basileus Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority	561 West 147th Street New York, New York 10031
CROMWELL, Mrs. Carole	Representing Dr. Remus G. Robinson, President Detroit Board of Education	3751 31st Street Detroit, Michigan
CROMWELL, Colin A.	NAACP	1701 Sixteenth St., N.W. Washington, D. C.
CROOKS, Clarence J.	Board Member Tri-County Urban League	1205 Jefferson Building Peoria, Illinois 61603
CROUCH, Dr. Hubert B.	First Vice-President Frontiers' International	2516 Shreene Lane Nashville, Tennessee
CUMMINGS, Milton K.	President Brown's Engineering Company	300 Sparkman Drive Huntsville, Alabama
DAVIS, Joseph E.	President Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association	75 West 125th Street New York, New York 10027
DOUGLASS, S. A.	Placement Coordinator Guidance Department Washington Public Schools	1900 Randolph Street, N.E. Washington, D. C.
DANIELS, Samuel T.	Grand Master Prince Hall Masons Jurisdiction of Maryland	1307 Eutaw Place Baltimore, Maryland 21215
DANNER, Hon. Edward R.	Senator 11th District, Nebraska	2870 Pinkney Street Omaha, Nebraska
DAVIDSON, Edmonia	Faculty Member Howard University	Howard University Washington, D. C.
DAVIS, John A.	President American Society of African Culture	15 East 40th Street New York, New York
DAWKINS, Rev. Maurice A.	Education Director Western Christian Leadership Conference	1025 East 18th Street Los Angeles, California
DICKERSON, Eugene, Jr.	Imperial Captain of the Guard Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order Nobles Mystic Shrine of North And South America	235 Florida Ave., N.W. Washington, D. C. 20001

DORSEY, William A.	Grand Secretary Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of New Jersey	415 West Fifth Street Palmyra, New Jersey
DAMSON, Dr. Martha E.	Chairman, Department of Elementary Education Hampton Institute	Hampton, Institute Hampton, Virginia 23368
EASTMAN, Oliver C.	National Director of Social Action, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.	107-16 32nd Avenue East Elmhurst, N. Y. 11369
EVANS, Clifford H., Jr.	Assistant Superintendent St. Louis Board of Education	5331 Enright Avenue St. Louis, Missouri 63112
FAUNTLEROY, John D.	Coordinator for Special Projects National Bar Association	1000 You Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20001
FIELDER, Dr. Marie	Staff-Graduate Internship Program in Teacher Education University of California	774 San Luis Road Berkely, California
FIELDS, Leo C., Jr.	Board Member Essex County Urban League Newark, New Jersey	35 High Street Montclair, New Jersey
FITCH, Leroy E.	Grand Secretary Grand Lodge of Connecticut Most Worshipful Prince Hall	50 Dawtucket Street New Haven, Conn. 06513
FORT, Henry G.	Most Worshipful Grand Master Prince Hall Affiliation	959 East 62nd Street Chicago 37, Illinois
FREEMAN, Rev. Edward A.	State Vice President National Baptist Convention	3620 Oak Avenue Kansas City, Kansas
GEORGE, Dr. Zelma	Sociologist-Lecturer Danforth Foundation	2178 East 81st Street Cleveland, Ohio 44103
GRAINGER, Charles E.	Assistant to the President Brown Engineering Company	300 Sparkman Drive Huntsville, Alabama
GADSEN, Mrs. Maude	Executive Secretary New York State Beauty Culturists Association	167 W. 136th Street New York, New York 10030
GAINES, Mrs. Lillie Inez	National Deputy National Grand Chapter Order Eastern Star	2505 17th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20009
GANTENBEIN, Robert P.	Vice President Urban League of Portland	2167 S.W. Market Street Portland, Oregon

GARFIELD, Julian I.	New York State Deputy Frontiers International, Inc.	33-17 99th Street Corona, New York 11368
GIBBS, Rev. Thomas W.	Associate Secretary Overseas Christian Education Executive Council Episcopal Church	815 Second Avenue New York, New York 10017
GONCHAROFF, Nicholas T.	Secretary, National and World Affairs Education National Board of the YMCA's	291 Broadway New York, New York
GOODLETT, Dr. Carlton	Chairman California Negro Leadership Conference.	1366 Turk Street San Francisco, California
GORDON, Dorothy	National Vice President National Drifters, Inc.	307 West 84th Street New York, New York 10024
GRAY, Mrs. Naomi T.	Field Director Planned Parenthood Federation of America	515 Madison Avenue New York, New York
GRAY, Vance E.	Assistant to the President Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina	802 Oxford Greensboro, N. Carolina
GRAY, William H.	Executive Secretary Philadelphia Police Advisory Board	707 Commercial Trust Bldg. 16 South Broad Street Philadelphia, Pa. 19102
GREENE, Carroll	Associate Secretary Executive Council Protestant Episcopal Chruch	815 Second Avenue New York, New York
GREENE, Leo A.	Special Assistant to Governor George Romney	1839 McPhail Street Flint, Michigan 48503
GREGG, Dr. Howard D.	President Daniel Payne College	Daniel Payne College Birmingham, Alabama
GREGORY, Dr. Karl D.	Assistant Professor of Economics Wayne State University	Wayne State University Detroit, Michigan 48202
HENDERSON, Elmer W.	Assistant General Counsel Supreme Life Insurance Company of America	1640 Upshur Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.
HENRY, Lowell A.	Community Relations Manager The Ohio Bell Telephone Company	3732 East 144th Street Cleveland, Ohio 44120
HEWITT, James H., Jr.	Public Relations Representative Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company	55 Public Square P. O. Box 5000 Cleveland, Ohio 44101

HALL, Amos T.	Executive Secretary Conference of Grand Masters Prince Hall Masons	438 E. Latimer Court Tulsa, Oklahoma
HARDEN, Mrs. Helene	National Urban League Guild	1270 Fifth Avenue, Apt. 4F New York, New York 10029
HARDGE, Rev. Arthur L.	Vice Chairman Rhode Island CORE	37 Mather Avenue Edgewood, R. I. 02905
HARRISON, William E.	National Officer Frontiers International	4567 Soldiers Home Road Miamisburg, Ohio
HAWKINS, Mrs. Rena L.	National Council of Negro Women	614 Ackerman Avenue Syracuse, New York 13210
HEDGEMAN, Dr. Anna Arnold	Coordinator, Special Events National Council of Churches	Room 555, 475 Riverside Dr. New York, New York 10027
HEIGHT, Dorothy I.	President National Council of Negro Women	600 Lexington Avenue New York, New York
HENDERSON, Donald M.	Instructor of Sociology University of Akron	5581 Garden Street Maple Heights, Ohio 44137
HENDERSON, Rev. Elo L.	Field Representative United Presbyterian Church	Johnson C. Smith University Charlotte, N. Carolina
HENRY, Dr. C. D.	Director Youth Program Prince Hall Masons of Louisiana	Grambling College Grambling, Louisiana
HESTER, Rev. John Henry	Imperial Chief Rabban Imperial Council Prince Hall Shriners	400 North Ohio Avenue Atlantic City, New Jersey
HILL, Mrs. Florence Madison	Past President Iota Phi Lambda Sorority	1337 N. 57th Street Philadelphia, Pa. 19131
HITCH, Mrs. Minnie J.	President National Congress Colored Parents And Teachers	Kentucky State College Frankfort, Kentucky
HOLLOWAY, H. H.	National Executive Secretary Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity	2320 North Broad Street Philadelphia, Pa. 19132
HOUSTON, Dr. W. Eugene	Chairman Commission on Religion and Race New York City	2255 Fifth Avenue New York, New York
HULL, Arthur F.	Immediate Past Chairman Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee	P. O. Box 960 Cincinnati, Ohio 45201

HURLEY, Mrs. Catherine G.	American Society of African Culture	1435 Roxanna Road, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20012
JACKSON, Melvin T.	Assistant Professor Howard University School of Social Work	1301 Delaware Ave., S.W. Washington, D. C. 20024
JAMES, Reverend F.C.	Director of Commission on Social Action, African Methodist Episcopal Church	215 West Bartlette Sumter, So. Carolina 29150
JEFFREY, Mrs. Mildred M.	United Automobile Workers AFL-CIO	8000 E. Jefferson Detroit 28 Michigan
JELTZ, Mrs. Mattie M	Minorities Representative Oklahoma State Employment Service	Will Rogers Memorial Ofc. Bldg., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
JENKINS, Dr. Martin D.	President Morgan State College	Morgan State College Baltimore, Md. 21212
JOHNSON, Dr. Tobe	Associate Professor of Political Science	Box 303, Morehouse College Atlanta 14, Georgia
JONES, Billy	First Vice Chairman Economic Opportunity Commission	342 East Broadway East St. Louis, Illinois
JONES, Rev. Joseph T.	Mobile Minister Supervisor United Presbyterian, USA	810 Condon Street Charlotte, North Carolina
JONES, Rev. Kelsey A.	Minister, Cleaves Temple Christian Methodist Episcopal	2412 Emmet Street Omaha, Nebraska
JONES, Dr. Major J.	Research Coordinator Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action	3709 Rogers Road Chattanooga, Tennessee 37411
JONES, Dr. R. Frank	Trustee National Urban League	Freedmen's Hospital Washington, D.C. 20001
KAISER, Mrs. Inez Y.	Director Inez Kaiser & Associates	928 Grand Avenue Kansas City, Missouri
KELLER, Mrs. Charles, Jr.	Trustee National Urban League	1701 Arabella Street New Orleans, La. 70115
KENDRICK, Mrs. Agnes C.	National Association Colored Women's Clubs	1601 R Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.
KENNEDY, Dr. Joseph	American Society of African Culture	15 East 40th Street New York, New York
KIMBALL, Lindsley F.	President National Urban League	30 Rockefeller Plaza New York, New York
KING, Reverend D.E.	Pastor Friendship Baptist Church	144 West 131st Street New York, New York 10027

LaBOHNE, Percy T.	Public Relations Staff Philco Corporation	6619 Wayne Avenue Philadelphia, Pa.
LASLEY, Russell R.	Vice-President United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO	608 S. Dearborn Street Chicago, Ill. 60605
LAWSON, Belford V., Jr.	General Counsel Afram Continental Corp.	701 RCA Bldg. 1725 K Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.
LaCOUR, Louis Bernard	Vice-President Columbus Urban League	42 East Gay Street Columbus, Ohio 43215
LEE, Mrs. Gwendolyn C.	President, Maryland League of Women's Clubs	2321 Montabello Terrace Baltimore, Md. 21214
LEE, Dr. J. Oscar	Associate Executive Director Commission on Religion and Race	475 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10027
LINDSAY, Dr. Inabel B.	Dean, School of Social Work Howard University	Howard University Washington, D.C. 20001
LITTLEJOHN, Dr. Clarence G.	Member, Board of Directors Los Angeles NAACP, and Member, Board of Directors Los Angeles Urban League	1615 S. Gramercy Place Los Angeles, California
LOGAN, Dr. Arthur	President HARYOU-ACT	180 West 135th Street New York, New York
LOGAN, Rev. Thomas S.	Rector Calvary Episcopal Church	46 Lincoln Avenue Yeodon, Pennsylvania
LOGUE, John T.	Assistant to Vice-President Marketing Eastern Air Lines	10 Rockefeller Plaza New York, New York
LONCKE, Rudolph R.	Deputy Grand Master Masonic Grand Lodge Connecticut Jurisdiction	55 Victory Drive New Haven, Conn.
LONG, Dr. Herman H.	President Talladega College	Talladega College Talladega, Ala. 35160
LOVEJOY, Mrs. Lelia A.	President Oklahoma Urban League	4208 Springlake Drive Oklahoma City, Okla.
LUCAS, Dr. George W.	Past President Dayton Urban League	Home Ave. & Summit St. Dayton, Ohio 45407
McALPIN, Harry S.	Attorney-at-Law	608 W. Walnut Street Louisville, Ky. 40203
McCLANE, Charles P., Sr.	Director, Public Relations I.B.P.O.E.W.	221 N. Second Street Steelton, Pa.
McGILL, Hughes	Allied Organizations For Civil Rights	2328 W. Broadway Louisville, Kentucky

McLEOD, Ivan C.	Trustee National Urban League	75 Lakeside Road New Rochelle, New York
McMILLAN, Lemmon C.	Executive Director Association of Huntsville Area Contractors	2205 E. University Drive Huntsville, Ala. 35803
McNAIR, Reverend Rudolph E.	Pastor Zion Baptist Church	1624 Evans Omaha, Nebraska 68110
MORROW, Frederick E.	Assistant Vice President The Bank of America International	41 Broad Street New York, New York
MARSHALL, Mrs. Grace Carter	Links, Inc.	P. O. Box 97 North Branford, Conn.
MASON, Mrs. Vivian C.	Chairman Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education	2630 Chesterfield Blvd. Norfolk, Virginia
MAXWELL, Rev. O. Clay	Pastor Mt. Olivet Baptist Church	114 West 120th Street New York, New York
MAXWELL, Mrs. O. Clay	Trustee National Urban League	114 West 120th Street New York, New York
MAYBERRY, Dr. Bennie D.	Dean, School of Agriculture Tuskegee Institute and Associate Director, Tuskegee MDTA Program	Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee, Alabama
MEARES, George E.	Grand Basileus Omega Psi Phi Fraternity	156 Willoughby Ave. Brooklyn, N.Y. 11205
MAZIQUE, Dr. Edward C.	Member, Board of Directors YMCA and Ojike Medical Foundation	1801 Ninth Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20001
MITCHELL, Dr. Matthew	Immediate Past President National Dental Association	700 Thirteenth St., N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002
MOOD, Frederick D.	President, Oklahomans For Progress and Exec. Secretary, Oklahoma Baptist State Convention	1314 N.E. 8th Street Oklahoma City, Okla.
MORRIS, Jesse	Council of Federated Organizations	100 Rust Avenue Holly Springs, Miss.
MOULTRIE, H. Carl	National Exec. Secretary Omega Psi Phi Fraternity	2714 Georgia Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20001

MURPHY, Raymond, Jr.	Director Workers Defense League Apprenticeship Program	1646 Fulton Street Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213
MURPHY, Romallus O.	Executive Director Erie Human Relations Commission	508 City Hall Erie, Pa. 16501
NABRIT, Dr. James M., Jr.	President Howard University	Howard University Washington, D. C.
NEUSTADTER, Marcus, Jr.	President Frontiers International	13 North 34th Street Philadelphia 4, Pa.
NEWSOM, Dr. Lionel H.	General President ~~Elect~~ Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity	Barber-Scotia College Concord, North Carolina
NICKENS, Norman	Assistant Superintendent Model School Division	13th and K Streets, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005
NORFORD, George E.	General Executive Group W., Westinghouse Broadcasting Company	122 East 42nd Street New York, New York
OLIVER, Rev. C. Herbert	Executive Secretary Inter-Citizens Committee	416 Tenth Avenue, West Birmingham, Alabama
OLIVER, William H.	Co-Director, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Dept. International Union UAW	8000 E. Jefferson Ave. Detroit, Michigan 48214
ORR, Mrs. Dorothy D.	Westchester Clubmen, Inc.	2 North Road North White Plains, N.Y.
OTTLEY, Peter	President Local 144, Hotel and Allied Service Employees Union	797 Eighth Avenue New York, New York 10019
PARKER, Mrs. Barrington D.	Former President Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority	4919 Sixteenth St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20011
PATRICK, Rev. LeRoy	Minister Bethesda United Presbyterian Church	7220 Bennett Street Pittsburgh, Pa.
PATTERSON, Dr. Frederick D.	President Phelps-Stokes Fund	297 Park Avenue South New York, N.Y. 10010
PAYNE, James E., Jr.	Board Member Los Angeles Urban League	1157 S. Victoria Avenue Los Angeles, Calif. 90019
PERRY, Lowell W.	Community Relations Chairman Varsity Club of Detroit	16630 Normandy Detroit, Michigan

PETTIGREW, Rev. Ernest P.	Minister C.M.E. Church	1615 East Capitol St. Washington, D. C.
PICOTT, Dr. J. Ruppert	Executive Secretary Virginia Teachers Association	Clay Street at Fourth Richmond, Virginia
PILGRIM, Harold L.	Executive Secretary Frontiers International	13 North 34th Street Philadelphia, Pa. 19104
PITTS, Mrs. Dorothy W.	Chairman Women's Forum	1627 Arlington Blvd. El Cerrito, Calif. 94530
PLAYER, Dr. Willa B.	President Bennett College	Bennett College Greensboro, N. C. 27402
POLLARD, Mrs. Esther G.	Representing the Supreme Basileus, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority	3900 14th Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20011
POLLARD, William Edward	Staff, Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO	5747 27th Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.
PORTER, Dr. Gilbert L.	Executive Secretary Florida State Teachers Association	P. O. Box 2215 Tallahassee, Fla. 32304
POSTON, Mrs. Ersa H.	Confidential Assistant to the Governor of New York State	22 West 55th Street New York, N.Y. 10019
PRESS, Mrs. Patricia R.	Associate Director Delta Sigma Theta Sorority	1814 M Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
PROCTOR, Samuel D.	General Director of Public Interpretation National Council of Churches	Suite 872, 475 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10027
RANDOLPH, A. Philip	President Negro American Labor Council	217 West 125th Street New York, New York
RANDOLPH, Dr. Robert L.	Associate Professor of Economics Springfield College	925 So. Branch Parkway Springfield, Mass. 01118
RAULLERSON, Calvin H.	Executive Director American Society of African Culture	15 East 40th Street New York, N.Y. 10016
REEVES, Frank D.		7760 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20012

REID, Miss Annie T.	Coordinator, Continuous Counseling Unit Youth Employment Center United Planning Organization	2431 14th Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.
REID, Mrs. Maude K.	National President Council of Urban League Guilds	14842 Robinson Street Miami, Florida 33158
REYNOLDS, Hobson R.	Grand Exalted Ruler Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World	1522 North 16th Street Philadelphia, Pa.
ROBERSON, Miss Diana L.	Representing James Foreman National Director, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee	100 Rust Avenue Holly Springs, Miss.
ROBINSON, Cleveland	National Vice President Negro American Labor Council	13 Astor Place New York, N.Y. 10003
ROOKS, Rev. Shelby A.	Pastor, St. James Presbyterian Church	409 West 141st Street New York, N.Y. 10031
RUSSELL, Harvey C.	Vice President Pepsi-Cola Company	500 Park Avenue New York, N. Y. 10022
SAUNDERS, Ernest	President State of Connecticut Congregational Laymen	129 Sheldon Terrace New Haven, Connecticut
SCHELL, Dr. Warren W.	Member, National Citizens Committee	1510 Jefferson Street Jacksonville, Florida
SCRUGGS, Ramon S.	Vice President National Urban League	195 Broadway, Rm. 535-B New York 7, New York
SEAY, Rev. Solomon S.	Member, Executive Board Montgomery Improvement Association	Route 3, Box 400-D Montgomery, Alabama
SENGSTACKE, John H.	Publisher Chicago Daily Defender	2400 South Michigan Ave. Chicago, Illinois 60616
SENGSTACKE, Robert A.	Photographer Chicago Daily Defender	601 East 32nd Street Chicago, Illinois 60616
SENGSTACKE, John H., Jr.	Chicago Daily Defender	601 East 32nd Street Chicago, Illinois 60616
SEXTON, Edwin T., Jr.	Board Member Wichita Urban League	2226 Mossman Wichita, Kansas

SILVERA, John	Special Projects Officer African Methodist Episcopal Church	670 Riverside Drive New York 31, New York
SIMMONS, Joseph F.	Grand Secretary Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World	1522 North 16th Street Philadelphia, Pa. 19121
SINGLETON, Mrs. Eunice E.	Member, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs Inc.	1724 First Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.
SISSEL, Rev. Ben	The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America	110 Maryland Avenue, N.E. Washington, D. C.
SMITH, Ashby G.	President, National Alliance of Postal Employees	1644 11th Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20001
SMITH, Henry R., Jr.	President Pennsylvania State NAACP	329 Bakewell Building Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219
SMITH, Robert L.	Staff, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee	100 Rust Avenue Holly Springs, Miss.
SNELL, Arthur	Assistant Law Director Coordinator of Summit County Akron Area Poverty Program City of Akron Law Department	City Building, High St. Akron, Ohio
SNOWDEN, Mrs. Muriel S.	Associate Director Freedom House, Inc.	14 Crawford Street Roxbury, Mass. 02121
SNOWDEN, Otto Phillip	Executive Director Freedom House, Inc.	14 Crawford Street Roxbury, Mass. 02121
SOLOMON, Walker E.	Executive Secretary Palmetto Education Association	1719 Taylor Columbia, S. C. 29201
SPAULDING, Asa T.	President North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company	114 West Parrish St. Durham, N. C. 27702
STEWART, Rev. James H.	Social Activities Director Catholic Archdiocese of Omaha	1817 Dodge Street Omaha, Nebraska 68102
STOKES, Dr. Olivia Pearl	Director of Department of Religious Education Massachusetts Council of Churches	14 Beacon Street Boston, Mass. 02108

STOYANOFF, Louis J.	Serendipity Associates Project Scientist	23171 Bigler Street Woodland Hills, Calif.
TAYLOR, J. Luvelle	President Virginia Federation of Parents and Teachers	1413 Cove Road, N. W. Roanoke, Virginia
TAYLOR, Roswell A., Sr.	Most Worshipful Grand Master Prince Hall Affiliation Grand of Virginia Free and Accepted Masons, Inc.	433 North Fayette Street Alexandria, Va. 22314
THOMAS, Eugene N.	Coordinator Community Relations American Can Company	100 Park Avenue New York, N. Y. 10017
THOMAS, Jesse O.	President Door of Hope Service, Inc.	212 Griffin Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia
THOMAS, Julius A.	Industrial Relations Consultant	45 East 135th Street New York, N.Y. 10037
THOMPSON, Dr. Daniel C.	Professor of Sociology Dillard University	2601 Gentilly Blvd. New Orleans, La.
THORPE, Mrs. Bernice P.	Coordinator, Job Development and Training Program Cardozo High School	238 Division Ave., N.E. Washington, D. C. 20019
TRENT, William J., Jr.	Assistant Personnel Director TIME, Inc.	Time-Life Building Rockefeller Center New York, New York
TROUP, Dr. Cornelius V.	Secretary-Treasurer Council on Cooperative College Projects Fort Valley State College	Fort Valley State College Fort Valley, Ga. 31030
TUCKER, Herbert E., Jr.	Attorney-at-Law	20 Pemberton Square Boston, Mass. 02108
UNTHANK, Dr. DeNorval	Board Member Urban League of Portland	414 Portland Medical Center, 511 S.W. 10th Portland, Oregon 97205
WOODS, Howard B.	Executive Editor St. Louis Argus	4595 Easton Avenue St. Louis, Missouri
WYNN, Mrs. Sammye J.		2440 Brooks Road Knoxville, Tenn 37915
WARING, Philip J.	National Secretary Frontiers International	Civil Courts Building St. Louis 1, Missouri

WARNER, Mrs. Bertha Diggs	Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority	1245 Union Street Brooklyn, New York
WASHINGTON, Dr. Bennetta B.	Principal Cardozo High School	Washington, D. C.
WATKINS, Clarence E.	President Palmetto Education Association	1709 Campbell Street Camden, S. C. 29020
WEXLER, Charles, Jr.	Treasurer National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice	2004 Lafayette Towers,West Detroit, Michigan
WHITBY, Mrs. Beulah T.	Chairman, Department of Sociology and Social Work Mercy College of Detroit	8200 West Outer Drive Detroit, Michigan 48219
WILEY, William D.	Research Assistant Rhode Island Department of Education	192 Chestnut Street Warwick, Rhode Island
WILLIAMS, Dr. Lorraine A.	Member of the Board of Directors, Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority	1329 Shepherd St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20011
WILLIAMSON, Q.V.	President National Association of Real Estate Brokers, Inc.	855 Hunter Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314
WOLFE, Dr. Deborah P.	Grand Basileus Zeta Phi Beta Sorority	1734 New Hampshire Ave,NW Washington, D. C.
WOODS, Dr. Geraldine P.	National President Delta Sigma Theta Sorority	1838 Victoria Ave. Los Angeles, Calif 90019
WOOTEN, Mrs. Roberta H.	Supervisor, Family Service of Cincinnati Area	3754 Dunkirk Street Cincinnati, Ohio 45220
WRIGHT, Arthur D.	Executive Director Catholic Interracial Council of New York	233 Broadway, Room 901 New York, N.Y. 10007
YOUNG, Kenneth B.	Vice President Omaha Urban League	100 South 19th Street Omaha, Nebraska 68102
YOUNG, Lt. Col. Lucius E.	Representing the National President, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.	4508 Argyle Terrace, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20011
YOUNG, Thomas W.	President and Publisher NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE	719 East Olney Road Norfolk, Virginia 23501
YOUNG, Dr. Whitney M.,Sr.	President Lincoln Institute	Lincoln Institute Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

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PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS ARE LISTED IN
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THE PRINTED PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY
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* *

The following Federal Government personnel attended the Community Action Assembly. Many served as Resource Persons:

ALEXANDER, Clifford L.	Deputy Special Assistant to the President	The White House Washington, D. C.
ALLEN, Samuel W.	Legal Counsel, Community Relations Service Department of Commerce	1100 Sixth Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024
AUGUSTINE, Thomas	Regional Director, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training U.S. Department of Labor	Federal Bldg., Room 852 219 S. Dearborn Street Chicago, Illinois
BAILER, Kermit G.	Assistant Administrator Office of Community Programs Housing & Home Finance Agency	1626 K Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
BARRETT, Harold F., Jr.	Executive Secretary, National Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship and Training	2801 Quebec Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20008
BASS, William H.	Assistant Director Rural Areas Development, U.S. Department of Agriculture	14th & Independence Ave.SW Washington, D. C.
BENNETT, L. Howard	Principal Assistant for Civil Rights, Office of Deputy Assistant Secretary	3636 16th St., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20011
BRADFORD, Joseph	Information Specialist Federal Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture	14th & Independence Ave,SW Washington, D. C.
BRICE, Edward W.	Director Adult Education Branch U.S. Office of Education	400 Maryland Ave., S.W. Washington, D. C. 20202

BUTLER, George O.	Director, Education and Community Relations, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity	14th & Constitution Ave,NW Washington, D. C.
CHAPIN, Arthur A.	Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor	U.S. Department of Labor Washington, D. C.
COLE, Robert L.	Special Assistant to the Administrator, Agency for International Development	U.S. Department of State Washington, D. C.
DALY, Victor R.	Deputy Director, U. S. Employment Service for the District of Columbia	1612 Manchester Lane, NW Washington, D.C. 20011
DAVENPORT, Roy K.	Deputy Under Secretary of the Army Department of the Army	Room 2E-594, The Pentagon Washington, D.C. 20310
DeMOND, Dr. Albert L.	Manpower Utilization Officer Division of Vocational and Technical Education Office of Education, HEW	7325 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20012
DIXON, Henry L.	Special Assistant to the Assistant Postmaster General Bureau of Operations	Room 3413, Post Office Dept. 12th and Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, D.C.
DOUGLASS, Dr. Joseph H.	Chief, Program Analysis and Scientific Communications Staff, National Institute of Mental Health, PHS, HEW	National Institute of Mental Health Building 31, Room 2A31 Bethesda, Maryland 20014
DROB, Judah	Training Director Community Action Program Office of Economic Opportunity	1156 15th Street, N. W. Washington, D.C. 20025
DUNCAN, J. Lawrence	Assistant to the Commissioner for Intergroup Relations	811 Vermont Ave., N.W. 663 Lafayette Building Washington, D.C. 20410
DUNNIGAN, Mrs. Alice A.	Education Consultant President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity	Main Labor Building Room 2213 Washington, D. C.
EVANS, James C.	Counsellor, Office of the Secretary of Defense	The Pentagon Washington, D.C. 20301
FLAGG, Lewis S., III	Associate Solicitor U.S. Department of Interior	Room 6414, Interior Building Washington, D.C. 20240

FOX, Richard K.	Special Assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, Department of State	Room 7312 Department of State Washington, D.C. 20025
GRANGER, Shelton B.	Chief, Human Resources Development Division Bureau of Latin America Department of State	1424 Hamilton St., N.W. Washington, D. C.
GROSSMAN, David A.	Assistant to Director of Community Action Office of Economic Opportunity	Washington, D. C.
HEWELL, Dr. Grace L.	Program Coordination Officer Department of Health, Education and Welfare	330 Independence Ave., SW Washington, D.C. 20201
HILL, Oliver W.	Assistant to the Commissioner Federal Housing Administration	811 Vermont Avenue Washington, D.C. 20411
HOPE, John, II	Director Federal Employment Program The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity	Main Labor Department Bldg. Washington, D. C. 20210
HUBBARD, Mrs. Charlotte M.	Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Department of State	Department of State Bldg. Washington, D. C.
KITCHEN, Robert W., Jr.	Director, Office of International Training	4800 17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20011
LAWRENCE, Maurice A.	Contract Compliance Examiner Post Office Department	Post Office Dept., Rm. 1111 Washington, D.C. 20260
LEWIS, Walter B.	Deputy Director, Federal Programs Division, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights	1701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, D.C. 20425
LIGHTFOOT, Mrs. Jean Drew	Organization Liaison Officer Department of State	1365 Juniper Street Washington, D.C. 20012
McGRAW, Dr. Booker T.	Assistant to Administrator for Intergroup Relations Housing & Home Finance Agency	3036 Park Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20001
MILLER, Mrs. Elizabeth J.	Contract Compliance Office Post Office Department	12th & Pennsylvania Ave. Washington, D. C. 20260

NAGLE, Paul A.	Deputy Contracts Compliance Office Post Office Department	800 Fourth Street, S.W. Washington, D. C.
NICHOLAS, Fred	Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Social Security for Fair Employment	6401 Social Security Blvd. Woodlawn 35, Maryland
RATTER, Sy	Office of Equal Opportunity	Washington, D. C.
ROBINSON, George H.	Special Assistant Area Redevelopment Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce	14th & Constitution Ave. Washington, D. C.
RUCKER, Clifford E.	Advisor, Office of the Secretary, Equal Employment Opportunity Program U.S. Department of Commerce	1320 Locust Road, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20012
SEABRON, William M.	Assistant to the Secretary U.S. Department of Agriculture	Room 312-W Administration Building Washington, D. C. 20250
SHAPIRO, Richard M.	Chief, Community and Field Survey Section, Federal Program Division U.S. Commission on Civil Rights	1701 Pennsylvania Ave. Washington, D. C.
SHULMAN, Stephen N.	Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense	Room 3G232, Pentagon Washington, D. C.
SIMMONS, Samuel J.	Director, State Advisory Committees Division, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights	1701 Pennsylvania Ave, NW Washington, D.C. 20425
SMITH, Ezekiel C.	Employment Policy Specialist Veterans Administration	Central Office Washington, D. C.
SYLVESTER, Edward C., Jr.	Deputy Administrator Bureau of International Labor Affairs U.S. Department of Labor	U.S. Department of Labor Room 3221 Washington, D.C. 20210
TAYLOR, Hobart, Jr.	Associate Counsel to the President of the United States	1600 Pennsylvania Ave. Washington, D. C.
THOMAS, Don M.	Administrative Coordinator Plans for Progress Sub-Committee of President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity	1815 H Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

TYUS, Randall L.	Special Assistant to the Administrator for Minority Groups, Small Business Administration	811 Vermont Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20416
WILKINS, Roger W.	Assistant Director Community Relations Service Department of Commerce	201 G Street, S. W. Washington, D.C. 20024
WILLIAMS, Percy H.	Special Assistant to the Executive Vice Chairman President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity	Washington, D. C. 20210

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

January 15, 1965

Remarks
By M. T. Puryear
Before the
Community Action Assembly
Job Opportunity Session
Friday, December 11, 1964

The Negro has been called a burden on society because he is so dependent upon welfare services and other assistance from public agencies. He has been called socially deprived because he has been a social outcast, having been a victim of a social system which not only relegated him to a second-class citizenship, but also used legal means, as well as customs and traditions, to deter his efforts to change his status.

The Negro has been called culturally deprived because he so often lived in communities where cultural activities were not available to him, or his very fight for survival often did not include the time or energy to develop interest in or taste for such activities.

He has been called educationally deprived and intellectually unfit because he has not been able to develop the background necessary to acquire the training and experience required to compete in the job market.

He has been called a political novice because, I suppose, a group which has so long been denied the simple right to vote could certainly not develop very much political sophistication.

The Negro has been called a low producer because he has worked mainly in unskilled, menial, or, in fact, disappearing job categories. He has been called unqualified as a worker because of the serious lack of education and experience so often required when he sought new or advanced job opportunities.

Urban League
Bunny Cox

To some degree, there is truth--a lot of truth--in each of the above statements. We cannot, however, accept them as stated, for to do so is to accept the stereotype so well known to all of us.

Even if the above statements apply to some Negro citizens, there are those who accepted the advice of adults - teachers, counselors, parents - and stayed in school to acquire the educational backgrounds that were to lead to rewarding jobs in business, industry, government and education. This is the group which, if working, has found entry jobs available, but upgrading, transfer, and promotion out of its reach.

Such limitations have served to stifle ambition, curb motivation, and relegate the majority of Negro workers to incomes designated as poverty status.

This unhappy situation has not been the result of an accident. Negro workers have had help through discriminatory practices in recruiting, hiring, upgrading, transfer and promotion practices of employers in all areas of work in this country.

Negro workers have been told that they could not be hired because they lacked skills, education and experiences by the same people who set up and controlled the systems which made preparation and the development of adequate backgrounds impossible.

Other problems in unemployment, underemployment and advancement on the job have also contributed to the maintenance of this unhappy work situation.

Any group of citizens so designated needs assistance from every force in government, business, industry, labor and education. Not the least of all is that there must be concern and help from within the Negro community itself.

We believe it to be significant that we have been able to meet here for the purpose of addressing ourselves to the problems of Negro workers; however, we have come prepared to assess both the problem and the resources that are available to all of us as we seek new and more dramatic solutions.

To set the stage for our deliberation, we have asked two of this country's most eminent scholars to provide the kind of background information we will need in order to give sober and meaningful consideration to our immediate tasks in planning and developing realistic employment programs which will be designed to benefit Negro citizens.

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remarks
by Jeweldean Jones
before the
Community Action Assembly
Health and Welfare Session
December 19, 1964

PRIORITY NEEDS OF NEGROES IN HEALTH AND WELFARE

Equal rights and equal opportunities to health and welfare for Negro citizens could be stated very simply as the elimination of the huge and continuing backwash of 300 years of discrimination and segregation. A simple statement but a great task to overcome for equality means that from the cradle to the grave - from extensive prenatal neglect, high infant mortality and illegitimacy, overworked, low-paid working mothers with no day care services for their children, underpaid, underemployed and unemployed males, the suffering, neglected aged, the large and disproportionate number on public welfare - in effect, that for the majority of the Negro population, equal opportunity to health and welfare means recognition of the needs and programs for action to overcome the double jeopardy of continuing discrimination and poverty.

A very recent study of 5,600 public assistance cases for example, found that 74% were in households headed by women and that the overwhelming majority of these cases suffered physical and emotional disabilities. And Urban League studies indicate that discrimination - overt or subtle - often exists in the very hospital, health and social welfare services that are supposed to help those in greatest need. This discrimination has also frequently contributed to under-utilization of services by those who need them most.

Many people recognize the needs of the poor, and especially of the more afflicted nonwhite poor, and sympathize with it. But few appreciate that financial costs to all America of neglect are

the costs of cure.

For example, in New York City, where 75% of the over half million public welfare recipients are nonwhite, more than a half billion dollars was spent on such expenditures in just the one year ended last June - and case loads and costs are rising.[1] And what can the outlook be when nearly 2 out of 3 of these welfare recipients are children? The condition is national in scope and billions of dollars are being spent.

Walter Heller, formerly of the Council of Economic Advisers, estimates that it would cost approximately $11 billion a year to bring up all poor families to $3,000. Considering our current outlays for public assistance expenditures, which, although they go into billions, are far below the need, Mr. Heller's estimate of an annual $11 billion would be spent toward creating jobs as well as badly needed services - such as homemakers, health aides, foster parents.

With deplorably low incomes, little, if any, can be spent on preventive medical care or even crisis care. For example, average income of nonwhite husband-wife family unit, which, incidentally, is just about at the poverty level, is not only about half ($3,895 vs. $6,510) that of whites but also has to support more children (3.0 per family vs. 2.4). Three out of every 4 families headed by domestic service workers are poor, and you know who they are. The nonwhite mother-only family unit not only has a desperately low income ($1,665), well under that of the white, but she too also has more children than the white (2.8 per family vs. 2.1).[2]

1. New York Times, November 15, 1964
2. "Children of the Poor", Dept. Health, Education and Welfare reprint (1963)

The President's Task Force on Manpower Conservation has reported these alarming facts: that half the draftees called in 1962 by Selective Service failed their preinduction examinations. About half of those rejected were turned down for failure to pass the medical tests.

The most significant finding of the Task Force about the medical reject is that 75% of all persons rejected for failure to meet the medical and physical standard would probably benefit from treatment and that public health nurses can be highly effective in counselling most rejectees to seek medical treatment.[3]

I'm sure you're all familiar with such facts in every area as that out-of-wedlock births which are almost twice that of nonwhite mothers; that many agencies give services to unmarried mothers, but if the mother is Negro, services may not exist for her; that a mere one in 50 nonwhite mothers receives care at all and in the South, practically none; that 70% of white babies born out-of wedlock are placed for adoption as against only 5% of nonwhite; that the chance that Negro babies will die in the first year of life is about twice as great as for white babies; that the communicable diseases are increasing at an alarming rate, especially among teenagers, and so on it goes.[4]

These are national figures. Urbanwise, ghettowise, and geographically, however, the dimensions of poverty are much, much greater. For example, in the South 47% of the total population is poor as against the country's 20% average and a whopping 75% of these are nonwhite, compared with about 50% national average.

3. "One-Third of a Nation", Jan. 1, 1964. A report by the President's Task Force on Manpower Conservation.
4. See NUL publications: DOUBLE JEOPARDY, THE HEALTH OF NEGROES IN AMERICA TODAY, and THE URBAN LEAGUE'S APPROACH TO HEALTH AND WELFARE. 1964.

Twelve million Negroes, or 60% of the total U.S. Negro population, live in the South, with seven million living in the cities and five million on farms.[5] I've just returned from a National Urban League Health and Welfare Poverty Workshop in the South where we've worked out preliminary steps for Negro participation at every level as required under the Economic Opportunity Act. And we're planning similar Workshops at the city, county and state levels there. To work out meaningful programs to mobilize the poor at every level will require the maximum involvement of all organizations gathered here today.

As I indicated earlier elimination of poverty, aside from human and social considerations, is also good sense in monetary terms to the community. The economics of investment in human resources is very real. In addition to lower costs of rehabilitation and maintenance of the poor, repayment would come in higher tax revenues flowing from healthy persons working and at higher wage levels.

There are current, present governmental resources that the community can and should use to implement the national mandate to eliminate poverty and discrimination. Resources, which I'm sure Secretary Celebrezze and the panel will describe, such as the provisions of the 1963 Child and Maternal Health Act, the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments, and the 1963 approved Community Mental Health Centers. There are, as well, very important voluntary resources - the network of voluntary health and social welfare agencies throughout the country. All of these can become vital components of the Economic Opportunity and Civil Rights Acts of 1964.

5. "The War on Poverty", the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. A Committee report of the 88th Congress.

Even though the Economic Opportunity Act, historic as it is, as President Johnson stated, just a beginning, let us encompass the breadth and vision of our President, Vice President and other national leaders in devising steps for immediate action.

For, it's really up to an intelligent, active citizenry to push for effective distribution and utilization of these programs.

And we have called you here today because it is our business - our community business - to join hands with government and all interested private resources to design new and adequate programs to alleviate the problems with which we are all too familiar.

December 24, 1964

LOCAL AFFILIATES
of the
National Urban League, Inc.

AKRON, OHIO
Vernon L. Odom
Executive Director
Akron Community Service Center
and Urban League
250 East Market Street
Akron, Ohio 44308
(HE 4-3101)

ANDERSON, INDIANA
William B. Harper
Executive Director
Anderson Urban League
537-39 Citizens Bank Building
Anderson, Indiana
(642-4971)

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Harold N. Arnold
Executive Director
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(JA 1-2355)

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
Furman L. Templeton
Executive Director
Baltimore Urban League
2404 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21217
(LA 3-0706)

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
J. Westbrook McPherson
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater Boston, Inc.
14 Somerset Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts
(LA 3-8160)

BUFFALO, NEW YORK
Nelson H. Nichols, Jr.
Executive Director
Buffalo Urban League, Inc.
234 Jefferson Avenue
Buffalo 4, New York
(TL 4-7625)

CANTON, OHIO
Clarence A. Thomas
Executive Director
Canton Urban League
415 Thirteenth Street, S.E.
Canton, Ohio 44707
(GL 6-3479)

CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS
Robert O. Bowles
Executive Director
Champaign County Urban League
29½ Main Street
Champaign, Illinois
(356-9411)

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
Edwin C. Berry
Executive Director
Chicago Urban League
4500 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60653
(AT 5-5800)

CINCINNATI, OHIO
Joseph A. Hall
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater Cincinnati
2400 Reading Road
Cincinnati 2, Ohio
(721-3160)

CLEVELAND, OHIO
Ernest C. Cooper
Executive Director
Urban League of Cleveland
2123 East Ninth Street
Cleveland 15, Ohio
(MA 1-7630)

COLUMBUS, OHIO
Chester H. Jones
Executive Director
Columbus Urban League
107 North Monroe Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43203
(258-9529)

DAYTON, OHIO
Charles W. Washington
Executive Director
Dayton Urban League
184 Salem Avenue
Dayton 6, Ohio
(226-2551)

DENVER, COLORADO
Sebastian C. Owens
Executive Director
Urban League of Colorado
1375 Delaware Street
Denver 5, Colorado
(623-5201)

DETROIT, MICHIGAN
Francis A. Kornegay
Executive Director
Detroit Urban League
208 Mack Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48201
(TE 2-4600)

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY
James S. Wilson, Jr.
Executive Director
Urban League of Eastern Union County
215 Broad Street, Room 8
Elizabeth, New Jersey
(EL 2-4529)

ELKHART, INDIANA
Edward W. Allen
Executive Director
Elkhart Urban League
209 South Second Street
Elkhart, Indiana
(JA 3-0405)

ENGLEWOOD, NEW JERSEY
Monroe D. Dowling
Executive Director
Urban League for Bergen County
28 North Van Brunt Street
Englewood, New Jersey
(LO 8-4988)

FLINT, MICHIGAN
Wesley Ted Cobb
Executive Director
Urban League of Flint
200 East Kearsley
Flint 2, Michigan
(239-2195)

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA
Robert E. Wilkerson
Executive Director
Fort Wayne Urban League, Inc.
227 East Washington Boulevard
Fort Wayne, Indiana
(743-5471)

GARY, INDIANA
Clifford E. Minton
Executive Director
Urban League of Gary
1649 Broadway, Suite 309
Gary, Indiana 46407
(886-9139)

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN
Paul I. Phillips
Executive Director
Grand Rapids Urban League
164-166 Ottawa, N.W.
Grand Rapids 5, Michigan
(GL 9-4551)

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT
William J. Brown
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater Hartford
53 Allyn Street
Hartford, Connecticut
(522-8164)

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA
Lewis J. Carter, III
Executive Director
Jacksonville Urban League
109 East Union Street
Jacksonville 2, Florida
(EL 6-4292)

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
Lounneer Pemberton
Executive Director
Urban League of Kansas City
916 Walnut Street, Suite 614
Kansas City, Missouri 64106
(GR 1-0550)

LANSING, MICHIGAN
Urban League of Greater Lansing
c/o Archie C. Fraser
Fraser, Trebilcock, Davis & Foster
1400 Michigan National Tower
Lansing, Michigan 48933

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
George I. Henry
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater Little Rock
914 Gaines Street
Little Rock, Arkansas
(FR 4-0349)

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
Wesley R. Brazier
Executive Director
Los Angeles Urban League
3839 South Western Avenue
Los Angeles 62, California
(AX 2-0511)

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
Charles T. Steele
Executive Director
Louisville Urban League
209 West Market Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky
(JU 3-4835-6)

MARION, INDIANA
Charles Graves, Jr.
Executive Director
Marion Urban League, Inc.
1221 West Twelfth Street
Marion, Indiana
(NO 4-5966)

MASSILLON, OHIO
Donald Stiggers
Executive Director
Massillon Urban League
Massillon Building, Suite #412
Massillon, Ohio
(TE 3-4149)

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
J. A. McDaniel
Executive Director
Memphis Urban League
546 Beale Avenue
Memphis 5, Tennessee
(JA 6-2088)

MIAMI, FLORIDA
T. Willard Fair
Executive Director
Greater Miami Urban League
395 N. W. First Street, Suite 209
Miami, Florida
(FR 1-6476)

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
Wesley L. Scott
Executive Director
Milwaukee Urban League
936 West Center Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53206
(FR 4-5850)

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
Robert L. Williams
Executive Director
Minneapolis Urban League
619 Produce Bank Building
100 North 7th Street
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota
(FE 5-2197)

MORRISTOWN, NEW JERSEY
Paul L. Cooper
Executive Director
Morris County Urban League
13 Speedwell Avenue
Morristown, New Jersey 07960
(JE 9-2121)

MUSKEGON, MICHIGAN
Charles L. Sanders
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater Muskegon
500 West Muskegon Avenue
Muskegon, Michigan
(PA 8-5193; PA 2-6994)

NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY
Clive Krygar, Jr.
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New Brunswick
114 New Street
New Brunswick, New Jersey
(247-9066)

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
Sidney H. Alexander, Jr.
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New Haven
153 Court Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06510
(624-4168)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
J. Harvey Kerns
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New Orleans
1821 Orleans Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70116
(947-5504-5)

NEW YORK, NEW YORK
Alexander J. Allen
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New York
204 West 136th Street
New York 30, New York
(AU 6-8000)

Bronx Branch, ULGNY
Barney M. Hendley, Branch Dir.
518 Willis Avenue
Bronx 51, New York
(CY 2-8596)

Brooklyn Branch, ULGNY
Johnny Parham, Jr., Branch Dir.
1251 Dean Street
Brooklyn, New York
(SL 6-3031)

Nassau-Suffolk Branch, ULGNY
Walter D. McClane, Branch Dir.
35 Main Street
Hempstead, L.I., New York
(IV 5-7106)

Queens Branch, ULGNY
William H. Toles, Branch Dir.
90-50 Parsons Boulevard
Jamaica, New York
(AX 7-7272)

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
James A. Pawley
Executive Director
Urban League of Essex County
58 Jones Street
Newark, New Jersey
(MA 2-5331)

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA
Herbert L. Tyson
Executive Director
Urban League of Oklahoma City
215 North Walnut Street
Oklahoma City 4, Oklahoma
(CE 6-8549)

OMAHA, NEBRASKA
Douglas E. Stewart
Executive Director
Omaha Urban League, Inc.
209 South 15th Street
312 Karbach Building
Omaha 2, Nebraska
(342-7648)

PEORIA, ILLINOIS
Tri-County Urban League
c/o Dr. T. W. Van Arsdale
Bradley University
Peoria, Illinois

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Andrew G. Freeman
Executive Director
Urban League of Philadelphia
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107
(LO 9-3636)

PHOENIX, ARIZONA
Junius A. Bowman
Executive Director
Phoenix Urban League
1515 East Osborn Road
Phoenix, Arizona 85014
(CR 7-5421)

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA
Arthur J. Edmunds
Executive Director
Urban League of Pittsburgh
200 Ross Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219
(261-6010)

PONTIAC, MICHIGAN
Clarence E. Barnes
Executive Director
Pontiac Area Urban League
132 Franklin Boulevard
Pontiac, Michigan
(335-8730)

PORTLAND, OREGON
E. Shelton Hill
Executive Director
Urban League of Portland
506 Dekum Building
519 S. W. Third Avenue
Portland 4, Oregon
(CA 7-2697)

Field Office, ULP
Mr. Rufus L. Butler, Director
Field Office
Urban League of Portland
3928 North Williams Avenue
Portland 27, Oregon
(284-7473)

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND
James N. Williams
Executive Director
Urban League of Rhode Island
433 Westminster Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02903
(521-5103)

RACINE, WISCONSIN
Urban League of Racine, Inc.
c/o Merritt D. Hill
J. I. Case Company
700 State Street
Racine, Wisconsin

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Mrs. Janet J. Ballard
Executive Director
Richmond Urban League
112 East Clay Street, Suite 208
Richmond, Virginia 23219
(643-7343)

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
William E. Douthit
Executive Director
Urban League of St. Louis, Inc.
3017 Delmar Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63106
(JE 3-3820)

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA
Sam H. Jones
Executive Director
St. Paul Urban League
65 East Kellogg Boulevard, Suite 407
St. Paul, Minnesota 55104
(222-2539)

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA
John W. Johnson
Executive Director
San Diego Urban League
Robinson Building, Suite 401
520 "E" Street
San Diego, California 92101
(234-3312)

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
Percy H. Steele, Jr.
Executive Director
Bay Area Urban League
2505 Bush Street
San Francisco, California 94115
(567-1835)

East Bay Office
Bay Area Urban League
900 Fallon Street
Oakland, California 94607
(832-4471)
Charles F. Harlins, Asso. Dir.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
Edwin T. Pratt
Executive Director
Seattle Urban League
605 Lowman Building
107 Cherry
Seattle 4, Washington
(MA 2-2322)

SOUTH BEND, INDIANA
VACANCY
Executive Director
South Bend Urban League and Hering House, Inc.
Hibberd Building, Suite 202
321 South Main Street
South Bend 1, Indiana
(AT 8-8389)

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
Comer L. Cox
Executive Director
Springfield Urban League, Inc.
322½ South Sixth Street, Suite 2
Springfield, Illinois
(522-8411)

SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
Chester N. Gibbs
Executive Director
Urban League of Springfield
84-86 Hillman Street
Springfield, Massachusetts 01103
(RE 9-4793-4)

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO
Horace W. Morris
Executive Director
Springfield Urban League
6 South Limestone Street
510 M & M Building
Springfield, Ohio
(324-2611)

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK
Dennis Dowdell
Executive Director
Urban League of Syracuse and
Onondaga County
351 South Warren Street
Syracuse, New York
(471-0624)

TAMPA, FLORIDA
Arthur D. Allen
Executive Director
Tampa Urban League
1615 Lamar Avenue
Tampa, Florida
(229-2319)

TULSA, OKLAHOMA
Marion M. Taylor
Executive Director
Tulsa Urban League
107½ North Greenwood Avenue
Tulsa 20, Oklahoma
(LU 7-9781)

WARREN, OHIO
W. Robert Smalls
Executive Director
Warren Urban League
130 Pine Avenue, S.E.
Warren, Ohio
(393-6266)

WASHINGTON, D. C.
Sterling Tucker
Executive Director
Washington Urban League
626 Third Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20001
(737-8600)

WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK
William K. Wolfe
Executive Director
Urban League of Westchester
6 Depot Plaza
White Plains, New York
(WH 9-1174)

WICHITA, KANSAS
Hugh Jackson
Executive Director
Wichita Urban League
3427 East Douglas Avenue
Wichita 18, Kansas
(MU 3-5659)

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
S. D. Harvey
Executive Director
Winston-Salem Urban League
610 Coliseum Drive
Winston-Salem, North Carolina
(PA 5-5614)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Washington Bureau
Mrs. Cernoria D. Johnson, Director
Washington Bureau
National Urban League, Inc.
Wyatt Building
777 Fourteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005
(393-0124)

REGIONAL OFFICES OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

Eastern Regional Office
Nelson C. Jackson, Director
Eastern Regional Office
National Urban League, Inc.
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017
(751-0300)

Mideastern Regional Office
Raymond R. Brown, Director
Mideastern Regional Office
National Urban League, Inc.
1226 First National Tower
106 South Main Street
Akron, Ohio 44308
(535-2621)

Midwestern Regional Office
M. Leo Bohanon, Director
Midwestern Regional Office
National Urban League, Inc.
Chemical Building, Room 1012
721 Olive Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63101
(GA 1-6393)

Southern Regional Office
Clarence D. Coleman, Director
Southern Regional Office
National Urban League, Inc.
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(MU 8-8778)

Western Regional Office
Henry A. Talbert, Director
Western Regional Office
National Urban League, Inc.
945 South Western Avenue, Suite 106
Los Angeles, California
(731-8261)

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League, Inc.
14 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y. 10017
(751-0300)

National Urban League

14 East 48th Street New York, N. Y. 10017

MEMORANDUM December 29, 1964

TO: Delegates to the National Urban League
Community Action Assembly, December 9-11, 1964
Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C.

FROM: Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director

: : : :

The Urban League's Community Action Assembly marked another major stride toward equal opportunity for the Negro in this country. Your participation in that Assembly was an important factor in its success, and this letter comes to express our appreciation for the interest evidenced by your attendance. We hope this effort is only the first of many future cooperative ventures.

We believe that the objective of this action conference, which dealt with the "meat, bread and potatoes" issues of the day, was achieved in that Negroes from all over the country had the opportunity to meet with top government officials, including the President of the United States, to discuss the Civil Rights Bill and the Economic Opportunity Act.

Follow-up of that conference now becomes a number one priority, and your support and cooperation will be needed in this. We urge you not to delay informing your membership about the Assembly, and the League stands ready to assist you in any way possible to secure the resources to put both acts into operation in your community.

Enclosed you will find a list of Urban League affiliates and regional offices throughout the country. It is our hope that you will contact the office nearest your city as you move ahead in implementing the decisions of the Assembly. Enclosed, also, is a second copy of the Outline of Immediate Action. You will note that several suggestions are given for follow-up action by you, as well as by the Urban League. The materials promised are being prepared and will be sent to you by the dates designated.

Again, thank you for your most valuable contribution to the success of our Assembly, and we welcome any comments or suggestions you may have.

Enc: (4)

Urban League
Poverty Conference

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
Washington, D.C., 20410

A SELECTED LIST OF HHFA PUBLICATIONS

Publications marked with an * are for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402. Single copies of publications not marked are available free from the Information Division, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C., 20410.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

Fact Sheets on: HHFA Programs for Senior Citizen Housing.
The Workable Program for Community Improvement.

Annual Report, 17th (covering calendar year 1963). * $2.25.

Equal Opportunity in Housing:

President's Executive Order 11063. * 10¢.
Questions and Answers on Equal Opportunity in Housing. * 5¢.
Equal Opportunity in Housing -- A Series of Case Studies. * 35¢.

Housing and Home Finance Agency -- What It Is, What It Does. October 1963. * 10¢.

Low-Income Housing Demonstration Program (A Program Guide).

Our Nonwhite Population and its Housing (Changes Between 1950 and 1960). July 1963. * 40¢.

Publications of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. April 1964.

COMMUNITY FACILITIES ADMINISTRATION

Fact Sheets on: Advances for Public Works Planning.
College Housing Loans.
Public Facility Loans.
Senior Citizens Housing Loan Program.

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

Publications of the Federal Housing Administration. (FHA 235).

FHA Mortgage Insurance for Rental and Cooperative Housing for Families of Low and Moderate Income. (FHA 221).

URBAN RENEWAL ADMINISTRATION

Fact Sheets on: The Open Space Land Program.
The Urban Planning Assistance Program.
The Urban Renewal Program.

The Community Renewal Program -- What It Is ... How It May Be Used. * 5¢.

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

Fact Sheets on: Public Housing.
Public Housing Program for Senior Citizens.

Community Service Programs for Public Housing.

# # #

December 1964.

National Urban League

National Office

14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

Washington Bureau

777 Fourteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Regional Offices

Eastern:	14 East 48th Street New York, New York 10017
Mideastern:	1226 First National Tower 106 South Main Street Akron, Ohio 44308
Midwestern:	Chemical Building 721 Olive Street St. Louis, Missouri 63101
Southern:	250 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Western:	945 South Western Avenue Los Angeles, California

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25¢

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEPRESSED AREAS

BY JOHN D. POMFRET

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET No. 351

RACIAL BIAS

AND HOUSING

National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

THE URBAN LEAGUE
AND
RELIGIOUS RESOURCES

DOUBLE JEOPARDY---

The Older Negro in America Today

A publication of the . . .

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

IN CONSEQUENCE

OF COLOR - - -

The Health of Negroes
in America Today

A publication of the

National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

September 5, 1963

Mr. H. Davis Yeuell
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the United States
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Mr. Yeuell:

Your letter of August 30, addressed to the Southern Regional Council has been referred to this office for a reply.

We certainly wish to commend the Presbyterian Church for this much needed interest in voter registration. The provisional description which you sent to us has attracted considerable interest in our office and you may be assured of any support which the Voter Education Project can give you in launching your own voter registration program.

We are sending, under separate cover, a copy of our first annual report which you may find of interest and if, after reading it, you have any specific questions which you want to ask us then feel free to communicate directly with this office.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
MARSHALL C. DENDY, Executive Secretary

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176
RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA
Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691

DIVISION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
[redacted], Secretary

Department of Campus Christian Life
ROBERT BLUFORD, Jr., Director
H. DAVIS YEUELL, Associate

August 30, 1963

Southern Regional Council on Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

At a recent conference of the Campus Ministry Association of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. it was decided to establish a Long Term Voter Registration Project. A provisional description is attached.

We understand from a member of the association that the SRCHR has an office which is dealing with this matter. We would like your response to our plan and any material you may have to help expedite our efforts.

Sincerely,

H. Davis Yeuell

H. Davis Yeuell

HDY:jm

LONG TERM VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

PROJECT:

In the summer of 1964 there will be initiated by CMA a five year Voter Registration Project within the geographic confines of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. The project will consist of a travelling team of approximately 20 people who are trained and competent in a methodology for Voter Registration and Voter Education. There shall be one full time staff leader (with training in theology and sociology or political science) who will be responsible for the development and expansion of the project.

The work of this team will include three aspects:

1. An intensive training session in VR methodology and strategy - to take place during the times when the VR books are closed.

2. An advance contact group which will begin conversation about need problems and potentialities of VR in a community with members of churches and other interested groups.

3. A lengthy period of on the scene work in gathering datum and assisting in the registration of voters in a community. This work should be done in cooperation with and support of local groups or persons wherever possible.

The length of time that the team is in any locality will be determined by the needs of that locality. During each summer of the five year period there shall be a complete project which could include short term ecumenical participation.

The Department of Campus Christian Life shall provide for the staff salary and for travel expenses of the team. Local churches and participants both should bear a portion of the living costs for the team.

PARTICIPANTS:

Students, faculty, and other churchmen with a special interest in sociology, political science, and theology will constitute the inter-racial team. Members of the team will rotate on and off at the end or beginning of a new VR project location, with approximately 2/3 of the team providing continuity of experience.

CMA TRAINING:

A training seminar at the 1964 CMA Conference with actual in service training in Black Mountain (if registration books are open) for campus ministers interested in beginning a VR project in their own community will be held.

12-4-63

WAB
Is someone going?
See set meeting program
Me — it will be in Decatur, Ga.

November 13, 1963

Mr. H. Davis Yeuell
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the United States
Eight North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Mr. Yeuell:

Thank you for your letter of October 31 in which you enclosed the program for the meeting of your Study and Service Committee which is scheduled for December 5-7.

As you requested I am sending, under separate cover, fiveecopies of our first annual report for the use of your committee as well as five copies of our first and, thus far, only VEP Newsletter.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691

DIVISION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
~~W. TAYLOR REVELEY~~, *Secretary*

Department of Campus Christian Life
ROBERT BLUFORD, Jr., *Director*
H. DAVIS YEUELL, *Associate*

October 31, 1963

NOV 4 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Attached is the docket for a meeting of the Study and Service Committee, Campus Ministry Association, Presbyterian Church, U.S. You will note that we have scheduled consideration of the Voter Education Registration Project for Saturday at 2:30 p.m. This, of course, is flexible and we can shift times for your convenience or the convenience of one or more of your staff members.

May we have 5 copies of the First Annual Report of VEP for the use of our committee.

Sincerely,

H. Davis Yeuell

H. Davis Yeuell

HDY:jm
cc: Miss Katherine Gingrich

J.L.
Can we spare 5 copies?
WB

SCHEDULE
Campus Ministry Association Executive Committee
and
Subcommittees

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1963

6:00	Dinner
7:30	Committee on Study and Service (Gingrich, Harwell, Bell, McClure, Hart - Yeuell, Sec.) Report on Developments

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1963

7:30	Breakfast
9:00	Committee on Study and Service Voluntary Service Order
10:30	Break
1:00	Lunch
2:30	Voluntary Service Order (continued)
4:00	Break Student Academy for Theological Studies
6:00	Dinner
7:30	Student Academy for Theological Studies

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1963

7:30	Breakfast
9:00	Voter Education-Registration Project Preliminary Questions and Clarification
1:00	Dinner
2:30	Voter Education-Registration Project Guest: Wiley A. Branton, Director, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations
4:00	Break Voter Education-Registration Project
6:00	Dinner
7:30	Voter Education-Registration Project

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1963

7:30	Breakfast
9:00	Summary and preparation of report to CMA Executive Committee
11:00	Morning Worship
1:00	Lunch
6:00	Dinner
7:30	CMA Executive Committee Opening Session Committee Meetings (a) Committee on Interpretation of CMA to the Church - Gunn, Perdue, Keever, Murphy, Advisory - Yeuell and Walthall (b) Committee on Ecumenical Relations - Henry, Shriver, Threadgill, Advisory - Cooley (c) Committee on 1964 Conference - Tolbert, Ethridge, Gingrich, Pratt, Advisory - Bluford

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1963

7:30	Breakfast
9:00	CMA Executive Committee and Visitor Financial limitations and possibilities for work within CMA - Bluford Committee Meetings
10:30	Break Committee Meetings(continued)
1:00	Lunch
2:30	Committee Meetings (Note: As committees complete their business the members should join the committee on the 1964 conference)
4:00	Break Committee Meetings
6:00	Dinner
7:30	Preparation of Committee Reports

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1963

7:30	Breakfast
9:00	CMA Executive Committee Report of Committees Study and Service Interpretation of CMA to the Church Ecumenical Relations 1964 Conference
10:30	Break Report of Committees (continued)
1:00	Lunch
2:30	Report of Committees (continued)
4:00	Adjourn

Committee Dockets

Committee on Interpretation of CMA to the Church
Gunn, Chairman; Perdue, Keever, Murphy, Advisory - Yeuell and Walthall
Statement of Philosophy
Question of responsible membership
Necessary changes in the Book of Church Order
Relation of faculty to CMA
Speaking to the church at large

Committee on Ecumenical Relations
Henry, Chairman; Shriver, Threadgill, Advisory - Cooley
Relationship to APUPs, UCCF
Regional Ecumenical Conferences
Delegated attendance to various meetings
NSCF-WSCF Contributions
CMA staff service abroad

Committee on 1964 Conference
Tolbert, Chairman; Ethridge, Gingrich, Pratt, Advisory - Bluford
Plans for 1964 conference
Question of cutting conference expenses

Memo from **JEAN LEVINE**

12-7-63

900 AM
Columbia Theol. Seminary
Campbell Hall (Admin. Bldg.)
Board Room

~~Bus office~~
~~Pres.~~
~~Pres. office~~

Go Memorial to Belvedere
Shop Center - Turn left on
Columbia Drive & follow about
3 blocks - school on left -
Center Bldg.

Presbyterian Voter Prog

LONG TERM VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

PROJECT:

In the summer of 1964 there will be initiated by CMA a five year Voter Registration Project within the geographic confines of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. The project will consist of a travelling team of approximately 20 people who are trained and competent in a methodology for Voter Registration and Voter Education. There shall be one full time staff leader (with training in theology and sociology or political science) who will be responsible for the development and expansion of the project.

The work of this team will include three aspects:

1. An intensive training session in VR methodology and strategy - to take place during the times when the VR books are closed.

2. An advance contact group which will begin conversation about needs, problems, and potentialities of VR in a community with members of churches and other interested groups.

3. A lengthy period of on the scene work in gathering data and assisting in the registration of voters in a community. This work should be done in cooperation with and support of local groups or persons wherever possible.

The length of time that the team is in any locality will be determined by the needs of that locality. During each summer of the five year period there shall be a complete project which could include short term ecumenical participation.

The Department of Campus Christian Life shall provide for the staff salary and for travel expenses of the team. Local churches and participants both should bear a portion of the living costs for the team.

PARTICIPANTS:

Students, faculty, and other churchmen with a special interest in sociology, political science, and theology will constitute the inter-racial team. Members of the team will rotate on and off at the end or beginning of a new VR project location, with approximately 2/3 of the team providing continuity of experience.

CMA TRAINING:

A training seminar at the 1964 CMA Conference with actual in service training in Black Mountain (if registration books are open) for campus ministers interested in beginning a VR project in their own community will be held.

att. Jrnl.
2-18-63

THE OXFORD SPECTACULAR

JFK Viewed as Ballerina In Dodge of Rights Vows

By LYLE C. WILSON

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18 (UPI)—Practical politicians must admire the agility with which President Kennedy has egg-walked around the civil rights promises in the 1960 Democratic platform — a prima ballerina performance.

Candidate Kennedy's civil rights promises in 1960 won for him a massive Negro vote without which he would have lost a few states and the presidential election. Now he ignores his civil rights platform promises and gets away with it. It is a fact that the Republicans goofed the Negro vote in 1960. That does not diminish the solid substance of Kennedy's performance.

THE PERFORMANCE has not ended. Nor is it now any less spectacular and successful than in 1960. Consider:

—The Kennedy administration has proposed no legislation to make good on the specific civil rights promises of the 1960 campaign. When liberal Democrats prepared 1961 legislation to effect those promises, the newly elected President killed the project.

—When Senate liberals moved last month to deal with the filibuster Kennedy refused to help. That killed that. And who is being angrily assailed now by Negro and left wing leaders as a filibuster-loving racist? Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson is the whipping boy. And do the Negroes and lefties condemn the President for refusing to help their campaign against the filibuster? They do not.

KENNEDY held that the filibuster rule was a matter for Senate determination without White House pressure. Yet, Kenedy twisted arms last month to re-jigger the House Rules Committee toward a membership more favorable to the New Frontier. And now it is the Senate's turn for some arm twisting. Kennedy wanted to add some friendly democrats to the Senate Finance Committee. They would prevent Chairman Harry F. Byrd, D-Va., from cutting the giblets out of the administration's planned - deficit approach to tax reduction and tax reform.

Kennedy can risk ignoring his campaign promises on civil rights because he has other and effective ways of keeping Negro voters happy. He has no such alternative on taxes.

Kennedy evidently believes he must get favorable action on his tax program or come up to his 1964 re-election campaign against a politically deadly unemployment situation. There is no political alternative for Kennedy. He must deal with unemployment — get the country moving again — or risk losing in 1964.

Kennedy's political alternative to civil rights legislation goes like this: The Oxford, Miss., spectacular; prominent and well-paid government jobs for Negroes; and keeping before the public the idea that Kennedy will name a Negro to the cabinet. He probably will do it, too. Also:

A group of young Negro university women recently met here for lunch. Kennedy dropped in as a surprise guest. That news picture went all over the nation. The President and Mrs. Kennedy hosted a White House Lincoln's Birthday party. The news picture showed nationally known Negroes as honor guests.

This kind of dynamic politics is more effective with Negro voters than civil rights legislation. There will be more, much more.

What chance do Republicans have of winning the Negro vote from Kennedy in 1964? Not any!

STARTS SATURDAY
HOLIDAY ON ICE
MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

CONSOLIDATE BILLS FOR EASIER PAY

WAB
RTB
JM
JL
JS

file Pres. Politics 3-28-63

The Herbert Hoover Headquarters Building of Boys' Clubs of America at 771 First Avenue, New York, N.Y., stands directly opposite the United Nations for millions of national and international visitors to see this symbol of the American way of life.

Their code—

I believe in God and the right to worship according to my own faith and religion.

I believe in America and the American way of life * * * in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

I believe in fairplay, honesty, and sportsmanship.

I believe in my Boys' Club which stands for these things—

Is also dramatically indicative of our heritage and I find it most fitting to call it to your attention.

On this, the occasion of the 103d anniversary of the founding of the first Boys' Club in Hartford, Conn., a resident and author of my congressional district, Mr. Robert J. Murrin, wrote a poem in honor of this organization and the significant contribution it is making in "Building the Citizens of Tomorrow" and strengthening our democratic principles.

Under unanimous consent of this body, I insert here the text of Mr. Murrin's poem and join with him in paying tribute to this worthy American institution:

BOYS' CLUBS OF AMERICA

It's an organization throughout our land
Which extends to boys a helping hand.
Guiding and leading as each goes his way
Down paths to the future in his life of today.

With dedicated leaders, all friends of the boy,
They fill his free time with learning and joy.
With diversified programs geared to his needs,
The Boys' Clubs are planting good character seeds.

Through hobbies and crafts, and libraries new,
Dramatics and game rooms—a group club or two;
Through informal guidance and a place of his own,
A boy need not feel that he walks alone.

Strengthening of body and development of mind
Are among the objectives of Boys' Clubs, you'll find.
To encourage the boys who need it the most,
Is a basic philosophy of which they can boast.

From the hazards of streets and temptation to wrong,
They divert his energy and help him "belong."
"Fun with a purpose"—so adequately phrased
Yes, Boys' Clubs of America deserves highest praise.

Kennedys Fear One Man in 1964 Election—Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1963

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr Speaker, one of the best kept secrets of the Republican Party at the present time is the weakness of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller as a presidential candidate. In fact, it is getting to be less and less of a secret each week as his lack of appeal to Republicans begins to show. As usual, it can be expected that the Democrats will build him up since he is the man they would like to place in opposition to President Kennedy in 1964. Former Postmaster General Jim Farley propounded the "my friend, Nelson Rockefeller" line in a statement last week and we, in truth, read these statements all of the time. Of course, it will be Republicans and not Democrats who will nominate our candidate next year.

It is becoming more obvious that Republicans want a bona fide candidate who will not run on a "me too" platform. The strong position of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is ringing clearly to Republicans throughout the country and I believe a genuine ground swell of opinion is forming in behalf of this great Senator. He speaks forthrightly about the affairs of state, is not deluded by the Communists and offers a positive free enterprise approach to preserve the sovereignty of our Nation internationally and fiscally at home. The bungling of this administration and its frightening lack of economic horsesense coupled with the inept handling of foreign affairs would naturally cause the Kennedys to fear a man who would speak out in honest contrast in the 1964 campaign. Americans are looking for a candidate like BARRY GOLDWATER—North, South, East, and West.

Walter Trohan hit the nail right on the head in his "Report from Washington," which appeared in the March 27, 1963, Chicago Tribune. I commend it not only to Republicans but to all of my colleagues in the House:

KENNEDYS FEAR ONE MAN IN 1964 ELECTION—GOLDWATER

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, March 26.—President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the grand vizier of the New Frontier, fear only one man in 1964, and it is not Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York.

The man they dread is a true frontiersman, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican of Arizona, the personable and articulate conservative who would rather be Senator than Vice President. They fear that GOLDWATER would carry the South, where he is viewed as an exponent of State rights and not as a hated Republican, and that he would rally the rightwing of the Republican Party in the North, which has shown little enthusiasm for GOP me-tooism.

Early this year the Attorney General, the second most powerful man in Washington who runs the Democratic National Committee and foreign and domestic policy, was interviewed by U.S. News & World Report. He was asked to guess who the 1964 Republican nominee will be.

"Well, I know, but I don't think he does, so I don't think I'd better say," was his reply.

The reference was not to Rockefeller, obviously. Since that time, the Attorney General and his brother have confided to intimates that GOLDWATER would make a tougher race for the Presidency than would the New Yorker. Rockefeller has two heavy strikes going against him in facing Kennedy—the lack of a war record and his divorce.

GOLDWATER A MODEL FAMILY MAN

GOLDWATER flew the hump between Burma and China in the war. He is a jet pilot in the Reserve with the rank of brigadier general. And he is a model family man, whose views of divorce as an Episcopalian are no less strict than those of the President.

Rockefeller would like GOLDWATER as a running mate, but the Senator made it clear that he will not run for second place, noting how Vice President JOHNSON has fallen from the position of the second most powerful man in Washington as Senate Democratic leader, to the anonymous obscurity of the Vice Presidency.

"I watched what happened to one of the strongest men in the country in a short space of 2 years," GOLDWATER said last week. "I would rather be a live Senator than a sort of backwoods man in the Vice Presidential chair."

Of course, the fact that the Kennedys have the strongest fear of GOLDWATER's rivalry doesn't mean that he will necessarily get the GOP nomination. He will face the "nice fellow but can't win" treatment from defeatist Republicans, who employed this line to kill off the hopes of the late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio. GOLDWATER comes from a small State with a handful of convention votes, while Rockefeller has a bagful in New York.

ROCKEFELLER IS THE MAN TO BEAT

There is no doubt that Rockefeller will be the man to beat for the GOP nomination, as he was in 1960 and as he will be in 1968 if he doesn't get it in 1964. For this reason many Republicans want to give it to him next time around, much as many Democrats gave their nomination to Alfred E. Smith in 1928 to remove him as a factor in 1932, when they expected Democratic fortunes to improve, as they did.

The Kennedys have a map of the United States which shows the areas the President took in 1960 in black and those which Richard M. Nixon took, in white. The map shows that Nixon took more area of the country than the President did because the President captured most of the less extensive but more populous city areas.

They feel that they could improve the picture against Rockefeller, but fear that the man from the wide open spaces of the west might threaten to let down their political fences to more white space on the map.

A Doctor Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1963

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of the Hutchinson (Kans.) News, March 15, contained an excellent statement by C. R. Openshaw, M.D. It clearly illustrates basic problems confronting individuals within our society who espouse the cause of conservative, constitutional government, but either sit idly by or beat the drum for expanded Federal programs which might benefit them directly or indirectly. Many Members of Congress and other elected officials are many times frustrated by conflicting and inconsistent views of constituents.

Dr. Openshaw in clear, concise language presents the problems and solution. Those who really believe in individual responsibility should appreciate his statement.

The statement follows:

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

As it becomes painfully apparent to even the most naive that a struggle of epic proportions is being waged today between the free world and those who would enslave it, the voices become increasingly louder that war (meaning all-out nuclear effort) is increasingly unthinkable.

Although nuclear explosions have not yet occurred in our cities, war is nonetheless real and declared by actions if not by formal decree.

Despite optimistic notes sounded by world travelers, the evidence is good that we are continuing to lose this war. Let me hasten to state that I do not refer to the overt struggle with Russia, with Castro, or even with internal communism. The overall status of these fortunes is so colored by controversy, interpretation, and political intrigue at a given moment, that even Government experts often disagree.

Instead, I refer to two other aspects of the war, about which there is little doubt of our progressive deterioration.

THE HOME WAR

The first is the home war, and here there can be no question that we are losing. By this, I mean that very few are fighting wholly, sincerely, and unreservedly on the side of strength for freedom. Individuals and groups fight on one side one day and on the other the next, or else fight with one hand while accepting bribes from the opposition with the other.

Who will not claim to be in favor of national solvency, individual incentive, and freedom of private and economic life from political domination: Who is not opposed to preemptive statism and fiscal irresponsibility? Who, that is, except when it might apply to his own community, or add a few temporary extra dollars to his personal pocket?

Try to close a military installation in the name of economies to be realized, try to cut a subsidy of any kind or eliminate expense of Federal involvement in real estate mortgages, pork-barrel projects, or loans at less than cost. The screams will come from all quarters, depending on who is personally affected.

What businessmen's organization has not been guilty of passing resolutions which support programs or projects which weaken our fiscal or economic strength and aid the trend toward defeat?

Here then, is where the real war is being fought: the war at home for simple principles and policies that will keep us strong. If we can be victorious here, we will defeat communism and international slavery on whatever terms they choose: political, diplomatic, ideological or (God forbid) military.

PERSONAL MINIATURE

And how can this critical war be won? Only by winning still another war—that war which each must fight inside himself. Deep inside each of us is going on a personal minature of this domestic war. A war to determine which side we are really on, rather than the one we claim to support. On this front is a tremendous array of forces; appeal of immediate benefits, business advantage or personal profit; power of inertia; reluctance to get involved; the tendency to convince ourselves that one man doesn't really count. We even see a peculiar belief that America is somehow immune to the same germs of decay that have destroyed other civilizations.

residents regardless of point of delivery, Vetoed.

Bills on Civil Rights
N.Y. Leg. 1963 Session
PASSED N.Y.Times 4-8

Measure banning discrimination because of race, religion or nationality in 95 per cent of private housing in state. Measure covers all housing except units in owner-occupied one-family or two-family dwellings. Effective Sept. 1.

Bill making illegal the denial of hospital staff appointments to physicians solely because of race or color. Effective immediately.

Measure forbidding hospitals to deny staff appointments or house privileges to physicians because of their participation in medical-group or non-profit health insurance plans. Effective July 1.

file Pres. Politics

KILLED

In Senate, bill requiring contractors to sign clauses in public works contracts forbidding discrimination against workers because of age.

ining solutions, rendering services, and restoring clients to support and care for themselves.

but 4-8-63

GOLDWATER DENIES WAR PERIL ON CUBA

file Pres. Pol.

WASHINGTON, April 7 (AP) —Seantor Barry M. Goldwater, Republican of Arizona, discounted today the danger of wa with the Soviet Union over Cuba. He advocated an economic blockade, support of Cuban exile attacks and invasion if necessary to destroy Communism on the island.

He said he believed that United States troops might not be needed for such an invasion.

President Kennedy has adopted a policy of discouraging commando raids by Cuban refugees, on the ground that they have no military value and threaten to involve the United States in war.

On a taped radio-television program (American Broadcasting Company—"Issues and Answers"), Senator Goldwater said the United States should blockade Cuba economically and support Cuban exiles in sabotage, espionage or invasion.

He acknowledged that "Russia might start a diversionary effort, maybe in Iran or Berlin or something like that," but he insisted there would be no risk of a major war in any United States action against Cuba.

Discussing Negroes' voting rights in the South, the Senator criticized Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy "for no moving into these cases where they can prove that a man is denied the right to vote by reason of race, creed or color."

Danny Kaye Receives Award

file Presidential Politics

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, APRIL 8, 1963.

ROCKEFELLER GAINS ON MIDWEST TRIPS

Flies Home After Winning Wide G.O.P. Reappraisal

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

OMAHA, April 7—Governor Rockefeller flew home this morning after two days in Kansas and Nebraska, states where the Republican response to Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizon ranges from enthusiasm almost to idolatry.

He left behind him in both states Republican leaders who were re-examining the earlier farm belft image of Mr. Rockefeller as an upstart Eastern millionaire virtually indistinguishable in political point of view from President Kennedy.

"He did himself a lot of good out here," one Republican leader observed. "A lot of our people just weren't ready to buy him. Now they know that he and Goldwater really aren't so far apart after all."

Governor Rockefeller won this reapprasial by putting his "i am a Republican" speech to its severest test to date. This capsule version of the differences between Republicans and Democrats as he sees them, which he has been developing over the last year or so, stood him in good stead.

In Topeka, Republicans at the largest fund-raising dinner in Kansas history, interrupted more than 30 times with applause, cheered his warnings against "domination from Wash ington" and roared when he told a joke.

In this city, his reception at what was described as "the largest dinner ever given for a human being in Nebraska" was cordial but considerably more subdued.

The only real ovation at the Omaha dinner went not to the guest of honor, Senator Roman Hruska, not to the main speaker, Mr.Rockefeller, but to the conservative Senator John G. Tower.

Nebraska party leaders had sold about 2,200 tickets at $50 each and succeeded in heading off a planned walkout demonstration by some 50 fervent Goldwater supporters. Instead the adament conservatives bought tickets but stayed home, leaving several tables vacant.

The Rockefeller Republican speech, delivered in about the same form at both dinners, upholds the private enterprise system, states' rights, fiscal integrity and "a firm and positive foreign policy" and touches on civil rights in the form of support for "the worth and dignity of the individual."

Over the last year, Mr. Rockefeller has expanded his list of Republican principles from three to six items. The latest addision is "the people's right to know," coupled with charges that the Kennedy Administration has been keeping the citiznery in the dark by "news management."

In Omaha he augmented his profession of party regularity with the assertion that "not enough reverence is being shown for the American flag today."

While attempting to put his most conservative foot forward in the farm belt, Mr. Rockefeller made no attempt to deny some of the liberal positions he has assumed in the course of his New York political career.

He described in some detail to a news conference his plan for medical care for the aged, a subject that is anathema to most doctors in the prairie states. He also called the "John Birch Society, which is active in this area, a "splinter group" that should operate within the framework of the two-party system.

New York's State Liquor Authority scandals pursued Mr. Rockefeller halfway across the nation. Reporters in both states wanted to know what he was doing about the situation and whether he thought he had been damaged politically.

To the latter question, he gave almost th3 same answer he used months ago when asked if his divorce would hurt his career: He said it would be up to everyone individually to decide that for himself.

Having successfully visited the two states that cast the highest percentage of Republican votes in 1960, Mr. Rockefeller will turn his political travels to Washington, D.C., and Cincinnati later this month.

On Wednesday he will address a Republican Congressional breakfast in Washington and make a couple of other informal speeches during the day.

On April 29 he goes to Cincinnati for a fund-raising dinner honoring Representative Robert A. Taft Jr. and Ray C. Bliss, Ohio's Republican state chairman.

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file Pres Politics

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 1963. C 27

Republicans Start a Second 'Goldwater Draft' for '64, But He Refuses to Help

By CABELL PHILLIPS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 8—A new "Goldwater for President" boom was started here today. Whether it would survive any better than several others like it, in face of a cold response of Senator Barry Goldwater, himself, remained an open question.

In his office on Capitol Hill, the Arizona champion of Republican conservatism, said: "Sorry, I have no comment whatever."

Members of his staff said that neither they nor the Senator had had any knowledge of the movement and that they had learned of it only from reporters who had asked for a Goldwater comment.

Managers of this new enterprise, which calls itself the National Draft Goldwater Committee, are:

Chairman, Peter O'Donnell Jr., Republican State Chairman for Texas; co-chairman, Mrs. Ione F. Harrington, Republican national committee woman from Indiana; secretary, Mrs. Judy Fernald, Upper Montclair, N. J., a former co-chairman of the Young Republican Federation, and treasurer, J. William Middendorf, Greenwich, Conn., a member of his state's Republican Finance Committee.

All except Mr. Middendorf appeared at the Mayflower Hotel this morning for a news conference to announce their committee's purpose. Stating that they had not consulted Senator Goldwater about their plans, they said they hoped to be the catalyst for the many independent movements around the country to get the Arizonan into the Presidential competition next year.

The committee has been formed, they said in a prepared statement, "to mobilize the tremendous, spontaneous enthusiasm for Senator Goldwater that is sweeping the country."

Goldwater Not Consulted

"We want to make clear," the statement continued, "that we have not consulted Senator Goldwater about forming this committee. We take him at his word when he says his present intention is to run for re-election to the Senate next year.

"But we are confident that when Senator Goldwater has seen tangible expressions of support from men and women all over this country, he will respond to that call to duty in the same selfless spirit which led him to serve our country so ably in the Air Force and the United States Senate."

In answering reporters' questions, Mr. O'Donnell refused to speculate on what the committee would do if the Senator should unequivocally reject their overtures. But he pointed out that this was "a draft movement," and that a draft had been necessary in 1952 to overcome the reluctance of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower to run for the Presidency.

Sure of South's Support

Strong support for the movement, Mr. O'Donnell said, will come from the South. The people there are instinctively conservative, he remarked, and identify Mr. Goldwater with conservative goals.

"He is in a position to sweep the electoral votes of all the Southern states," Mr. O'Donnell said.

Another "draft Goldwater" movement was mounted from Chicago late last winter, but apparently never got far. A group of some 50 Republican leaders, many of them from the South, met there in secrecy during November to raise a $250,000 campaign fund to solidify Goldwater support around tne country.

Its plans collapsed—apparently, at least— when the Senator announced in January that he wanted "all of 1963" to make up his mind about the Presidency.

"I'd rather stay in a fluid position for the rest of the year," he told an interviewer, "and then see how the situation looks. I hope they (the Chicago group) won't go ahead on this timetable."

Mr. O'Donnell acknowledged today that he had attended the Chicago meeting. He would not say, however, whether his present movement is directly related to that event.

When asked whether his organization would seek support from members of the John Birch Society, he replied:

"We will seek the support of anybody who believes in free enterprise, fiscal responsibility and in sound Republican principles," he said.

Memorial Honors Foster

A Stephen Foster Memorial, honoring the composer, is located in North Florida on the Suwannee River, which Foster immortalized in song.

Herald Trib 4-10-63
p. 10

Today in National Affairs

Goldwater Ground Swell —A New Trend in Politics?

file Pres. Politics

By David Lawrence

WASHINGTON.

There's something rather sensational going on today in national politics—a ground swell for a Presidential candidate 16 months before the nominating convention.

This has happened at various times in past history as other aspirants—who had attracted headline attention and built up a substantial number of votes in the months before the convention—were swept aside by a widespread sentiment that emerged from the grass roots in favor of a "dark horse" candidate.

Sen Barry Goldwater of Arizona has been mentioned intermittently during the last two years as a possible Republican nominee for 1964, but until recently his name was never taken seriously by disinterested observers — nor by some of the veteran politicans.

Something has developed, however, in political discussions across the country during the last six months which indicates clearly that Barry Goldwater will enter the next convention with the support of what might be called the backbone of the Republican party's strength in the nation. He is going to be as important in the next convention as Wendell Willkie was in 1940, but for different reasons.

Willkie Was Ignored

This writer was among the first to mention Willkie as a possible candidate at least a year before the convention, but the New York business executive wasn't regarded then as even a potential candidate. It was taken for granted that a businessman could not be nominated. Yet, just about 90 days before the balloting for a nominee was at hand, the regular organization Republicans began to take him seriously. He had not made any big speech-making campaign. He had not gone into any primaries. It was simply a case of an "image" being presented to the Republicans that seemed to fit the situation at the time.

Sen. Goldwater says tactfully that he hasn't made up his mind to make an organized effort to win the nomination. He is right to avoid giving the impression of a self-seeking politician. In the meantime, he talks frankly, bluntly and unequivocally. If the Republican delegates like what he says, he knows they will consider him. If his views do not fit the current problems, they will disregard him.

Sen. Goldwater has said enough already, however, to win sizable support among the rank-and-file and the leaders of his party in the West and in many parts of the East. The South is for him because he has put the "civil rights" issues in perspective and yet has maintained a position that is in line with the Republican record in Congress. He might really break the attachment of the "solid South" to the Democratic party today and also win over many Northern Democrats who have a realistic understanding of the issues involved in the "civil rights" debate.

Cuba Issue Helps

What has lately aroused, on the other hand, a noticeable enthusiasm for Sen. Goldwater throughout the country is his forthright comments on the Cuban problem. He has managed to sense correctly the true state of public opinion—the mood of the average voter. His criticisms of the Administration's hesistancy and wavering policy, which he describes as timid, have won considerable applause.

But it isn't any one issue that makes a candidate seem a plausible choice. It is, first of all, the impression he conveys of fundamental honesty and common-sense judgment. Next in importance is his penetrating analyses of all the basic issues.

In the case of Sen. Goldwater, there is a feeling that he has the courage of his convictions and understands the Republican party's attitude toward "New Dealism," "New Frontierism" and those Administration policies which harass businessmen and impair their confidence in economic progress — something necessary for industry to have if the economy is to expand and jobs are to be created to relieve unemployment.

The strategy of the coming campaign itself may be a factor in selecting the candidate. Do the Republicans want a candidate who embraces so-called "liberal" policies, even as he alienate the regular Republicans?

Stimulation a Factor

Republican delegates usually are not enthusiastic about a possible nominee whose main strength might be assumed to be the winning of "liberal" Democrats. The Republican party is more inclined today to pick a candidate who can stimulate and enthuse the regular Republicans and woo a substantial number of Democrats in the South, as well as in other parts of the country, who believe i an enlightened conservatism and who are basically anti-radical.

Sen. Goldwater's growing strength means that the major factions in the Republican party will have to undergo an "agonizing reappraisal" of just how strongly they are ready to support the fundamental principles of the party today and how articulate and effective a versatile and forthright man like Barry Goldwater could be, as contrasted with the three Republican Governors whose names are often mentioned for the Presidential nomination—namely, Rockefeller of New York, Romney of Michigan and Scranton of Pennsylvania—each of whom has certain points of voter attraction. But, while the nominating convention is more than a year away, the potential delegates are at this time taking a good look at Barry Goldwater and talking a great deal about him among themselves.

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Mary McGrory

Goldwater Forces Get Busy To Block a Cornbelt Trend

4-11-63 Atla. Const. file Pres. Politics

WASHINGTON—Sen. Goldwater, who in January begged his followers to let him alone for a year presidentially speaking, has reacted tolerantly to the formation of a draft-Goldwater committee here. The committee, headed by GOP Texas State Chairman Peter O'Donnell, placed the Goldwater hat in the ring in a press conference at the Mayflower.

Immediately thereafter, the ordinarily approachable conservative idol went into seclusion in his office and had his press secretary pass out the word that the drafters had no sanction from him.

But by mid-afternoon, when he went to address the D.C. Republican State Committee at the National Savings and Trust Building, he had recovered himself sufficiently to comment fairly extensively on the situation.

His remarks indicated a certain permissiveness towards the three drafters — Mr. O'Donnell and his lieutenants, Mrs. Ione Harrington, national committeewoman from Indiana, and Judy Fernald, immediate past co-chairman of the Young Republican Federation.

"I got a little tired of trying to stop these people," said Goldwater, who has himself often said a man cannot be as right as he is and still be president. "So I have stopped trying. If they want to waste their time and money it's theirs, not mine."

In his speech, Goldwater curiously enough, hit on a theme which was the leitmotif of the Midwestern weekend orations of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York—that is, party unity.

"We have lost election after election by being antagonistic towards candidates before they are even chosen. We shouldn't gut ourselves," he warned.

He would not say if he was the man to do the job, but he did leave with his hearers a strong impression that he would run stronger in the South than Rockefeller.

"Any Republican who runs on a states' rights platform and does not run as a racist can defeat Kennedy in the South," said the senator.

O'Donnell made it plain that his group is going to do all in its power to let the reluctant senator know that he is needed and wanted on the national ticket. For a starter, O'Donnell insisted that the senator could carry all the Southern states. For the future he promised a Fourth of July rally, which would show the senator, with money and men, that he can win both the nomination and the election.

The most significant bit of literature he distributed, however, was a sheet of election returns from Nebraska, one of the two ultra-Republican states visited by Rockefeller on his weekend raid on Goldwater territory. The returns showed former Interior Secretary Fred Seaton, "a liberal" Republican and candidate for governor, as the only loser on the Republican ticket last November.

Rockefeller in the opinion of some local observers "made hay" with the deeply conservative voters of Nebraska, who profoundly distrusted the New Yorker until they heard him discoursing on fiscal integrity.

The discovery that he was not a radical, coupled with their fear that "Goldwater can't win," gave the governor a measure of encouragement from the Cornbelt, which the Goldwater folks are anxious to reverse before it becomes a trend.

Resist Ga-KKK

Craig Wants Klansmen As Registrars

Sub-Ga

Atl Const 4/20/66

The grand dragon of the Georgia Ku Klux Klan, Calvin Craig, has requested Fulton County Chief Registrar Leon Hay to swear in some klan members as deputy registrars to conduct a voter registration drive.

Mr. Craig made his request in a letter to Mr. Hay. He said he had read a news story which told of 181 Negroes being sworn in as deputy registrars to conduct a voter registration drive sponsored by the All-Citizens Registration Committee, an Atlanta Negro political education group.

When the ACRC group was approved Mr. Hay told a reporter that "this same service will be rendered to any other civic organization in Fulton County that requests it."

Wednesday, Mr. Hay declined to comment on the letter from the klan leader except to say that he would answer it.

Leaders of the ACRC have set a goal of 27,000 new Negro voters in the county by the September primary elections.

"Sir," Mr. Craig's letter states, "the united klans now request the same rights to have your office swear in some of our members to help the unregistered white voters who have been forgotten for so long."

file Pres. Politics

G. O. P. GOVERNORS HOPEFUL ON WEST

Call Kennedy Support Weak —3-Day Parley Opens

By LAWRENCE E. DAVIES

Special to The New York Times

SCOTTSDALE, Ariz., April —Western Governors opened a three-day meeting today with a glowing report on the West's leadership in traffic safety and an appeal to grapple with Army National Guard problems.

But there is no mistaking that this Western Governors' Conference is meeting the year before a Presidential election.

Of the 13 Governors in the conference, seven of the 11 on hand at the Mountain Shadows Hotel were Republicans. All voiced confidence in another broad Republican victory in the West in 1964. In the 1960 Presidential elections Richard M. Nixon lost only Nevada, Alaska and Hawaii.

The influence of the ultra-right wing John Birch Society was generally belittled although some Governors saw conservating in the West. Governor Rockefeller and Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona were named by most of the Governors, both Republican and Democratic, as the leading Presidential aspirants.

Rockefeller Speculation

Some of the Republican Governors voluntarily raised questions about the Rockefeller Presidential drive.

One question concerned the possible influence of the New York State Liquor Authority controversy. Another related to Mr. Rockefeller's divorce last year and to the divorce decree granted at Fairfield, Idaho, on April 1 to Mrs. Margaretta Fitler Murphy. Governor Rockefeller has refused comment on a report he would marry Mrs. Murphy.

Gov. John A. Love, Republican of Colorado, said that he thought Senator Goldwater might be slightly ahead in the eyes of Colorado Republicans, but that Governor Rockefeller was "perfectly acceptable" to him.

Of Mr. Rockefeller's problems he said that he might have been hurt "to some extent," but added, "Time heals all wounds."

Gov. George Clyde, Utah Republican, said Governor Rockefeller and Senator Goldwater were "both great men," but that "Governor Rockefeller's marital situation will hurt him, especially in the West."

Gov. Clifford P. Hansen of Wyoming saw Governor Rockefeller ahead now, but said he "would not minimize the friends Senator Goldwater has." He thought Mr. Rockefeller could be hurt if he remarried.

Montana's Republican governor, Tim Babcock, declared President Kennedy would "do worse in the West than he did in 1960." He backed no candidate, but said he liked Senator Goldwater's philosophy.

"Governor Rockefeller is not hurt seriously if the intent of the man is honorable," he said.

Gov. Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon said Governor Rockefeller as of today "would carry Oregon in the primary and general elections."

Gov. Robert E. Smylie of Idaho asserted that President Kennedy "apparently doesn't care much about the West and the West knows it." He predicted a Republican victory.

Gov. Paul Fannin of Arizona was confident that Senator Goldwater would be the Republican Presidential nominee "if present trends continue." He minimized the number of John Birch Society members in Arizona and said some of the society's leadership "seems to be on the Democratic side."

Gov. Albert D. Rosellini of Washington, chairman of the National Governors' Conference, and other Democrats found Republicans over optimistic.

"I am confident," Mr. Rosellini said, "that President Kennedy will carry Washington which he lost in 1960."

At the opening business session today of the Western Governors, Gov. Grant Sawyer, Democrat of Nevada, reported that an automobile driver license compact had been adopted in eight states, seven of them in the West. He also said a vehicle equipment agreement had been accepted by 12 states, of which nine were in the West. The California Legislature passed both of these traffic safety measures and New York has enacted the equipment compact.

Governor Rosellini reviewed the Army National Guard situation and asked the Governors to push for legislation that would maintain the Guard at an average strength of 400,000 officers and men. He said an appropriations bill now before Congress could cut the guard strength to about 384,000.

1,200 Symphones in U. S.

CHICAGO — There are about 1,200 community symphony orchestras in the United States. Forty years ago there were only 100 and 10 years ago only 600. The United States has more than half the world's 2,000 symphony orchestras.

file Pres. Politics

NYT 4-23-63

DEMOCRATS TOLD OF RIGHTIST DRIVE

Specialist Says Extremists Will Spend Heavily in '64

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22—Democratic politicians were warned today not to underestimate the influence of right-wing extremists in next year's election campaign.

A research specialist said a score of right-wing groups, most of them less well known than the John Birch Society, were prepared to spend more than the Democratic and Republican National Committees combined to elect candidates reflecting their views to state and national office.

The warning was sounded by Wesley McCune, director of Group Research, Inc., an organization specializing in intelligence on right-wing movements. He addressed a luncheon meeting of the Women's National Democratic Club. Mr. McCune formerly was a Washington newspaperman and an official of the National Farmers Union.

Mr. McCune said the right wing was almost as much of a threat to the Republicans as to the Democrats. Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower and former Vice President Richard M. Nixon have spoken against the movements. But many Republicans, he noted, "do not like to face it head-on."

Cites New York Role

"As a formal, partisan political force," Mr. McCune said, "the right wing is very small, although it made some substantial showings in the 1962 elections and is now a legal party in the crucial state of New York."

He noted that although two acknowledged members of the Birch Society, former Representatives John H. Rousselot and Edgar W. Hiestand, Republicans of California, failed to win re-election last year, each captured approximately 45 per cent of the vote in his district. Both districts had been heavily gerrymandered by a Democratic Legislature. And former Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, he said, although he ran sixth in the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary last year, received more than 100,000 votes.

"My studies lead me to believe," Mr. McCune continued, "that the right wing is still growing in number, size, financial support, technique and leadership. Several such groups are in the million-dollar-a-year bracket and several you might think are dead, like Gerald L. K. Smith [an evangelist-politician who first came to national prominence in the late years of the New Deal] are taking in several hundred thousand dollars a year."

"About a dozen of these groups are conducting effective radio and television programs which nearly blanket the country," he went on "The John Birch Society, far from rolling over and playing dead, has taken over the young Republicans in our biggest state and has come within a few disputed votes of taking over the adult group."

Mr. McCune cited the Americans for Constitutional Action as one of the most effective political groups on the ideological right. The organization is well-financed, he said, and carries a number of prominent names on its roster of officers. It publishes an index each two years that gives the voting records of all members of Congress according to the group's scale of political values.

The technique of Americans for Constitutional Action in helping a favored candidate, the speaker said, is not to provide him with campaign money, but to send experts on campaign organization and publicity into his district to take over those phases of the operation.

Part of the reason for the success of the radical right, Mr. McCune said, is its ability to appear before audiences not usually thought of as part of the "right-wing apparatus"—farm groups, service clubs and professional organizations.

Governor Signs Bill Extending Ban on Housing Discrimination

N.Y.T. 4-23-63 file Pres. Politics

By DOUGLAS DALES

Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, April 22—Governor Rockefeller signed today the bipartisan Metcalf-Baker Bill. It bans discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing in the state except for rentals in owner-occupied one- and two-family dwellings.

The law, effective Sept. 1, will cover 95 per cent of the private housing in the state, according to housing authorities.

Governor Rockefeller said the statute was the most comprehensive statute dealing with discrimination in any state.

The measure is an amendment to a 1961 law that outlawed discrimination because of race, creed or nationality in some private housing but permitted exclusions broader than will hereafter be permitted.

Mr. Rockefeller signed the bill in New York City before coming here for the unveiling tomorrow of a model for a complex of public buildings planned for a 98-acre site between the capitol and the executive mansion.

The Governor also signed today administration bills allocating funds under the new $25,000,000 park bond issue, barring reprisals against complainants of discriminatory acts and givng the State Labor Department supervision over employment agencies outside of New York City.

The new housing law is expected to provide Governor Rockefeller with a strong talking point among minority groups if he is the Republican candidate for President next year. The Governor already has been critical of the pace with which President Kennedy has moved to carry out civil rights

Continued on Page 34, Column 7

GOVERNOR SIGNS HOUSING BIAS BAN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

pledges made in the 1960 campaign.

The 1961 law banned discrimination in the sale and rental of accommodations in multiple dwellings and the initial sale of houses in developments of 10 or more homes. The law excluded individual one- and two-family houses and rentals in owner-occupied three-family dwellings.

Broker Rule Extended

Because of the exemptions, it has been estimated that the 1961 law applied to only 15 per cent of the housing outside of New York City.

The revised law extends a prohibition against discrimination by real estate brokers to apply to all housing.

Alleged infractions of the various antidiscrimination laws are adjudicated by the State Commission for Human Rights. If compliance is resisted, the commission may seek an order in Supreme Court. Resistance to a court order subjects a person to contempt proceedings.

Mr. Rockefeller said the bill making it unlawful to retaliate against a complainant or witness before the State Commission for Human Rights would strengthen the enforcement arm of the commission and "provide an additional measure of protection in the state's effort to secure equal opportunity under law for all its citizens."

$5 Million for City

Under the allocation of the $25,000,000 park bond issue approved by the voters last fall, New York City's share will be $5,000,000. Of the balance, $10,000,000 will be used for state parks, $5,000,000 for acquisition by the state of multiple use areas, and $5,000,000 for aid to counties, towns and villages.

A key feature of the new law is a reduction from 25 to two acres in the minimum size of a site eligible for state funds. This change will permit the development of urban neighborhood parks.

In signing the employment agency bill, Governor Rockefeller said a recent survey indicated wide variations in the effectiveness of local supervision, particularly with respect to the importation of young women from the South and Latin America for domestic jobs.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, APRIL 23, 1963.

The New York Times

SIGNS ANTI-DISCRIMINATION MEASURE: Governor Rockefeller putting his signature to Metcalf-Baker Bill against discrimination in housing. Behind him is George H. Fowler, head of the State Commission Against Discrimination. Flanking Mr. Fowler are Senator George R. Metcalf, left, Auburn Republican, and Assemblyman Bertram L. Baker, Brooklyn Democrat, sponsors of the bill. Scene is the Governor's office here.

Atla. Const. 4-24-63 p.1

file Pres. Politics

Dixie's GOPs Line Up for Goldwater

By REG MURPHY
Constitution Political Editor
(Copyright, 1963, by The Atlanta Constitution)

Sen. Barry Goldwater is an almost solid choice across the South for the Republican presidential nomination—and some 250 delegate votes are his more than a year ahead of convention time.

Those votes are close to half enough to give him the nomination. And the people who hold the votes say they could carry every Southern state for him if he is nominated.

These are among the major findings of a survey Tuesday by The Constitution which revealed that some Southern Republicans might split with their national party if the conservative Arizonan is denied the presidential banner.

Another strong argument advanced by the state chairmen is that Goldwater's heading the ticket would help them elect more congressmen in the region which has sent few Republicans to Washington.

Fund-raising in the South for the Republicans would be a relatively easy matter if Goldwater is the choice, the Republicans said.

The survey showed that of 305 delegate votes in the South, Rockefeller would get only a few and that Sen. Thruston Morton of Kentucky would get around 30 if the voting were held this week.

Georgia's delegation is one that would give a few votes to Morton, but would be predominantly for Goldwater.

MAN IN THE MIDDLE HAS COMMANDING LEAD
L-R: Thruston Morton, Barry Goldwater, Nelson Rockefeller

Chairman James Dorsey estimated that about 18 of the 24 Georgia delegate votes would go to Goldwater "as their first choice." Later ballots, if needed, might change the count, he added.

"Yes," he answered, "I think Sen. Goldwater could carry Georgia (in the presidential election). But I think there are others who could, too."

It was the first time Dorsey had spoken publicly about the inclinations of the Georgia Republicans and indicated that Rockefeller has little standing in the Georgia party.

The survey indicated that both Morton and Gov. George Romney of Michigan generally are regarded as being stronger candidates in the South than Rockefeller among Republicans.

Mississippi Chairman Wirt A. Yerger, who heads the Southern Association of Republican State Chairmen, mentioned the possibility of a split if Goldwater is denied the leadership.

Rockefeller's nomination "would probably throw the South—or a good portion of it—into some sort of a third party," Yerger said. "Or it might mean that some states would split and go for Kennedy. But that is not going to happen: Rockefeller won't get the nomination."

"I don't think Goldwater would lose a Southern state," insisted

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

CONSTITUTION SURVEY

Dixie GOP Choice: Goldwater in 1964

Continued From Page 1

Alabama Chairman John Grenier. "Goldwater would be way out front if the primary were held today," Florida Chairman Tom Fairfield Brown added. His is one of the states where primaries will be held next spring to pick delegates.

North Carolina is another where there will be district primaries next January and February, but Chairman Robert L. Gavin said, "At this time the sentiment seems to be with Goldwater."

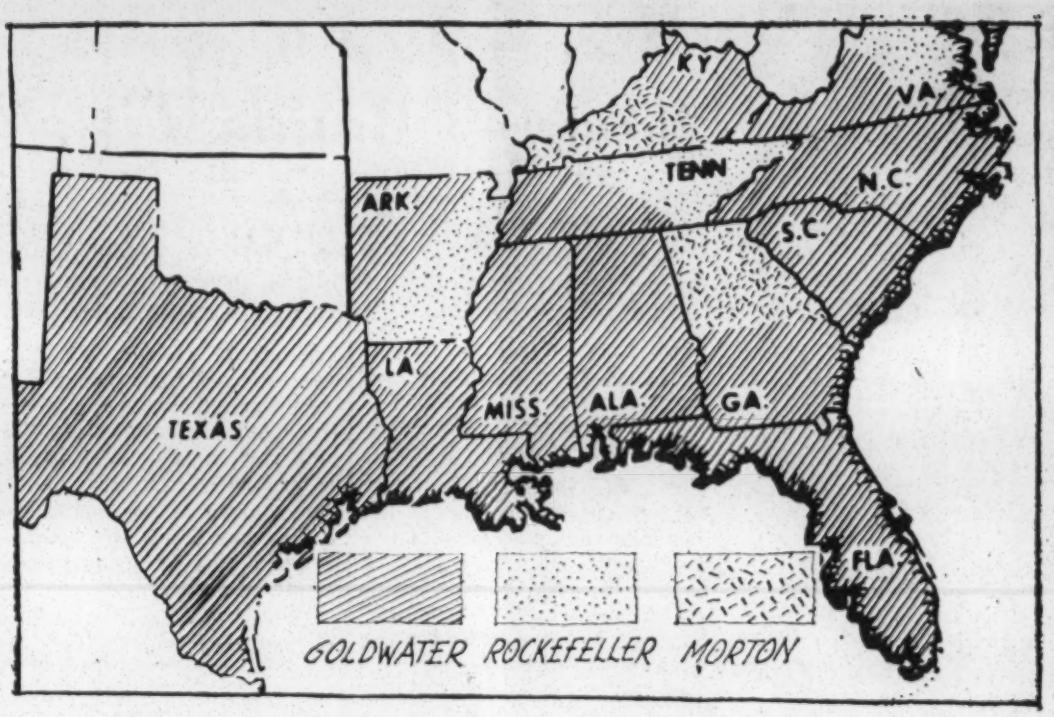
Arkansas is an exception, partially because Gov. Rockefeller's brother Winthrop is chairman of the State Industrial Development Commission and would get a split with Goldwater forces.

Kentucky is somewhat undecided at the moment. It would like, if possible, to run favorite son Thruston Morton.

But for the others, it's almost monolithically Goldwater. State-by-state, here is the picture:

ALABAMA—Grenier said his delegation (20 votes) will be "100 per cent for Goldwater," and added "His pluralities in the South will shock even the most professional politicians. The important point is that with Goldwater on the ticket the Republicans will knock off liberal Democratic congressmen like ten pins. The South is the only hope for the Republican Party ever to regain control of the Congress."

ARKANSAS—Chairman William L. Spicer said the 12 votes might be split. "The people in Arkansas are very appreciative of the efforts of Winthrop Rockefeller. . . . The thinking Democrats, independents and Republicans are commenting more and more about Sen. Goldwater. . . . (On Rockefeller) "He can't be as liberal as we have heard because of his fiscal policies in New York."



Map Shows How Republicans Will Vote in 12 Southern States

FLORIDA—Brown said, "There is great enthusiasm for Goldwater among young people, and this is the most encouraging thing to me on the American political horizon. . . . Governors Romney and Rockefeller do have a following." Of the 32 votes, almost all would be for Goldwater now.

GEORGIA — Chairman Dorsey estimated 18 of the 24 votes would go to Goldwater. National Executive Committeeman Robert Snodgrass has said kind things about Morton at open meetings, and most of the delegation is working for the Goldwater camp now.

KENTUCKY—Mrs. W. C. Cruse, temporary chairman, said, "If our native son (Morton) figures anywhere in this—either as president or vice president—we would be wholeheartedly behind him." Speaking privately, she added, "There is more sentiment for Goldwater" than Rockefeller in dividing the 24 votes.

LOUISIANA—Chairman Thomas C. Hall said, "If it isn't unanimous, it almost is" for Goldwater. "The chances are practically nil" of carrying the state for Rockefeller, who is "too much of a liberal" and would make America "too much of a welfare state."

MISSISSIPPI — The 13 votes (could go to 19 if the Republicans were to win the governor's office this fall) "will be as solid as they possibly can be behind the only man we feel can beat Kennedy," Yerger said. Rockefeller is "too much of what we would call an accidental Republican." The Goldwater boom "is the fastest moving political development in the country at this time," Yerger added.

NORTH CAROLINA—Gavin said "there is a tremendous amount of sentiment" for Goldwater, who would "have a stronger appeal for the conservatives in the Democratic Party, too." He added, "It would help all of us" if Miami Beach or Dallas were the convention site.

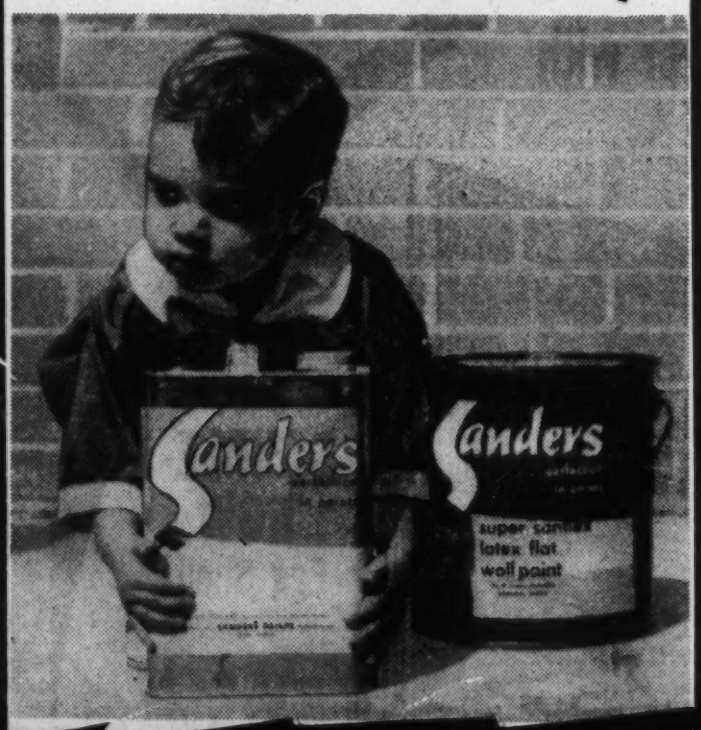
SOUTH CAROLINA — "It was the South Carolina delegation to the 1960 Republican national convention that spearheaded Sen. Goldwater's nomination," said Chairman J. Drake Edens Jr. The 16 votes will all go to him and "Gov. Rockefeller is certainly not looked on with favor by any South Carolina Republicans that I know of . . . We don't look on (Goldwater) as a Southern candidate. This guy is a great national candidate from any conservative viewpoint."

TENNESSEE—Chairman Erby L. Jenkins said there could be some Rockefeller support, but the 28 votes would be primarily for Goldwater. "In view of the ultra-liberal government of the Kennedy administration, people are beginning to take a new look toward Goldwater's philosophy. In my opinion, he is much stronger today than he was six months ago."

TEXAS — Chairman Peter O'Donnell Jr. is organizer of the Draft Goldwater movement. Although he could not be reached for comment Tuesday he has said he believes all 54 votes would go to Goldwater and that the South also would be solid for the senator from a nearby state.

VIRGINIA — Chairman Horace E. Henderson said, "Without any question the majority of Virginia Republicans would appear to favor Sen. Goldwater." But the 30 votes also would consider "electing a Republican president, not with just carrying the South. . . . We here in Virginia believe any Republican is preferable to four more years of the Kennedy administration," he added.

PAINT IS THE THING



Laotian Reds to Blame

NYT 4-24-63

'On the March in Dixie'

file Pres. Politics

"Republicans on the march in Dixie." So says the headline on a round-up of dispatches from five Southern states in "The Republican Southern Challenge," a publication of the party's National Committee. Texas reports that fifty Democratic precinct chairmen have walked out of the Democratic party and joined the G. O. P. In Florida the Republicans are celebrating a 12-seat victory in special elections for the State Legislature. Rosy reports come in from Georgia and Louisiana. Predicting additional gains in Texas and Virginia, the director of the National Committee's Southern division declares, "I think it's truthful to say that the Republican party is bursting at the seams in the Southern states."

Something, no doubt, is happening in Dixie. States' rights sentiment is traditionally strong throughout the South and there is widespread and unmistakable evidence of dissatisfaction over the course pursued by the Kennedy Administration at Ole Miss, at the voter registration booths, and elsewhere. Some of this dissatisfaction seems likely to redound to the local advantage of the G. O. P., but how much will this be worth on a national scale? When anything bursts at the seams, there is always some risk of a consequent embarrassment.

The Republican party, nationally, is pledged to try to do in the South precisely what the Kennedy Administration has tried to do. The Republican party is pledged by its national platform "to continue its vigorous support of school desegregation." It is pledged "to guarantee the right to vote of all citizens in all areas of the country." It is pledged to "continued vigorous enforcement of the civil rights laws" and "to prevent obstruction of court orders."

Two interesting questions arise: First, in the light of all these party declarations can the Southern states'-righters be convinced that the Republicans are any less desegregation-minded than the Kennedy Administration? Second, if the Republicans do succeed in that maneuver, how popular will they be in the large urban centers of the North?

J-25-63 file Pres: Politics

NEW YORK'S NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am pleased to call the Senate's attention to the signing on April 22 by the Governor of New York, Nelson A. Rockefeller, of two measures maintaining New York's place in the forefront of the States in the field of civil rights. One broadens the New York law against discrimination in housing, which previously covered the sale or rental of housing accommodations in multiple dwellings and in developments of 10 or more houses on contiguous land. It also barred discrimination by real estate brokers with respect to housing covered by the law. The new measure prohibits discrimination in the sale or rental of any housing accommodation, except rentals in an owner-occupied one- or two-family home, and it also extends to all housing the provision relating to real estate brokers.

A second bill signed by the Governor makes it an unlawful discriminatory practice to retaliate against any person because he has opposed any discriminatory practice or because he has filed a complaint, testified, or assisted in any proceeding before the State commission for human rights. The first law against discrimination in New York in 1945 made such retaliation unlawful in all cases involving discrimination in employment. This measure brings the rule against retaliation into step with the many other constructive advances made in the State since that time toward eliminating racial discrimination in issues cognizable under the State constitution. It should also be noted that the city of New York is this month celebrating the fifth anniversary of the enactment of its fair housing practices law.

These are indeed auspicious steps in the continual effort being made in New York State and in many other States to achieve the goals which we proclaim in the Constitution of the United States for all our citizens and hold out to the world in the hope of emulation of our way of life. What is needed is a comparable effort at the Federal level to obtain meaningful civil rights legislation in the Congress.

I am proud to say that New York State practices what it preaches through its two Senators, and that it remains in the forefront of those who wish to guarantee equal rights to every citizen in all areas in which civil rights are concerned, without regard to race, color, or creed.

4-30-63 file Pres Pol.

the Governors of 23 States that had not yet ratified the amendment urging them to support ratification by their legislatures. "Because very few State legislatures will meet in 1964," the President said, "action by individual States now is essential if the proposed amendment is to be effective during the 1964 elections."

Although there has been no organized compaign in favor of the amendment, many Congressmen and Senators from both parties have urged their State legislatures to approve it and both national committees have announced their support. The rapid progress of the anti-poll-tax amendment through the State legislatures has surprised many observers who had earlier predicted that the ratification process would take a number of years if it was successful at all.

The amendment would have practical effect only in the five States that now levy a poll tax as a requirement for voting—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Virginia, and Texas. The Texas Senate has approved a proposed State constitutional amendment to end its own poll tax, but has also passed an annual voter registration bill to replace the poll tax as a voting prerequisite.

Following is a table listing the States that have ratified the amendment; the votes in each chamber of the legislature, when available; and the date of final ratification:

States ratifying

	Senate	House	Date of final ratification
1. Illinois	29-12	150-12	Nov. 14, 1962
2. New Jersey	18-0	58-0	Dec. 3, 1962
3. Oregon	25-3	51-4	Jan. 25, 1963
4. Montana	51-4	56-37	Jan. 28, 1963
5. West Virginia	32-0	94-0	Feb. 1, 1963
6. New York	52-2	(1)	Feb. 4, 1963
7. Maryland	27-0	125-3	Feb. 6, 1963
8. California	34-0	70-3	Feb. 7, 1963
9. Alaska	19-0	27-8	Feb. 11, 1963
10. Rhode Island	33-0	72-0	Feb. 14, 1963
11. Indiana	47-0	(2)	Feb. 15, 1963
12. Michigan	30-0	98-0	Feb. 20, 1963
13. Utah	23-0	51-4	Do.
14. Colorado	32-0	64-0	Feb. 21, 1963
15. Minnesota	(1)	(1)	Feb. 27, 1963
16. Ohio	31-0	119-3	Do.
17. New Mexico	18-10	63-0	Mar. 5, 1963
18. Hawaii	25-0	51-1	Mar. 6, 1963
19. Idaho	35-1	55-2	Mar. 8, 1963
20. North Dakota	27-20	79-28	Mar. 12, 1963
21. Vermont	(2)	157-63	Mar. 15, 1963
22. Washington	44-0	95-1	Mar. 14, 1963
23. Nevada	14-0	34-0	Mar. 19, 1963
24. Connecticut	33-0	251-4	Mar. 20, 1963
25. Tennessee	22-1	55-20	Mar. 21, 1963
26. Pennsylvania	50-0	183-1	Mar. 25, 1963
27. Wisconsin	30-0	93-0	Mar. 28, 1963
28. Kansas	24-8	111-0	Do.
29. Massachusetts	36-0	223-0	Do.
30. Nebraska		[3] 41-0	Apr. 4, 1963
31. Florida	36-6	105-3	Apr. 18, 1963
32. Iowa	48-0	92-4	Apr. 25, 1963

[1] Unanimous.
[2] Voice vote.
[3] Unicameral legislature.

"THE ISSUES OF TODAY"—STATEMENT BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, on April 26, the Vice President of the United States, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, addressed the Young Democratic National Committee luncheon on the subject, "The Issues of Today."

The remarks of the Vice President are worthy of note and I ask unanimous consent at this time to insert them in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ISSUES OF TODAY

I realize politics may be an ugly word to some. It may seem shallow and superficial and nonintellectual to others. But a Democrat is never really a Democrat unless he is practical about politics.

That is why—here before you who are the hears and hope of our party's future—I want to talk practical Democratic politics today.

In this year of 1963, our party holds the White House. We hold the Congress. We occupy a majority of the statehouses. We are the majority party among the millions of registered voters.

But these are not measures enough.

Too many Democrats too easily forget that the Democratic Party, as the majority party, is much more the historic exception than the historic rule.

Out of the last 30 years, since 1933, Democrats have held the White House all but 8 years—Congress all but 4 years. Yet, this represents three-fourths the time Democrats have been in power in this century and two-thirds of the years of Democratic rule since Lincoln.

Democrats can and proudly do invoke the names of Wilson and Roosevelt and Truman and Kennedy. But of these 20th-century Democratic Presidents, only F.D.R. was elected to office with a majority of the popular vote.

Starting with Jefferson, the victories of the Democratic Party have been hard-won victories. It is not coincidence that all the great Democratic Presidents have been—and had to be—eminently practical politicians because the political battles of the people are never casually won.

A LANDMARK REPORT

On January 19 of this year, the Democratic National Committee's Subcommittee on Party Organization—under the chairmanship of Congressman NEIL STAEBLER, of Michigan—made a landmark report. Every Democrat should read it and reread it—and take it to heart. In that report, NEIL STAEBLER'S group rendered this most urgent conclusion: "The United States is in the middle of a period of political change. The majority of the voters in the United States consider themselves to be Democrats. President Kennedy enjoys an almost unprecedented popularity. Despite this, the Democratc Party is not certain of a majority of the presidential or congressional vote. The Democratic Party clearly must adapt its party activities and its organization to mobilize its full political support in 1964.

That report goes on to say what far too many Democrats may not want to hear—that underlying social and political trends are changing the political responses of the American people.

There is no need to belabor the obvious. We are living in different times, changing times, new times. When Harry Truman surprised Tom Dewey in 1948, 79 percent of the families in the United States had less than $5,000 a year income. When John F. Kennedy outlined the Democratic Party program of the New Frontier to the Nation in 1961, 59 percent of the families had incomes over $5,000 a year.

When Woodrow Wilson brought his New Freedoms to the people, he delivered his entire first inaugural address without mentioning foreign affairs. In 1933, F.D.R. began his first term with a memorable inaugural in which foreign affairs was dealt with in three paragraphs—and deliberately assigned a role of secondary interest. In John F. Kennedy's Presidency, foreign affairs and foreign programs have dominated every month and week and virtually every day.

In these years, the Presidency has changed. The lives of the people have changed. The party of the people—the party which exists to serve the people's needs—must change, also, if it is to be responsive to the people—and if it is to receive the people's trust and confidence and support at the polls.

5-1-63 file Presidential Politics

THE NEW YORK TIMES, W

Stephen Smith Is Likely to Direct Kennedy's Re-election Campaign

By TOM WICKER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 30 — The White House is approaching the 1964 Presidential campaign with only one major change in prospect for the team that managed John F. Kennedy's narrow victory in 1960.

That change would put Stephen Smith, Mr. Kennedy's brother-in-law, in over-all direction of the President's re-election effort. Robert F. Kennedy, now the Attorney General, filled this role in 1960.

A well-placed White House source said Mr. Smith's substitution for the Attorney General had not been entirely decided upon but "the trend is in that direction."

John M. Bailey of Connecticut, the Democratic national chairman, will remain in that post throughout next year's campaign, it was reported.

O'Brien Organization Chief

Lawrence F. O'Brien, the President's special assistant for Congressional affairs, will supervise the Kennedy campaign organization. P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Mr. Kennedy's appointments secretary, will be in charge of itinerary and other matters. Both filled the same roles in 1960.

As in 1960, Mr. Kennedy, his family and his close associates will direct a campaign that will be independent in some ways of the Democratic National Committee and the regular party organization.

The National Committee is likely to concentrate less upon the Presidential campaign than upon coordinating the entire party effort in 1964. Twenty-four Democratic Senate seats will be at stake — an unusually large number, resulting from the Democratic landslide of 1958.

Although informed sources said no firm decision had been made, there is a distinct possibility that the Democrats may hold their national nominating convention as late as the middle or end of August, 1964.

Long Campaign Not Needed

Their candidate, Mr. Kennedy, is as well known as he is likely to be and hardly needs a long campaign. Nor can an incumbent President safely appear to be giving too much time to partisan campaigning.

No site has been picked for the convention, but Chicago, Atlantic City and Miami Beach are regarded as the likeliest possibilities.

The campaign is still more than a year away, but, in a loosely related step, the White House has moved to increase political coordination between Mr. Kennedy and his Democratic supporters on Capitol Hill.

Paul Southwick, 43 years old, a former newspaperman, has been moved into the White House from the Area Redevelopment Agency in the Commerce Department. Mr. Southwick will be technically a member of Pierre Salinger's White House press office staff.

One of his roles, informed sources said, will be to transmit useful news and information from the White House to members of Congress and to make suggestions to Democratic members of Congress, based on White House information, about publicity benefits they might gain from Presidential actions.

Some sources said Mr. Southwick, experienced in the politically important activities of the Area Redevelopment Agency, would have a wider role as the campaign developed. For one thing, he is expected to do preliminary research on possible issues and opponents for 1964.

Smith in '60 Campaign

The substitution of Mr. Smith for the Attorney General at the head of the Kennedy campaign team would occasion little surprise. As a Cabinet officer, Robert Kennedy would be unlikely to act openly as his brother's campaign manager.

As a trusted adviser to the President, however, he still would be an important figure in 1964. His actual influence on the campaign would be little, if any, less than in 1960.

Mr. Smith was active in President Kennedy's 1958 Senatorial campaign in Massachusetts. He helped organize Kennedy - for - President headquarters here in 1960, was an important fund-raiser for his brother-in-law and assisted in scheduling Mr. Kennedy's extensive campaign travels.

In 1962 he directed the successful Senatorial campaign of Edward M. Kennedy in Massachusetts. He is now serving the Democratic National Committee as a trouble shooter in the key states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan—all of which elected Republican governors in 1962.

There had been some speculation when Mr. Bailey, a Roman Catholic, was appointed party chairman following Mr. Kennedy's victory in 1960 that he would serve only until the 1964 nominating convention was completed. It was believed that a Protestant chairman would be appointed for the 1964 campaign.

White House sources insist, however, that Mr. Bailey will remain as chairman. This reflects in part their confidence that the religious issue against Mr. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, will not be raised in 1964.

Monday, May 20, 1963 The Atlanta Journal

Speaker to Tell Of Registration Drive for Negroes

Wiley A. Branton, director of the Voter Education Project, will describe the current drive to register Negro voters in Mississippi at a public forum Tuesday night.

Mr. Branton, an attorney formerly of Pine Bluff, Ark., is directing the Atlanta-based project by which various civil rights organizations coordinate their voter registration efforts in the South. He is expected to explain the frustrations which the drive has met in Mississippi and Georgia.

The forum, sponsored by the Public Issues Committee of the United Liberal Church of Atlanta, will be held at 8 p.m. at the Bank of Georgia Auditorium, Pershing Point.

Atla Const. 5-23-63
Gov Presidential Politics

Not in Running, Romney Insists

By CABELL PHILLIPS

(Copyright 1963 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—Gov. George Romney repeated his denial of presidential aspirations Wednesday but at the same time gave the clearest expositions to date of his position on a number of national issues.

In a luncheon speech at the National Press Club, Michigan's chief executive outlined his views on states rights, civil liberties, and medical care in terms that, too many in his audience, put him in the same camp of Republicanism with New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

On states rights, the governor said he opposed the concept wherever it was used "to keep things from happening."

On civil rights, he said this country can never realize its responsibilities, "without eliminating this widespread human injustice" such as is being demonstrated currently in Alabama.

He said he favored medical care, "for citizens 65 years of age and over, or younger," who lack the means to provide it for themselves.

As to whether he would "seek or accept" the Republican nomination, he said, "There are no circumstances under which I will seek it." But he did not say whether he would accept it if offered.

Romney came to Washington for his appearance before the National Press Club Wednsday. He was accompanied by a delegation of 52 business and civic leaders who are engaged in the national promotion of "Michigan Week."

As Romney spoke to an audience which included most of Michigan's congressional delegation, a political diversion was occurring in another part of the city. Former vice president Richard M. Nixon was the guest of a group of Republican leaders at a luncheon in the Capitol.

Following the luncheon, Nixon, who has renounced any political ambitions since moving recently to New York from California, told reporters he thought "Eisenhower-Nixon Republicans" should be able to support Sen. Barry Goldwater or "any other prominently mentioned Republican presidential prospect" over a Democrat in 1964.

Selma Cty
Greenwood Commonwealth 5-22-63

Judge Grants Delay Motion

Motions were approved by Circuit Judge Arthur Clark, Jr., yesterday to continue until the November term of court, the cases of two white men accused of shooting a Negro vote registration worker.

Attorneys for Wesley Kersey and William H. Greenlee filed a motion asking that the trials be postponed because of tense racial conditions in Mississippi.

Kersey and Greenlee were charged with asault with intent to kill after James Travis, a Student Non-Violent Coordinating Comittee worker, was wounded.

The cases of five Negro students from Misisippi Vocational College, charged with assault, were also continued.

The students, indicted for attempting to run down a group of white boys on a 50-mile hike on February 27 were Murray Bacon, Lorenzo Pleasant, Swancy Brown, Otis Funches and Charles Tuggle.

Judge Clark suggested that a similar motion be filed on behalf of the Negroes after receiving the first motion.

The New York Times 5-23-63

A Job for the President

"I am obligated to carry out the court order." In those unequivocal words President Kennedy set forth yesterday his determination to enforce the admission of two Negroes to the University of Alabama, even if Governor Wallace persists in his threat to stand in the classroom door to bar their entrance.

All believers in legal process will share the President's hope that Mr. Wallace will think better of his defiance and thus avoid the tragic potentialities of another Oxford or another Birmingham. The Governor, for all his bluster, already has wisely substituted recourse to law for open conflict in his dispute with the White House over the propriety of assigning Federal troops to Alabama in connection with the segregationist bombings in Birmingham.

There seems to be no legal device through which Mr. Wallace can longer indulge his desire to keep Alabama the only state in the Union that bars Negroes from its university. It is as much his duty as it is the President's to see that the mandate of the courts is obeyed. The university's administration, trustees, faculty and alumni council long ago made clear their readiness to comply. Prior to Mr. Wallace's election last November, they had set in motion a program intended to guarantee that there would be no repetition of the mob action that marked the brief desegregation of the Alabama campus in 1956, when Miss Autherine Lucy was a student there for three days. It is the arrant racism of the Governor that causes the prospect of trouble now.

If he does not fulfill his legal obligation when the two Negroes present themselves for admission June 10, there seems to us one course of Federal action that will preclude the mass disorders the President so rightly fears. That is for Mr. Kennedy himself, as the man charged with supreme responsibility for the enforcement of Federal law, to accompany the Negro students to the campus and to see that they are enrolled. The force of his presence would be more than that of a division of Federal troops—and more calculated to speed the victory of civilized procedure throughout the South.

NYT 5-25-63 M

p. 1

Robert Kennedy Consults Negroes Here About North

James Baldwin, Lorraine Hansberry and Lena Horne are Among Those Who Warn Him of 'Explosive Situation'

By LAYHMOND ROBINSON

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy held a secret meeting here yesterday with a group of prominent Negroes to obtain their views on methods of combating segregation and discrimination in the North.

The meeting was held at an undisclosed location in Manhattan. The group reportedly told him that an "explosive situation" had developed in race relations in the North that, potentially, was at least equal to the growing racial strife in the South.

About a dozen Negroes participated in the talk with the President's brother. The group did not include any leaders of civil rights organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. However, it did include several well-known writers and other professional persons who have served as unofficial spokesmen for their race.

Among those attending were James Baldwin, the novelist and essayist; Lena Horne, the entertainer, and Lorraine Hansberry, the playwright.

Administration Concerned

Several white persons also attended the meeting. One of them was June Shagaloff, N.A.A.C.P. official on school integration matters. However, it was understood she attended in an unofficial capacity at Mr. Baldwin's invitation.

The meeting was said to have been initiated by Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Kennedy's attendance was seen as evidence of the Administration's growing concern over criticism of the civil rights issue voiced by Negroes across the country.

Mr. Baldwin has been sharply critical of President Kennedy for not moving more forcefully in civil rights crises in the South. He has charged that the President has "not used the great prestige of his office as the moral forum it can be."

Fresh Ideas a Goal

Mr. Baldwin is reported to have pressed the Attorney General to use his influence to get the President to make a series of talks to the nation on the civil rights issue.

The novelist had discussed the necessity of such a meeting when he breakfasted Thursday morning with the Attorney General and Burke Marshall, chief of the civil rights division of the Justice Department, at Mr. Kennedy's home in McLean, Va.

Mr. Kennedy, it was said, attended yesterday's talks because he thought the group might present him with some fresh ideas on means of coping with civil rights problems, particularly in dealing with school segregation in the North.

Many observers of race relations in the North have said that the issue of de facto school segregation has reached a point of crisis. Negroes from New York to California have been picketing and boycotting

61ST ST. TUNNEL

Northern Negroes Meet Here With Robert Kennedy in Secret

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

schools that they charge are in fact, although not by law, racially segregated.

The Administration is understood to be trying to work out a blueprint for dealing with these and other racial problems.

Mr. Baldwin, Miss Hansberry and several other participants in yesterday's discussion with Mr. Kennedy are sometimes referred to as "angry young Negroes."

They are generally of the view that the masses of Negroes and whites in this country are headed toward a serious, and probably violent, collision unless segregation and discrimination are quickly eliminated.

Mr. Baldwin is author of a best-selling book on this theme entitled "The Fire Next Time." Miss Hansberry is the author of the play "A Raisin in the Sun," which deals with the efforts of a Negro family to escape life in the slums.

Mr. Marshall was reported to have attended the meeting between Mr. Kennedy and the Negro group.

James Baldwin, the author, who attended bias meeting.

Negro Voter Drive Set

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 24 — The Democratic National Committee is planning a nationwide drive to get Negro voters registered, particularly in the urban industrial centers.

The aim is to strengthen the party's chances in the 1964 elections by convincing Negroes that the use of the ballot is their most effective weapon in the civil rights struggle.

Officially, the planned registration drive is described as part of an intensive effort to get all eligible citizens, Negro and white, to register in time for the elections. However, the committee has been largely motivated by Negro critics of the Kennedy Administration who have charged it with moving too slowly and too cautiously on the desegregation issue.

The committee appears confident that a majority of the Negro voters will continue to follow the party at the polls, but what it desires is a maximum turnout of Negro voters.

Party Loyalty Expected

Louis Martin, deputy chairman of the committee, who is a Negro, said today that a majority of Negro voters would remain faithful to the party because the Republicans have not offered forward-looking leadership on the racial question.

Mr. Martin, who is in charge of the committee's activities among Negro voters, said that he has already been in touch with many Negro leaders and clergymen to enlist their cooperation in the drive. The clergymen, he said, are expected to play an important role because of their influence among Negroes.

One of the clergymen already approached is Dr. J. H. Jackson, head of the Negro Baptist Association, which says it has a membership of 5,000,000. Another is Dr. Gardner Taylor of Brooklyn, who has contributed $10,000.

Mr. Martin estimated there were 10,000,000 Negroes of voting age in the United States Only 3,500,000 of the 5,000,000 Negroes of voting age in the Northern states are registered, he said. Of the 5,000,000 adult Negroes in the South and Southwest, he said, only 1,500,000 are registered.

Mr. Martin said he would consider it an achievement if the number of registered Negro voters could be increased by 1,000,000 in the next 12 months. But the task, he continued, presents many difficulties because it involves a systematic door-to-door campaign to convince Negroes to enroll.

Mr. Martin said it was also the Administration's hopes to increase the number of Negro and white registrations for both parties because greater participation would contribute to the democratic process.

Atlanta—Const
5-26-63
p. 1

State's Negro Solon to Head Voting Drive

file Pol. Politics

By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

Sen. Leroy Johnson of Atlanta, the first Negro member of the Georgia Legislature in half a century, is going to head up a Democratic party drive to get 1,000,000 or more Negroes registered to vote in the South and Southwest.

He confirmed speculation he will have that job Saturday after it was disclosed the party has under way a nationwide drive to get Negroes eligible to vote in time for the 1964 presidential election.

Sen. Johnson set no timetable on his undertaking. He also said he will merely urge Negroes to register—and then let the two parties fight for their votes.

BUT HE ADDED he personally believes Negroes "will vote with the Democratic party in 1964" and he is confident "that Negroes believe basically in the Democratic party."

Sen. Johnson, an attorney who sprung to national prominence when he was elected last fall to the state's reapportioned Senate, declared that "the basic problem of desegregation can be solved at the ballot box.

"Negroes must have some influence on the power structure, the ruling class, if they are to obtain first class citizenship," he went on, "and it is through mass registration and mass voting that this can be done.

"IF NEGROES register in large numbers and vote together in the South we can change the political climate of the South and be a step closer to enjoying all the fruits of American democracy."

The Democratic National Com-

Turn to Page 20, Column 3

REGISTER

Continued From Page 1

mittee Friday disclosed its plans for a nationwide registration drive for Negroes. Louis Martin, deputy chairman of the committee, a Negro, is heading up the national effort.

Sen. Johnson, a member of the Georgia Democratic Executive Committee, said he has conferred with Mr. Martin in Washington.

"I AM A PART of the nationwide program to get Negroes registered," he said. "I will travel through the South and the Southwest in this endeavor.

"I will seek to get Negroes registered not necessarily as Democrats but to get them registered per se.

"Once we can get a million or more registered throughout the South and Southwest . . . then let the two parties go after them."

Sen. Johnson, who said he has been interested in the voter registration problem for almost 10 years, estimated there are 2,000,000 Negroes who will be eligible to vote in the South and Southwest, when registered.

Atla Jour-Const.
5-26-63

RFK, Negroes Hold Heated Rights Talk

File Pro. Politics

LAYHMOND ROBINSON

(c) 1963 New York Times News Service

NEW YORK, May 25 — Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy was reported Saturday to have had a "heated" discussion with a group of prominent Negroes Friday over their demands for "radical and forceful" action to eliminate segregation and discrimination in the North.

James Baldwin, Negro novelist and essayist, characterized the "caustic" exchange of views as "significant." But, he added, the Negro group left the meeting convinced that the attorney general did not "understand the full extend of the growing racial strife" in the North.

Some other participants, who asked that their names not be used, said they thought the meeting was a "flop." But Baldwin said it was important because it might serve as the beginning of a "national dialogue" between Negroes and whites on the "explosive civil rights situation in the North."

EFFORTS TO REACH Kennedy to obtain his assessment of the meeting were unsuccessful.

Baldwin, who arranged the secret meeting between the attorney general and the Negro at Kennedy's request, said the group sought to impress on Kennedy the "extremity of the racial situation" in the North.

However, he said, the President's brother seemed intent on defending the courses of action taken by the administration in the civil rights field.

"We told him," Baldwin said, "that though the Kenedy administration has done some things the Eisenhower administration never did, its actions have yet to affect the masses of the Negro people."

Because of this, he said, the group told Kennedy that the administration's approach was "totally inadequate" to avoid deeping racial conflict in the nation.

BALDWIN SAID he disagreed with those who said the meeting was a "failure" or a "flop." He viewed it as "significant and, I hope, beneficial."

Whether it was beneficial or not would depend on what the President and his brother do in the future about ending segregation and discrimination in such things as schools and jobs in the North, he said.

The secret meeting between Kennedy and the Negro group was held at the Kennedy family apartment in New York.

BALDWIN DECLARED the Negro group repeatedly sought to impress on the attorney general that race relations in the North had reached a crisis and that the masses of whites and Negroes were moving toward a serious, and perhaps violent, collision.

They called for "radical and forceful" action by the President and his brother to head off a collision by a sustained attack on school and housing segregation and job discrimination, among other things.

They also proposed that the President make an address or series of addresses to the nation on the issue of Negro rights as one means of stating his "moral commitment" to equal rights.

They also suggested that the President show evidence of personal leadership by escorting two Negroes onto the campus of the University of Alabama on June 10.

ASKED WHAT the attorney general's response was to these suggestions, Baldwin replied: "He didn't get the point."

Baldwin said that though he would not characterize the meeting as a "failure," he thought that a "wide gulf" existed between the attorney general and the Negro group in their respective views on the urgency of attacking segregation and discrimination in the North.

Baldwin's brother, David, an actor, interjected at this point to say, "Mr. Kennedy laughed when we suggested that his brother escort the Negro students to the University of Alabama."

James Baldwin then said: "Well, let's say he didn't get the point."

JAMES BALDWIN, who was interviewed at his West Side apartment, said one of the participants told Kennedy that Negroes would not be too enthusiastic about "fighting to free Cuba from

a San Diego Padres baseball player, wearing full uniform, from the front office at Westgate Park.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Castro if their own government could not free them."

He said Kennedy seemed shocked by the statement.

The Negroes meeting with Kennedy did not include any of the well-known figures in the civil right movement, such as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Dr. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or James Farmer of the Congress or Racial Equality.

The Negro group, besides Baldwin and his brother, included Lorraine Hansberry, the playwright; Harry Belafonte; Lena Horne; Dr. Kenneth Clark, professor of phychology at City College here; Clarence Jones, Baldwin's lawyer; and Jerome Smith of New Orleans, who has participated in numerous sit-ins and other demonstrations in that city.

All Journal-Const.
5-26-63

State's Negro Solon to Head Voting Drive

Pres. Pol.

By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

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"IF NEGROES register in large numbers and vote together in the South we can change the political climate of the South and be a step closer to enjoying all the rights [illegible] mo[illegible]

"[illegible]

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file Pres. Politics

More Kennedy Double Standards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1963

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include, without comment, the following editorial from today's issue of the Chicago Tribune:

WHERE CIVIL RIGHTS DON'T COUNT

Federal troops were recently alerted in the widely publicized battle for civil rights in Alabama, while far out in the Northwest the Kennedy administration has quietly sacrificed civil rights in order to further its own public power program.

Representative JOHN P. SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania, a Republican member of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, has accused the administration of violating the President's own civil rights order of March 6, 1961, in contracts signed last month for the construction of a $122 million generating plant at Hanford, Wash., to be powered by steam from the Atomic Energy Commission's nearby plutonium reactor.

The Hanford plant is to have a capacity of 800,000 kilowatts and will be the biggest atomic power plant in the world. More to the point, it is regarded as the keystone of a nationwide public power transmission system envisioned by the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Udall, and the public power lobby.

Private power interests oppose this bureaucratic scheme and managed, through Congress, to prevent the use of public money for construction of the Hanford plant. But last fall Congress authorized its construction by a group of Washington State public utility districts organized as the Washington Public Power Supply System. The plant is to be financed by revenue bonds.

Congress gave its approval after studying the proposed contracts, which contained the usual clauses providing for cancellation of the contract if contractors did not comply with Mr. Kennedy's order against racial discrimination in employment.

Then, according to Mr. SAYLOR, bankers told the power supply system that it would have trouble selling its bonds if the contracts contained these clauses. So an added clause found it way mysteriously into the contracts before they were signed last month. This clause, now a matter of public record, says that in case of "noncompliance with the nondiscrimination clauses of this agreement or with any [Federal] rules, regulations, or orders, this agreement may not be canceled in whole or in part so long as such cancellation would impair the security of the revenue bonds issued by the supply system."

In short, the Government is more interested in getting the money for its powerplant, and getting it at favorable rates, than in carrying out its own civil rights program.

"There must have been a lot of soul searching and midnight oil burned," according to Mr. SAYLOR, before the administration decided to sacrifice civil rights "on the altar of a greedy centralized government."

Soul searching may not be the right word. It doesn't require either a soul or any searching to figure out that in the Northwest there are many opportunities for the Government to invade the field of electric power, and few Negro votes.

file
Pres. Politics & Const.
5-27-63

Theaters To Hear Robert Kennedy's Integration Appeal

By ANTHONY LEWIS

(Copyright 1963 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy is opening a series of meetings Monday to explore new ways of advancing equal rights for Negroes.

He will talk Monday with a group of theater owners. He will urge immediate steps to end discrimination at movie houses in the South that exclude or segregate Negroes.

A source close to Kennedy Sunday described a meeting the attorney general had in New York Friday with Negro intellectuals as unfortunate. But he said it was silly to dramatize this failure when Kennedy had held many unannounced meetings on the racial issue over the last two years.

SUGGESTED BY AUTHOR

The attorney general and his assistant for civil rights, Burke Marshall, went to the Friday meeting at the suggestion of James Baldwin, the Negro writer. Baldwin had expressed the urgent demand of Negroes—especially in the North—for equality.

There was a good deal of bitterness and finger-waving at the meeting. At one point the attorney general was told that President John F. Kennedy personally should lead Negro students onto the campus of the University of Alabama when it is desegrated next month.

The attorney general dismissed that idea as "an act" and said, "We're not interested in acts, we're interested in results." Some others at the meeting, not including Baldwin, reacted angrily.

CALCULATED RISK

The government source said that in retrospect it would have been better not to have had the meeting. But there is always the risk of failure, he said, and it should be seen in the perspective of many successful, unpublicized sessions with whites and Negroes.

"People won't talk if their names will come out, they don't want to be in the front lines," a spokesman said. He added that this was particularly true in the South.

The president of the theater owners of America, John H. Stembler, disclosed Saturday night that he and some of his associates had been invited to meet with the attorney general Monday.

The Justice department said it had no objection to others disclosing the meetings but that it would not comment on them. A spokesman said there would be more sessions later in the week but he would not identify them.

Intense activity on the racial issue is now taking place at many levels of the department. There is evidently a feeling of urgency about the need for action to head off both Negro and white extremists.

Legislation is being drafted, but that job is not proving an easy one. Congressional testimony by the attorney general has been postponed from this Wednesday until June 12 to allow more time for preparing the new bills.

The legislation will deal with segregation in schools and at lunch counters and other commercial facilities. It will be designed to let the federal government play a larger role as an initiator of legal action to end segregation, and as a conciliator of racial clashes.

THEATER MEN GET INTEGRATION PLEA

NYT 5-28-63

Robert Kennedy Calls for Voluntary Desegregation by Southern Group

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 27 — The Administration tried today to persuade Southern theater owners to desegregate their theatres voluntarily.

After a 90-minute meeting with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, the theater group referred questions to him.

Mr. Kennedy's press officer, Edwin O. Guthman, said there had been a frank and "extremely useful" exchange of views.

The Attorney General also met for the first time James H. Meredith, the Negro student whose admission to the University of Mississippi last September was accompanied by rioting and two deaths. Mr. Meredith said that more effective desegregation laws were needed.

The theater men represented chains or associations of chains that account for about 80 per cent of the South's movie houses. Their spokesman was James H. Stembler, president

Continued on Page 25, Column 2

sissippi touched off riots ... September, visits Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in Washington.

Robert Kennedy Bids Theaters In the South to End Racial Bars

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

of the Theater Owners of America.

Owners Appreciative

Mr. Guthman reported that the owners, including Mr. Stenbler, "expressed appreciation that there would be a cooperative attitude on the part of the Government" toward attempts by the owners to solve their own problems.

Mr. Kennedy and Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division, urged the owners to anticipate problems and work them out locally without the pressure of demonstrations. The Attorney General was reported to have said that the problem was not confined to the South, although the focus of the problem is there now.

Mr. Guthman said the meeting had been "very cordial" and the participants "quite candid."

The Attorney General has met with hotel groups and plans other meetings as part of an Administration policy to speed desegregation of public places.

Mr. Meredith had come to Washington for a television show, "Meet the Press," last night. He visited with the Attorney General for "five or 10 minutes" and then left for Mississippi.

The Mississippi student, answering questions, said he had no panaceas to offer as a solution of the integration problem. He said legislation with "teeth" was necessary and that there was "a great deal of work to be done."

NYT 5-29-63

CITY EDITION

S. Weather Bureau Report (Page 54) forecasts: ostly cloudy with scattered showers today. Partly cloudy tomorrow. p. range: 67—56; yesterday: 64—52.

M TEN CENTS

Pro-Pol.

KENNEDY STUDIES PROPOSAL TO MAKE STORES INTEGRATE

Bill Would Prohibit Racial Discrimination by Places Selling Interstate Goods

DECISION DUE IN WEEK

N.A.A.C.P. Sues to Reduce Representation in House for States Denying Vote

By ANTHONY LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 28—The Kennedy Administration is considering legislation to prohibit racial discrimination in stores and restaurants selling products that have crossed state lines.

A draft of this proposal is under study in the Justice Department. President Kennedy's final decision whether to ask Congress for the legislation is expected within a few days, probably next week.

The legal basis for such a statute would be the Constitution's grant of power to the Federal Government to regulate commerce among the states. This invoking of the interstate power could cover virtually all significant commercial establishments in the country.

In the United States economy today, almost every product touches interstate commerce in some way.

Foods Cross State Lines

Even the local restaurant uses catsup made in another state—and probably meat and fruit grown elsewhere, too. The motion picture theater shows films shipped across state lines.

Hotels would also be within the scope of such legislation on the ground that they provide rooms for persons traveling in

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Hotels would also be within the scope of such legislation on the ground that they provide rooms for persons traveling in interstate commerce.

Meanwhile, a suit was filed in the Federal District Court here today to reduce the representation in the House of Representatives of states that deny the vote to Negroes.

The suit by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sought to enforce a provision of the 14th Amendment that requires such a reduction in House membership. The provision has never been applied.

Important Decision Looms

The suit would have the Census Bureau tabulate the next Congressional apportionment, after the census of 1970, and then reduce the representation for states discriminating against Negro voters. One expert estimated that this procedure could cost the 11 states of the old Confederacy 25 of the 120 House seats they now hold.

Any civil rights bill proposed by the Administration under the commerce power would probably contain some limitations on its coverage. It might, for example, exempt businesses under a certain size. It would almost certainly exclude genuinely private clubs.

Whether he proposes such legislation, and how he does it, are among the most important political decisions the President has faced for a long time. A debate is already developing within the Administration.

Some of the President's ad-

Continued on Page 16, Column 5

Pres. letter atlanta Const. 6-4-63

Kennedy Delays Rights Bill A Week to Lay Groundwork

By E. W. KENWORTHY

(Copyright 1963 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—President John F. Kennedy decided Monday to delay for a week his civil rights message to Congress.

He had hoped to get his new legislative proposals to Congress Tuesday. He leaves on Wednesday for a Western trip that will keep him out of Washington the rest of the week.

Monday's decision was based on a number of factors. One was that last-minute tinkering with the draft bills and with the accompanying presidential message was still going on, and it was deemed wise not to rush so important a matter.

The President felt also that it would be helpful to the legislation's chances to go ahead first with a number of scheduled conferences. He will meet Tuesday's for example, with business executives with large holdings in the South. His brother, Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, will continue his meetings with other groups involved in the civil rights picture.

Tuesday's guest list at the White House included Lucien E. Oliver, Atlanta, vice president of Sears Roebuck & Co.; J. H. Harrison, general manager, Wilby Kincey Circuit, Atlanta; E. D. Martin, president, Martin Theater Circuit, Columbus; C. L. Patrick, assistant to the president, Martin Theater Circuit, Columbus, and John Stembler, president, Georgia Theaters, Atlanta.

The week will also be used to try to build a favorable climate at the Capitol. Democratic congressional leaders, who were briefed on the civil rights by the President Monday, will discuss the legislation with others in both parties.

The decision to put off his message was especially difficult for the President because 24 House Republicans Monday introduced their own legislation to bar racial discrimination in public accommo-

Continued on Page 6, Column 5

President Holds Back Rights Bill for a Week

Continued From Page 1

dations. They were plainly intent on beating the administration to the legislative hopper.

The administration's legislation is expected to include two main proposals.

One would deal with racial discrimination in theaters, hotels, lunch counters and stores—the issue that has sparked recent demonstrations by Negroes in Birmingham, Ala., Jackson, Miss., and other Southern cities.

The second will seek to speed the slow progress of school desegregation, possibly by authorizing the federal government to help formulate desegregation plans and conciliate disputes.

Shortly after Kennedy returned here Monday morning from a weekend at Camp David, Md., black limousines bearing Democratic leaders began drawing up to the west wing of the White House for an unscheduled meeting.

Afterward the leaders were extraordinarily tight-lipped. House speaker, John W. McCormack, D-Mass., would say only that civil rights legislation was discussed "in a general way."

Later, however, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., assistant Senate Democratic leader, who had been called back from Minnesota to attend the meeting, said there had been "detailed discussion" of civil rights proposals which would go to the Hill "later this week."

By implication McCormack acknowledged that a civil rights bill, which is almost certain to run into a Southern filibuster in the Senate if it passes the House, would protract the session.

"Of course, the session is going to be a long one, as you know," McCormack said.

After returning to the Captiol, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson went into an immediate conference with Representatives Carl Albert of Oklahoma and Hale Boggs of Alabama, the Democratic leader and whip of the House.

N. Y.

KENNEDY SPEEDS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL; PLANS A MESSAGE

NYT 6-3-63

Hopes to Get Program Ready for Congress Tomorrow Before Going on Trip

Pres Politics

By ANTHONY LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 2 — President Kennedy hopes to send to Congress this Tuesday a special message proposing broad civil rights legislation.

White House aides said today that only final drafting of the bill and last-minute polishing of the accompanying message remained to be done. The pressure is on to clear the obstacles tomorrow.

Mr. Kennedy has decided to use the form of a written Presidential message to Congress for his new civil rights proposals, rather than any special device. Aides said he had given no serious consideration to a personal appearance at the Capitol.

Nevertheless, the new proposals will bear the stamp of urgency. They have been rushed to completion since the outbreak of racial turmoil in Birmingham, Ala., last month—and under the impetus of the growing impatience of Negroes there and elsewhere.

Starts Trip Wednesday

The President is scheduled to leave early Wednesday for a western tour that will take the rest of the week. His aim is to get the civil rights message to the Capitol before he takes off.

The principal new Administration proposal is expected to be a bill prohibiting racial discrimination against customers by stores, hotels, theaters, restaurants and other businesses dealing in a significant way with interstate commerce.

This measure is expected to exclude the smallest local enterprises. It may concentrate on interstate chains, businesses serving interstate highways and large department stores and other major enterprises.

In addition to prohibiting denials of service on account of race, the bill would carry its own enforcement device. This will probably be an authorization for the Justice Department to seek injunctions against noncomplying stores.

Fearful of Violence

The Administration's feeling is that segregation at lunch counters and in similar places of public accommodation is a major irritant causing rising racial tension.

Demonstrations are mounting. They have produced desegregation in some areas, but the Administration is convinced that the possibility of violence is real. It wants to provide a legal outlet.

In addition to the public accommodations provisions, the new legislative proposals are expected to include one designed to speed the lagging pace of school desegregation.

What form this will take has not been disclosed. One pos-

Continued on Page 16, Column 5

ES, MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1963.

KENNEDY SPEEDS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

sibility is a measure to bring the Federal Government actively into the desegregation effort by letting it help prepare plans and help conciliate disputes.

The President sent a first civil rights message to Congress on Feb. 28. It called for these three steps:

¶Legislation to expedite voting suits in the Federal courts and to let temporary referees register Negroes while the suits were pending.

¶Authorization for the Federal Government to provide technical and financial aid to school districts that are desegregating.

¶Extension of the Civil Rights Commission, now scheduled to go out of business Sept. 30, for four years.

Voting has been the principal emphasis of the Kennedy Administration's civil rights efforts, as it was of the Eisenhower Administration's, the feeling was that the ballot would give Negroes in the South the leverage to get equal rights in other fields.

But recent events have persuaded the President and especially his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, that broader legislation should be pushed now.

Congress Favorable

The mood in Congress is regarded as generally receptive, although Suthern opposition is not expected to be milder than usual. The demonstrations at Birmingham and other places have made civil rights a more urgent topic at the Capitol than for some years.

Four Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee accused the Administration today of "foot-dragging" on civil rights.

Representatives John V. Lindsay of Manhattan, William T. Cahill of New Jersey, Clark MacGregor of Minnesota and Charles McC. Mathias Jr. of Maryland announced that they would introduce civil rights legislation of their own tomorrow.

The Republican bill would prohibit discrimination by all businesses authorized by a state or locality to supply food, amusement, accommodations or services to the public. It would also authorize the Justice Department to sue on behalf of any individual constitutional rights.

Other business in Congress this week is expected to be of less than major importance.

200,000 Now in A.M.A.

CHICAGO, June 2 (AP)—The enrollment of an Alabama physician brought total membership of the American Medical Association to the 200,000 mark, the A. M. A. said today. Elbert Robert Ray, 33 years old, a pediatrician of Jasper, Ala., is the newest member.

6-3-63 Atla Const.

Kennedy Preparing Message

Pres. Politics

Hopes to Clear All Obstacles Today

By ANTHONY LEWIS

(Copyright 1963 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—President John F. Kennedy hopes to send to Congress Tuesday a special message proposing broad new civil rights legislation.

White House aides said Sunday that only the final drafting on the legislation and a last-minute polishing of the accompanying message remained to be done. The pressure is on to clear the obstacles Monday.

Kennedy has decided to use the form of a written message rather than any special device. His aides said he gave no serious consideration to a personal appearance at the Capitol.

URGENT PROPOSALS

Nevertheless, the new proposals will bear the stamp of urgency. They have been rushed to completion since the outbreak of racial turmoil in Birmingham last month—and under the impetus of growing Negro impatience there and elsewhere.

The President is scheduled to leave early Wednesday for a western tour that will take the rest of the week. His aim is to get the civil rights message to the Capitol before he takes off.

The principal new administration proposal is expected to be a bill prohibiting racial discrimination against customers by stores, hotels, theaters, restaurants and other businesses dealing in a significant way with interstate commerce.

CARRY OWN ENFORCEMENT

The measure is not expected to touch small local enterprises. It could well concentrate on interstate chains, businesses servicing interstate highways and large department stores and other major enterprises.

The bill would carry its own enforcement device, probably an authorization for the Justice department to seek injunctions against stores that do not comply.

The administration's feeling is

Continued on Page 10, Column 2

Rights Bill Readied for Congress

Continued From Page 1

that segregation at lunch counters and in other such places of public accommodation is a major irritant causing rising racial tension.

Demonstrations are mounting. They have produced desegregation in some areas, but the administration is convinced that the possibility of violence is real. It wants to provide a legal outlet.

In addition to the public accomodations provisions, the new legislative proposals are expected to include one designed to speed the lagging pace of school desegregation.

Just what form this will take has not been disclosed. One possibility is a measure to bring the federal government actively into the picture by letting it help on the preparation of desegregaion plans and in conciliating disputes.

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file Pres. Politics

Kefauver Holds Hearing Today on Anti-Kennedy Elector Plan

WASHINGTON, June 3 (AP) —An investigation into a movement that seeks to deny President Kennedy Southern support in 1964 was ordered today by Senator Estes Kefauver.

The Tennessee Senator said in a statement that the Constitutional Amendments subcommittee would seek public testimony tomorrow on efforts in five states to free Presidential electors from even a moral obligation of voting for the candidate heading either party's national ticket.

The subcommittee will vote June 12 on a series of proposed constitutional amendments to change the electoral system.

Mr. Kefauver named Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia as states in which he said new election laws permit the choice of unpledged electors. He said that at least one house of the state legislatures in Florida and Louisiana has passed similar bills.

Kefauver Notes Impact

"This could result in the removal of these states, representing a total of 53 electoral votes, from the electoral equilibrium which has heretofore existed, with the possibility that the Presidential election could be thrown into an entirely different arena, the House of Representatives," he said.

Unless one candidate collects 270 electoral votes in 1964, the decision on the winner would be passed to the House, where each state delegation would have a single vote in choosing the President.

Mr. Kennedy won in 1960 with 303 electoral votes, including 27 from Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana. This was 41 more than the 262 total he needed then. Florida gave its 10 votes to former Vice President Richard M. Nixon. Mississippi, Alabama and Oklahoma contributed a total of 15 to Senator Harry F. Byrd, Democrat of Virginia.

The unpledged elector movement has been spearheaded by Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi. Governor Barnett advocates primaries to let the voters choose between unpledged Democratic Presidential electors and those pledged to support the national Democratic nominee. He said the campaign was directed toward electing "a conservative President who believes in constitutional government and the rights of the states to control and direct their own affairs."

Senator Kefauver said Prof. James McGregor Burns of Williams College, one of President Kennedy's biographers, would be the first witness. He listed Dr. Paul T. David of the University of Virginia and Dr. Robert G. Dixon Jr., of the George Washington School of Law as among others.

Mr. Kefauver noted that seven proposed constitutional amendments pending before the subcommittee fell into four categories.

These include retention of the method of unit voting by states on the Presidency but elimination of the elector's office, election of electors by Congressional districts, with two chosen at large in each state, division of each state's electoral vote on the basis of its popular vote for President, and abolition of the Electoral College in favor of direct election of Presidents by popular vote.

The subcommittee held extensive hearings on the proposals in 1961. Mr. Kefauver said he thought that only a day's testimony updating developments would be required to determine whether modifications were needed "to maintain a fair balance of political power."

WSJ 6-4-63

Inspection Appeal Is Lost By Mississippi Registrars

General Records

WASHINGTON, June 3 (AP) —Voting registrars of three Mississippi counties were denied today a Supreme Court review of an order requiring production of their records for inspection by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

The order, by the Federal District Court in Mississippi, was issued under a section of the 1960 Civil Rights Act. Mr. Kennedy based his demand for the records on information "tending to show" discrimination against Negroes who wanted to register and vote.

The three registrars said the demand was for more than the law required. They charged that Mr. Kennedy was engaged "in a grand fishing expedition."

The appeal was filed by the registrars of Lauderdale, Madison and Hinds Counties. Attorney General Joe T. Patterson of Mississippi was a signer.

EXECUTIVES OKAY JFK'S RACIAL PLEA

6-5-63

file Pres. Politics Atla Journal

WASHINGTON, June 5 (UPI)—President Kennedy appeared Wednesday to be making progress in selling business executives on the need for voluntary desegregation of their establishments to avoid racial demonstrations.

The President met Tuesday with 100 executives of firms with outlets in the South to urge them to speed desegregation. He seemed to have convinced a number of them that this should be done promptly.

Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson joined the President in the 45-minute conference at the White House with the businessmen.

Milton L. Elsberg of Alexandria, Va., president of Drug Fair Stores, said the consensus of the executives was that the desegregation requested by Kennedy "must be done and done right now."

The tone of the meeting he said, was that "this is something which must be done in a matter of days" to counter the rising tide of Negro demands.

Sumner Redstone, president of Redstone Management, Boston, said the temper of the meeting was a "general endorsement" of the President's proposals and a great deal of approval of the objectives.

Joseph E. Chastain, president of the Lintz Department Stores based in Dallas, Tex., said he thought the overall sense of the meeting supported cooperation with the President in attempting to desegregate commercial facilities as rapidly as possible.

The President was reported to have said he realized this would be more difficult in some locales than in others. He said he was considering legislation to desegregate public accommodations because it might be necessary to have the force of law to guarantee equal facilities.

Chastain said the attorney general read a list of cities the administration regarded as "problem centers," and mentioned Dallas, Chicago, Philadelphia and New York.

Pres. Politics

CONSTITUTION

th's Standard Newspaper

EDNESDAY, JUNE 5, 1963 | 38 PAGES, 3 SECTIONS | ★★★★★ | Price Five Cents
Outside Georgia: Ten Cents

Warm

Partly cloudy and warm Wednesday and Thursday in Atlanta. Extremes predicted: 64 and 84 Wednesday, 65 and 84 Thursday. Tuesday's extremes: 63 and 82.

President Stands Firm After Businessmen Rap Forced Integration Bill

Voluntary Plan Working Well, 100 Leaders Say

By TOM WICKER

(Copyright 1963 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—President John F. Kennedy received from a delegation of about 100 businessmen Tuesday an encouraging report on voluntary desegregation of public accommodations.

He also heard the businessmen express doubts as to the need for his propsed bills to bar racial discrimination in restaurants, theaters, hotels and other such establishments.

There were no indications, however, that Kennedy had changed his mind about submitting such legislation to Congress, or about proposing another measure to speed school desegregation.

Instead, the White House announced that a civil rights message definitely would be sent to Congress "early next week."

White House sources would not term this a delay, although it had been generally expected that the message and accompanying legislation would go to Capitol Hill Tuesday.

Kennedy is leaving Washington Wednesday morning for speaking engagements, weapons demonstrations and naval maneuvers in Colorado, New Mexico and California. He will not return to the White House until early Sunday.

White House moves to end discrimination in hiring for construction projects. Page 2

The White House sources suggested that the civil rights message would not go to Congress until next week so that consultations could be carried on between Democratic and Republican legislative leaders.

RUSSELL ON PLANE

Aboard Kennedy's plane on the flight west Wednesday will be Sen. Richard Russell, D.-Ga., leader of Southern senators. He is the chairman of the Armed Forces Committee and is accom-

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RUSSELL ON PLANE

Aboard Kennedy's plane on the flight west Wednesday will be Sen. Richard Russell, D.-Ga., leader of Southern senators. He is the chairman of the Armed Forces Committee and is accompanying Kennedy in that capacity; but the trip will provide an opportunity for the two to discuss civil rights legislation as well.

The businessmen who met in the East Room of the White House for about an hour late Tuesday were mostly owners or managers of chains of hotels, theaters, restaurants, variety stores and other enterprises with outlets in the South.

NO REPORT

There was no official White House report on the meeting, conducted by the President, Vice President Lyndon Johnson and Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy.

Most of those who attended agreed later that the general approach of the Kennedy brothers and Johnson had been to assert the importance of voluntary action on the part of business leaders to open their facilities and jobs in their establishment to all races.

It also was generally agreed that most of those in attendance had agreed with this course, and welcomed the President's iniative. About 10 or 15 men were reported to have expressed this view.

MISSISSIPPI VERSION

On the other hand, a number of Southerners emerging from the White House appeared reluctant to discuss the meeting or to give their views. Two who said only that they were from Charlotte, N.C., refused even to identify themselves.

But T. G. Solomon, of McComb, Miss., president of Gulf State Theaters, spoke up. His theaters, he said, could not be desegregated voluntarily "in the foreseeable future."

Atla Journal 6-5-63
file Pres. Politics

P.O. Negroes Jumped Over Ranking Whites in Dallas

DALLAS, Tex., June 5 (AP) — Three Negro postal employes have been promoted to supervisory jobs in the Dallas post office although at least 53 white employes ranked higher on a merit rating system, the Dallas News said in a copyrighted story Wednesday.

The News quoted postal officials at the regional level as saying the promotions were made under an "equal employment opportunities program" rather than the Post Office Department's merit promotion system.

Indications were, the News said, that the word to promote the three came from Washington and was not a regional or Dallas decision.

IN THE CASES of the three, the News said the top Negro in a supervisory merit list of about 400 was ranked No. 54 and the other two were ranked lower on the list. The first 53 men on the list were white.

The trio will be the first Negro supervisors in the Dallas post office in operating jobs. All will assume their new jobs Saturday. There are about 180 to 190 supervisor jobs in the office which has 3,000 employes, about 20 per cent of which are Negroes.

The United Federation of Post Clerks, which is affiliated with the AFL-CIO, has lodged a protest with the Civil Service Commission on the matter. However, the federation is questioning the bypassing of the 53 employes who headed the list and not the promotion of the Negroes.

Postmaster W. B. Hudson of Dallas listed the three and their new jobs as: Buford R. Tyler, route inspector; Andrew J. Calloway, foreman of mails at the terminal annex, and Herschel Gillins, supervisor at the Merchandise Mart station.

The promotions will mean be

N4T 6-5-63
file Pres. Politics

20 C

PRESIDENT CHIDED ON VOTE REFORMS

His Biographer Accuses Him of 'Detachment'

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 4 — A political scientist, who sees democracy caught between deadlock and drift, predicted today a serious constitutional crisis in this decade unless there was an effective reform of governmental machinery.

James MacGregor Burns also chided President Kennedy, about whom he wrote a biography, for taking "a rather detached view of Congressional and other forms of reforms" in the last two years.

"I believe," Professor Burns told a Senate subcommittee, "that few reforms, big or small, are possible until he throws himself into the battle with the energy and understanding that he displayed in the famous Senate battle over Electoral College reform in 1956."

N4T file Pres. Politics

THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1963

Two Kennedys Urge Washington Youths To Remain in School

WASHINGTON, June 5 (UPI) —Two Kennedy brothers today led a group of prominent speakers into the Washington slum areas in an effort to persuade young people to stay in school.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, addressed students at two junior high schools as part of a massive Administration attack on juvenile delinquency and the related problem of dropouts from school.

The Kennedy brothers were joined by Senator Paul Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, Education Commissioner Francis Keppel, Senator George McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, United States Information Chief Edward R. Murrow and Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall.

The talks were part of a plan by the Attorney General to get Administration officials into the field in tackling the delinquency problem. The Attorney General hoped the display of big names would show the students "someone is interested in their problems," a Justice Department spokesman said.

The Attorney General told students at Hart Junior High School in southeast Washington that young people who dropped out of school not only earned less than those who finished but often found it hard to get jobs.

Senator Kennedy spoke to students at Terrell Junior High School and Paul Junior High. Most of the schools visited by the Administration officials are Negro schools.

N4T 6-5-63
Pres. Politics

Civil Rights Program

The explosiveness of civil rights as a political issue explains President Kennedy's caution in submitting to Congress his proposals for stronger laws against racial discrimination. The President is understandably eager to line up maximum advance support—North and South, Democratic and Republican, public and private. The President has to guard against too greatly diluting his proposals in the effort to appease those who want no real extension of Federal authority to implement constitutional guarantees.

The principal goal of the President's bills is to ban racial exclusion in stores, hotels, restaurants, theaters and other businesses involved in interstate commerce. A program to speed the pace of school desegregation also is reported to be under consideration. Both approaches are desirable complements to the Supreme Court's recent decisions emphasizing the primacy of Federal rule in protecting civil rights in these fields.

Even if it is accepted in toto, it is improbable that the President's program will eliminate demonstrations or discontent. The danger of more violence will be vastly increased, however, if the Negroes become convinced that the program has been watered down and that the President is not wholeheartedly committed to its adoption as a matter of moral right, rather than of politics.

Under these circumstances, it is unfortunate that the President has decided to delay the submission of his bills until next week. It is doubly unfortunate that he will be away in Europe at a crucial stage in the mobilization of national opinion in support of a strong program. For reasons given above, the state of affairs overseas makes this an inopportune time for Mr. Kennedy to go. The fatefulness of the debate over civil rights makes it a critical time for him to stay.

Measure Sought To Ease Tension

Atla Journal pl. 6-6-63

Pres. Politics

By MARGARET SHANNON

Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 6—The Kennedy administration has made a command decision on civil rights legislation. It plans an all-out fight for new laws to meet Negro demands.

The present activity and build-up therefore are no feint. There are good and authoritative reasons to believe that this is the real thing.

The administration is known to believe that it must move to ease racial tensions and curb Negro demonstrations before tragic violence occurs.

The Kennedys are said to feel it is important for the South to recognize that changes must come. The question, then, is how.

The choice as the administration sees it, is between relatively peaceful transition or continued struggle, perhaps even bloody fighting.

PRESIDENT Kennedy and his right hand man in civil rights matters, Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, expect a tough fight in Congress, especially in the Senate. They can cite Georgia—despite Albany—as an example of how a state can cope progressively with racial change. They regard the "moderate" as the comer in politics in Georgia and other areas in the South.

But after a conference last week with key senators, including Georgia's Richard B. Russell, the attorney general is said to have concluded that Sen. Russell has not been overwhelmed by the New Look in politics in Georgia.

PRESIDENT Kennedy will send legislation to Congress, probably next week, to:

(1) Give the Justice Department greater jurisdiction in speeding school desegregation.

(2) Prevent racial discrimination in public accommodations such as theaters, hotels and restaurants, through use of federal authority over interstate commerce.

The administration does not expect changes to come overnight in racial patterns in schools and public accommodations in the South. It hopes Negro leaders will exhibit more patience, however, if the legislation passes.

The Kennedy's are realists enough to know that the federal government cannot desegregate all the schools in the South unless it is ready to occupy the South with military forces — and of course there is no such thought.

There is calculated risk in the drive for legislation. Besides what the controversy may do for the rest of the administration's legislative program, failure to get new civil rights laws might inflame Negroes anew.

Mr. Kennedy was reported not to have noticed any weakening in Sen. Russell's long stand against civil rights legislation.

Sen. Russell is leader of the group of Southern senators who traditionally filibuster against such bills. The conference apparently produced no signs that the attorney general was able to bring the Georgian around to his way of thinking on anything.

THE KENNEDY decision to push for civil rights legislation is a change of pace—and an admission in itself that the approach of conciliation and negotiation is not a complete success.

The administration is in a bind, partly of its own making. It was so confident for so long that it could handle the racial crisis with talk that the failure of its methods is quite a jolt.

The Kennedy's now think they have no choice except to go through with the legislative efforts. The social and political consequences of doing nothing are regarded as worse than the consequences of trying to do something.

The administration has backed off from direct action in some areas of segregation—mainly in public accommodation—by saying it does not have authority to end discrimination. Now, after almost two and a half years in office, it is being taunted with the accusation it hasn't even asked for legislation to give it the authority it complains of not having.

THE PLAN is to continue present efforts, as well as to seek new

Turn to Page 8, Column 4

RIGHTS

Continued From Page 1

legislation. President Kennedy may take to television to promote racial progress and peace.

Behind-the-scenes efforts to get private business to lower racial barriers and provide new opportunities for Negro employment will continue and will be stepped up.

A new series of developments has given the Negro drive for rights a momentum that the administration thinks cannot be ignored.

The success of demonstrations in forcing action, competition between Negro organizations for leadership and recognition and the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision all have figured in the picture.

THE ADMINISTRATION is particularly fearful that Negro activities may break out all over the country—especially in the North, where the administration believes actually that the local people are less adequately prepared to deal with the situation than in many Southern communities.

The role of Martin Luther King Jr. of Atlanta is regarded by the Kennedys as a fortunate circumstance because of his non-violent approach.

CALIFORNIA EYED FOR GOLDWATER

Atla. Journal 6-6-63

Pres. Politics

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, June 6 (AP) — Former Sen. William F. Knowland's prediction that Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., could carry California may alter the odds in the 1964 GOP presidential nomination derby.

Goldwater, who insists he isn't competing for the nomination, expressed surprise at Knowland's designation of him as the "likely" choice to be the party's standard bearer next year.

"That's further than he has ever gone before," Goldwater told a reporter. The Arizona senator declined additional comment.

Knowland won enthusiastic applause when he told Los Angeles County Young Republicans Tuesday he believes Goldwater could carry California and win the presidency.

THERE HAS BEEN increasing speculation that Knowland, who surrendered his Senate seat and his post as minority leader for an unsuccessful try for the California governorship in 1958, may try to head up a party unity slate of convention delegate candidates in the state primary a year from now.

Goldwater said he knew nothing about that except that he personally had tried to get Knowland interested in running against Democratic Sen. Clair Engle in 1964 and hadn't succeeded.

Mrs. Knowland was said to be opposing the return of her husband, now an executive of the Oakland Tribune, to political life. However, a contest for election as a convention delegate might fall in a different category.

THE 86-VOTE California delegation could hold the key to the 1964 nomination. Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon predicted recently that the man who won the state's primary would be the nominee.

A slate committed to Knowland as a favorite son would give Goldwater's backers hope of gaining California's support.

The prize is particularly attractive to those who are booming Goldwater. As of now the Arizona senator has some solid support in the South, Midwest and West, but lacks any big state backing.

If Goldwater had California behind him, his rooters think he could match New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller's convention strength and by such a showing pick up support from fence-sitting delegates waiting for the bandwagon to roll.

Horse Bettors Fined

NEW ORLEANS, June 6 (AP)— A federal judge has fined three men a total of $4,000 for conspiring to defraud the government of taxes on long-distance telephone calls in connection with a nationwide horse betting operation.

Atla. Journal 6-5-63

Kennedy 'Watchdog' Hits RFK's Sons' School

BATON ROUGE, La., June 5 (AP)—Rep. Wellborn Jack, a Caddo Parish segregationist, serves as a one-man legislative watchdog on the doings of the Kennedys.

They're a frequent target of his wrath.

He got up and told the Louisiana House that Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy has applied to a private, segregated school in Maryland for admission of his three eldest sons.

"I called the cook at the school to find out that there are not any Negro boys in the school," the legislator said.

Jack quoted from a news story that said Kennedy had applied for admission of his sons in the Landon School for Boys in Bethesda, Md., near Washington.

"The story says that there was no immediate information available on whether the Landon school had any Negro students," Jack explained. "I knew I couldn't get any information from the school master, so I placed a long-distance call to the cook."

formal consent.

Atla. Journal 6-6-63

Pres. Politics

'RFK's Sons Won't Go To Landon

WASHINGTON, June 6 (AP)—Atty. Gen. and Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy are hunting for a new school to send their three older boys to, but on second thought have decided against a private boarding school which has no Negro pupils.

The boys now attend Our Lady of Victory, a racially integrated Roman Catholic school in the District of Columbia.

An official of the Landon School for boys in suburban Bethesda, Md., disclosed Saturday that Kennedy had applied for admission for the three boys and that Robert Jr., 9, had gone so far as to take the school's entrance test. The examinations for Joseph, 10, and David, 7, were put off because of mumps, he said.

Landon's headmaster said the school has no Negro pupils but does have a policy against barring any boy because of race or religion. The boarding school, he said, has a long waiting list and bases admission on competitive examinations.

A spokesman for the attorney general said the Kennedys haven't made up their minds about where the boys will be enrolled but that Landon is no longer under consideration.

Red China Calls Kennedy Racist; Steps Up Attacks on Negro Issue

Pres. Debbie 4-4T 6-6-63

By JACQUES NEVARD

Special to The New York Times

HONG KONG, June 5—Communist China stepped up its efforts today to use the United States racial crisis to spread anti-Americanism in underdeveloped nations.

To embellish its version of events in the American South in the last two months, Peking cast the Kennedy Administration as "an upholder of racial discrimination." It said the Administration was "chiefly responsible for the anti-Negro violence now afflicting the United States."

President Kennedy and his Administration were accused of racist policies against which, it was said, "awakening" Negroes were struggling. That accusation appeared in the Jenmin Jihpao (People's Daily), Communist China's principal propaganda paper.

Mocks 'Hollow Slogans'

"It is significant that the Kennedy Administration shows up for what it is on this domestic issue of racism, just when it is going all out to force its way into Africa under the hollow slogans of 'democracy and freedom,'" the paper said.

In an article signed "Commentator," the paper asserted:

"President Kennedy plays a despicable role in the racial discrimination and persecution in the United States. The high-sounding promises which he made to the Negroes before his accession to power turned out to be nothing but a cheap hoax. Since he was sworn in, he has done nothing to better the predicament in which American Negroes find themselves."

It charged that Mr. Kennedy "has persistency refused to take effective action against the atrocities committed by the local authorities and racist thugs."

Hypocrisy Charged

The battle for equal rights being waged by American Negroes, it said, "is a fresh reminder to the people of the whole world of the hypocrisy of the United States, and serves to expose the Kennedy Administration's reactionary character and its duplicity."

The People's Daily charged that America's "ruling class" has historically called for the subjugation of Negroes. Even today, it said, "cheap manpower provided by Negroes remains a principal source of profit for Wall Street."

The article went on:

"In addition, the monopolists can use discrimination against the Negroes to stir up racial conflicts, thereby driving a wedge between black and white working people, reducing their class strength in face of the ruling class.

"That is why, in the last analysis, the Kennedy Administration, like its predecessors, does all it can to maintain and encourage the system of racial discrimination."

N.Y.T. 6-6-63

U.S. Allots 2.5 Million to Tutor Negro Pupils in Virginia County

Pres. Politics

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 5—The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has opened an intensive, five-year "catch-up" program of basic education for about 1,500 Negro children in Prince Edward County, Va.

Local authorities in Prince Edward have abandoned public education rather than submit to integration orders of the Federal courts.

The National Institute of Mental Health, one of the department's research agencies, will approve a $2,500,000 grant this week to a private specialist in theories of rapid learning.

His job will be to teach illiterate Negro children, some of whom have reached the age of 10 without ever being in a classroom, to read and write at a sixth-grade level.

The specialist is Dr. Myron Woolman, director of the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., of Washington. He will have $600,000 at his disposal for the first year of an elaborate program that is expected to call for temporary classrooms in Prince Edward, either in prefabricated buildings or trailers.

Trained Missile Crews

Dr. Woolman said he would have classrooms facilities ready and teachers at work by Aug. 1.

He has used what he calls "conceptual" teaching methods to train Nike missile operators for the Air Force and employes of the Bell Telephone Laboratories.

Recently he also succeeded in teaching "untrainable" retarded children to read and write in Washington and Baltimore.

Dr. Woolman said the success of this experiment had been "rapturous." He expects similar results from "normal but educationally deprived children" in Virginia.

The $2,500,000 grant marks the first time the Government has acted to provide for the education of children deprived of schooling because of resistance to Federal court integration orders. Prince Edward is the only locality in the United States that has closed all public schools to prevent integration.

Reading Method Described

Both Dr. Woolman and Federal scientists who supported the grant stressed that it was "purely for scientific research."

Dr. Woolman's "progressive choice reading method," for example, is still carefully described as "experimental" despite its apparent success.

Fundamentally, the method is a highly complex departure from other "easy" or "high speed" reader training methods.

In an interview, Dr. Woolman stressed repeatedly that his wor would be "pure science," and that he would not engage in a "political or emotional tug-of-war."

However, a high Federal official conceded that there was "a delicate precedent" involved in introducing what amounts to a Federally sponsored school program into Virginia.

This spokesman said the Kennedy Administration had been "scratching around for ways to act on our very deep concern for these children." He went on:

This program is clearly within the framework of our authority. It is a scientific opportunity and we are playing it deadpan."

Termed Inevitable

At a news conference in Richmond today, Gov. Albertis S. Harrison said it was "inevitable that someone" would have to go into Prince Edward and "do some remedial work."

The Governor said he had hoped that this would be done "at the state or local level, but for reasons that everyone knows, it was not." He did not elaborate.

A spokesman for the National Association of Colored People in Richmond said he welcomed the move, adding: "It is what we have been asking for."

Other Federal programs may follow in Prince Edward. The United States Office of Education has already awarded a $75,000 grant to the University of Michigan for a survey of the country's educational needs.

Senators Debating Unpledged Electors

Atla. Const, 6-6-62

Pres. Politics

By REG MURPHY
Constitution Political Editor

National politicians fretted Wednesday over Georgia's unpledged electors law—a law which expired in 1962 and apparently won't be revived.

Political sources said Georgia will operate under a law which provides that the names of the candidates for each party "may" be placed on the ballot with the names of the electors.

In 1960, the names did not appear and for a while Gov. Ernest Vandiver leaned toward unpledged electors before pledging his loyalty and speaking for President John F. Kennedy at Warm Springs.

But in other Southern states, particularly Alabama and Mississippi, drives already are under way to keep their electors unpledged. Both gave some electoral votes to Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia in 1960.

The national concern cropped up again when Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee headed a Senate committee's investigation into possible constitutional amendments to stop Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi from denying Kennedy some of the South's electoral votes next year.

Kefauver said he thought the country ought to be concerned that Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi have adopted laws that have "taken away even any moral obligation for presidential electors to vote for party nominees."

SIMILAR MEASURES

He noted that similar measures have been approved by one house of the Florida and Louisiana legislatures.

Sen. Barry Goldwater then said that if Southern states want to choose unpledged electors in the 1964 presidential contest there is no reason why they shouldn't.

Goldwater, being pushed by conservatives as a potential candidate for next year's Republican nomination, said in Washington that he favors "modernization" of the electoral college but favors retention of state control over the choice of electors."

"If some of the states want to choose unpledged electors, that is their business," Goldwater said. He added he would oppose a constitutional amendment which would "permit the federal government to dictate how the states select their electors."

BASIC APPEAL

Ironically, it is this very fear of unpledged electors that Goldwater's supporters fear worst.

They reason that unpledged electors could take away his basic appeal and cause him to have a much harder time winning Southern states.

"What we don't need right now is splinter parties," said a Georgia Republican Wednesday.

At the Georgia Capitol, meanwhile, it was considered virtually certain that Gov. Carl Sanders would not move to get Georgia back into the unpledged electors business.

His relations with the Kennedy administration have been close, and State Democratic Party Chairman J. B. Fuqua has said Georgia will go strongly for Kennedy in 1964.

NYT
Pres. Deletes

, JUNE 6, 1963.

In The Nation

Rationing the Ban on Discrimination

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, June 5—If the published forecasts of the Administration's new equal-rights legislation are borne out by the text, it will differ more fundamentally from the Dodd-Cooper bill than in the smaller scope of its ban on service discrimination by privately owned facilities of public accommodation.

The other basic difference is that the Administration bill invokes a stated legal power, the Dodd-Cooper measure invokes a moral principle the Supreme Court has invested with the force of law.

The Senators' thesis enables them to found their legislation on the argument that if, as the Supreme Court has ruled, racial discrimination is unconstitutional where state power (which includes licensing and other official "authorization") is present, a ban on it must apply to every privately owned facility of public accommodation. And since the source of this Supreme Court ruling is the Fourteenth Amendment, the Senators' proposed legislation is offered as an enforcement of that Article.

The Administration bill, as forecast, is founded on another part of the Constitution that is limited as a grant of Congressional power—the Interstate Commerce Clause. To invoke it against commercial practices not forbidden by a state, or specifically protected by state law, these practices must be shown to have some significant effect, such as imposing some burden, on interstate commerce by size, etc. Because of founding the proposed private business, anti-discrimination, legislation on this clause of the Constitution, the Administration is enabled to exclude small private business units on the ground that their transactions have no effect on interstate

of public accommodation.

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The Supreme Court from time to time has both expanded and contracted the sweep of the commerce clause. In Justice Reed's 1940 decision in the so-called New River case, for instance, there is a passage which the Administration could rely on to assure the constitutionality of related legislation in any form Congress might choose, including the limited antidiscrimination ban forecast as the proposal of President Kennedy. "The Congressional authority under the commerce clause," wrote Justice Reed for a large Court majority, "is complete unless limited by the Fifth Amendment." And this Amendment, forbidding among other things the taking of private property for public use without just compensation, is not involved in any way in the Administration proposal.

Grounds for a Test

But there also is much material in Supreme Court decisions since 1949 for an attack on the over-all constitutionality of a limited ban on discrimination by private owners of public accommodation facilities. If Congress should so legislate under its powers over interstate commerce, a test in the courts conceivably might come from both sides of the issue over the rights of use of private property. Opponents of any restraint could assail the statute on a constitutional argument the Court has yet to resolve. Opponents of restraint which does not apply to everybody could base their attack on interpretations the Court already has made.

But two things are clear. The Administration bill is an adaptation of law to considerations of enforceability, hence of public policy. The measures proposed by Senators Cooper and Dodd, and in somewhat different form by many Republican legislators, are projections of a moral principle to which the Supreme Court has given increasing weight as the law of the land.

"The position, stated to me by private property owners of these facilities," said Senator Cooper today, "is that they want their antidiscrimination responsibilities made clear and applicable to all. The Administration bill does not go to the moral root of the issue."

It does, however, conform in concept to the gradualism with which the Supreme Court enlarged Federal controls over minimum wages and other labor standards in the states. Therefore, it is as "practical" in law as it very plainly is in 1964 Presidential politics.

Sixth. The fourth phase would be the selection of the ones who would make the trip. This could work as follows: NASA would select a group—say, six—any of whom would be acceptable. The panel would then make the final selection of the three that they felt would be the best scientific observers.

Their lunar observations could be the source of data to help guide a decision as to just what scientific specialty should make future trips. In addition their scientific contribution could well start the ball rolling on just what kind of science training interplanetary travel will require. Changes in our university science training and curriculum course content is a definite possibility.

Even if this exact procedure were not followed, at least the panel could have a significant voice in the selection of members of the moon expedition so that the relative scientific standing of the candidate would be one of the factors taken into consideration in the final selection.

Seventh. Finally, the panel could conduct followup studies of the quality of the actual observations in an effort to revise and improve an on-going training program for future astronauts.

The key feature of the proposal is, of course, that the scientists themselves would be given a definite responsibility in the selection of the lunar explorers without in any way diminishing NASA's responsibilities and authority to select astronauts on the basis of other important criteria.

Within the scientific community, there also is debate over manned versus unmanned probes, with some members suggesting that instruments are a cheaper and more reliable information system than man.

Other scientists have pointed out that the presence of man is essential for the detection of unexpected phenomena, and that the existence of anything that can be measured automatically is essentially already known before the instrument can be designed.

In fact, President Kennedy's recommendation that the United States undertake manned lunar exploration as a national goal within this decade was based in part on a 1961 report of the Space Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences which said:

> U.S. scientific exploration on the moon and the planets should be clearly stated as the ultimate objective of the U.S. space program. From a scientific standpoint, there seems little room for dissent that man's participation in the exploration of the moon and the planets will be essential.
>
> Man can contribute critical elements of scientific judgment and discrimination in conducting the scientific exploration of those bodies which can never be fully supplied by his instruments however complex and sophisticated they may become.

What appears to be happening in the scientific community is an understandable expression of parochial interest by some members. A researcher in one area of science may feel that his discipline is being neglected while another area is receiving too large a share of support. Any scientist who is worth his salt should be an advocate for his own discipline. This is a never ending conflict, but I believe it is resolved when a group can establish in the mind of the Government that the basic scientific content of the cause it espouses is sound and has met the test of peers and not only requires, but deserves, greater support. This has been the case in medical research, in atomic energy, and other fields, and I think I can say safely that it will one day be so in such areas as weather modification and oceanography. We should not operate on the possibility that the squeaky wheel will get the grease—we do not want to put science on the same kind of dole merely to meet the protests. We should support specific scientific programs when convinced of their contribution to society.

I believe the scientists who have views on the space program should be provided with a national forum. Since the Congress is charged with the responsibility of authorizing the space program and appropriating funds to sustain it, the Congress seems to me to be an appropriate setting for airing these views. Accordingly, Mr. President, the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee plans to invite eminent scientists from various disciplines and leaders of the academic community to appear for a 2-day hearing at the time the committee takes up the 1964 NASA authorization bill. Our intention is to have these scientists fully briefed by the NASA officials responsible for the programs in which the scientists have a special interest. In that way, the scientists will be brought current with NASA activities and they will then be in a position to speak with both the knowledge of their own disciplines as well as the NASA programs where their special interests lie.

PROPAGANDA

The document strongly implies that the moon program is little more than a headline-grabbing exercise. It quotes anonymous advocates of the program as justifying the massive effort as a preventative to the West's suffering "permanent and traumatic" shock if the Russians arrive first. Of course, Mr. President, there would be disappointment, dismay, and perhaps disillusionment in that event. Such is the human psychology.

But the report continues that those who champion the propaganda argument say that "the same thing would be true of the Communist bloc should the United States be first."

That conclusion does not necessarily follow. The Soviets are the avowed challenger for world superiority. I strongly suspect that the onus of being second best in the moon competition would fall far more heavily on American shoulders than on those of the Communists because they are recognizably starting from a more modest industrial and technological base.

Any slowdown in our Nation's space programs would certainly afford great comfort to our enemies and spread dismay among our friends overseas. To slacken the space effort after having accepted publicly on a national basis the Soviet challenge would open us to accusations of lack of firmness and resolution regarding national goals. We would have looked fine in the dash, but not in the long-distance run. The United States could be branded as another example of a great nation which had passed its prime and was too effete to endure even nominal belt tightening in order to remain the lead nation in the free world. A general impression of this kind overseas would be disastrous to prestige.

Mr. President, I do not believe in a government policy of bread and circuses. It is true that the attention of the world has been captured by the activities of men in space. This is not surprising. The courage of men and the mustering of vast armies of scientists and technicians is inherently dramatic. When men do what Astronaut Cooper and Cosmonaut Gagarin have done the eyes and ears of the world are tuned to their feats. We all remember Lindbergh and the tumultous reception he received on both sides of the Atlantic. More importantly, however, we should recognize that the headlines have come only because we have accomplished something. If this is called propaganda, our information policies only are accepted if those who are on the receiving end and believe that they represent the truth and a factual account of events.

American standing abroad based on the gains made by the space program is remarkably high. Some evidence of this is afforded in the United Nations where not only United States allies, but the neutrals as well, have consistently backed our policies on space in opposition to the Soviet Union. Indeed, the Soviet Union has become isolated in the United Nations in its insistence on secrecy of its space activities. In contrast, the U.S. space policy has emphasized the open and cooperative exploitation of space for peaceful purposes. In implementing its cooperative space program the United States is holding joint experiments with and training people from over 60 foreign countries. The U.S. space effort is providing this country with a foreign policy asset of major significance.

In 1958, President Eisenhower declared:

> There is the factor of national prestige. To be strong and bold in space technology will enhance the prestige of the United States among the peoples of the world and create added confidence in our scientific, technological, industrial, and military strength.

If prestige has no importance then why is the U.S. Information Agency asking for $146,550,000 for the coming fiscal year?

TECHNOLOGICAL FALLOUT

NASA is making an active and continuing effort to identify benefits to the economy resulting from the U.S. space program. As new industrial products, processes and techniques are discovered, NASA is trying to disseminate information about them to bureaus and industry as rapidly as it can.

The active effort to seek out such benefits is bound to produce results in view of the magnitude, range and duration of the U.S. space program. The requirements for space exploration run through

file Pres. Politics

the gamut of scientific and technological interests. They also impinge on an tend to stretch the state of the art in many fields. This combination of circumstances is bound to result in new manufacturers, new systems of organization, new products and services.

Let us look at just an example. By extending man's vision into new dimensions through satellites, weather forecasting will make major advances as a science, until reliable predictions can be made a season ahead. This goal, which is not being impaired because of Apollo, will have far-reaching economic benefits for all. The Tiros satellites have been giving us very good weather data for over a year. These are some estimates of cost savings based on accurate prediction of weather only 5 days in advance: $2½ billion a year in agriculture, $45 million in the lumber industry, $100 million in surface transportation, $75 million in retail marketing, $4 billion in water resources management.

These estimates are for the United States alone. Worldwide savings would be many times greater.

In touching on the strides in communications technology resulting from the space program, the report declares:

> The facts which we learn in this research will ultimately benefit the homeowner who wants to telephone the grocery store.

That may be so. We are developing new systems and I cannot say that the statement is in error.

But, I can say that it represents an exceedingly myopic view of the unlimited possibilities on the frontiers of communications.

We will possess extraordinary instruments for communicating not so much with the corner grocery but the far corners of the world. A means will be in our hands to provide basic education—and in stages, more advanced knowledge—to millions of people in the back waters of development. It is not difficult to imagine this taking place. The progress being made in educational television in the United States in only the last few years offers a measure of comparison.

The report says that most of the scientific data acquired from the Mariner II shot to Venus has not been disseminated.

Only NASA scientists had access to this information to date.

Mr. President, mountains of data were telemetered back from the Mariner II shot last December, and this data is being carefully examined. Since this was a NASA experiment, the NASA scientists are obligated to provide interested people outside the Agency with accurate information and so they must ascertain that the information is accurate. This is not an attempt at secrecy rather it illustrates a most critical problem throughout science. And that is, how to most rapidly disseminate accurate data resulting from an experiment before the information becomes obsolete and valueless. This problem grows with intensity and NASA is one of the Government agencies attempting to work out at least partial remedies.

Mr. President, I have taken a good deal of time to discuss the space program and the criticism directed at its various aspects in the hope that a little more light could be shed on the problem. The Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee certainly is aware of this criticism. The committee is concerned about manpower and it is taking a serious look into NASA's various programs in support of higher education. The question of whether there should or should not be another orbital flight in the Mercury program is under discussion within the administration will be subject to discussion by the committee as well. Reports of duplication of facilities have com to the attention of the committee and we have called on the most qualified persons we should to assist in the examination of this matter.

But, I do not believe that we should lose sight of the forest for the trees. Space is a place. It is through this Nation's scientific exploration we now know of such phenomena as solar winds and radiation belts. We have an idea of the cloud cover and the temperature of Venus. Those of us who only stand on the fringe of scientific knowledge still appreciate that this place called space is a new sea whose shores are not completely chartered, whose depth remains largely unmeasured, and whose significance wil best be understood by generations yet to come.

As surely as the ancient mariners ventured across unmapped seas, as certainly as explorers opened our own West, and men established bases at the barren and inhospitable poles, we are going to continue this bold journey through space with all of its direct and side benefits to this generation and those which come after.

WORLD REACTION TO BIRMINGHAM RIOTS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, two current surveys of world opinion have demonstrated the widespread reaction to the Birmingham riots. As might be expected, they show that the Communist-bloc countries, led by the Soviet Union, had a field day with the Birmingham situation and continued their attacks on the United States long after the situation had come under control. There can be no question that, even in friendly countries, the prestige of the United States suffered as a result of the conflict.

What is clearly evident is that we are on trial before the world. If we do something about the situation effectively, we shall not be materially damaged; but if we do not take action, we shall be irremediably hurt in our struggle for freedom.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the review of world opinion collected by the USIA on May 13 and 15, 1963, and the survey conducted by newspaper correspondents which was published in the Washington Post of May 27, 1963.

There being no objection, the review and survey were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMARY

Light to moderate coverage of Birmingham developments continues, with some slackening of the already scanty editorial comment. There has been no reportage on foreign press coverage of the bombings and resulting riots, but coverage will undoubtedly be paced by sensationalized headlines and pictorial treatment, staples in critical reaction to events so far. The possibility of Federal intervention to prevent further violence is likely to be met with approval.

Available reaction from south Asia, the Middle East and the Far East dropped sharply over the weekend, though it may pick up following the riots. These areas have shown a relatively balanced portrayal of the current racial tension, with many reports noting progress in race relations made over the years.

African media, however, have devoted a large volume of comment and reportage to Birmingham, with Ghanaian comment being especially critical and caustic. But potential critical comment in other countries of Africa has not materialized to any degree, with only some sensational headlines and photos marring what otherwise is surprisingly moderate and balanced reporting. Cumulatively, though, there is no doubt that pictures of police brutality, particularly the use of police dogs, has militated strongly against the U.S. image.

Wide coverage has been given events by the Latin American media, but only the leftist and Communist press have given sensational treatment to the news.

West European press treatment has also been surprisingly mild and understanding. There has been relatively little evidence of a desire to mock at the U.S. predicament. The West European press and a few leading papers elsewhere in the world have been among the first to note the new meanings in racial events in the United States—the stepped-up Negro expectations, the choice between violence and nonviolence, the swing of majority U.S. opinion behind integration.

Most comment throughout the world has shown a reluctance to understand or realize why the Federal Government has stayed out of Birmingham events, and has been critical of President Kennedy personally. A few papers have reported the behind-the-scenes activities for a peaceful settlement spearheaded by the administration, but there has been more frequent reference to alleged political reasons behind the President's failure to intervene. The President's good faith is certain to be applauded in reaction to weekend events, however.

Propaganda exploitation from Moscow, slow to develop, began to hit high C over the weekend, particularly in output to Africa. In addition to citing the Birmingham events as a blot on the U.S. image, Moscow propaganda depicted the administration's reluctance to protect Negro rights at home as evidence of colonial-mindedness.

SOVIET UNION

The moderate attention devoted to the Birmingham situation during the past week has turned into voluminous propaganda over the weekend. Soviet media heavily exploited Birmingham incidents, depicting them as a blot on the U.S. image. In prominent news coverage and commentary to world audiences, with emphasis on Africa, Soviet output made extensive use of the theme that the Birmingham racial "atrocities" belie U.S. democracy. It also used stereotyped propaganda depictions of the unequal, poor lot of American Negroes. Another propaganda tack consisted of attacks on alleged Federal inaction, as Moscow ignored the behind-the-scenes activity efforts at conciliation. The administration's "reluctance" to protect Negro rights at home, in Moscow's view, was evidence that U.S. foreign policy favors colonialism and domination over other peoples, and some commentators stated that the administration was concerned over the next election, and hence did not wish to spoil its chances for

the southern vote. Related output also noted unfavorable world reaction to the events, including condemnations by Soviet citizens and U.S. popular indigation and concern. Commentaries, especially those designed for consumption in the underdeveloped areas, linked racism in the United States with the alleged U.S. policy of colonialism.

Early Soviet reaction to the weekend bombings referred to the President's concern, but noted that he still "did not condemn at all the resolute racist terror." One available comment seemed to be enamored of the possibility of further clashes, stating that "the American Negro population is determined to take the struggle for their rights to its victorious conclusion."

REACTION TO RACIAL TENSION IN BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Scattered reports from most regions indicate increased coverage of the bombings and the alerting of troops but comment, while light, generally supports the administration while attacking extremists of both sides for blocking a peaceful solution. Soviet and local Communist media continue their heavy exploitation of the issue.

In Western Europe, the issue is again front-page news and extensive comment (the United Kingdom, France, Germany) blames extremists on both sides while applauding administration efforts to achieve a peaceful solution.

The Far East reports increased coverage but light comment in support of the dispatch of troops. Meanwhile Peiping and local Communist media continue to sensationalize developments.

In the Near East and South Asia, moderate to light news coverage is being maintained but there is little available comment. Three Indian English-language papers, while tending to support the President's military alert, suggest that political considerations have prevented the decisive action which was taken in the Meredith case.

In Africa, there is declining coverage and only light comment as interest turns to the African summit meeting.

Latin America reports moderate coverage and light comment which contrast with sustained local Communist exploitation.

The U.S.S.R. continues heavy exploitation. One quarter of Moscow Radio's output on May 14 was devoted to U.S. racial discrimination.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 27, 1963]

GLOBAL NEWS RESTRAINT ON BIRMINGHAM SHOWN

Worldwide reaction to the Birmingham riots shows a new level of understanding abroad toward America's racial troubles and wide sympathy with President Kennedy's efforts to deal with them.

This trend, especially in race-sensitive Africa and India, became evident in a survey conducted by correspondents for the Washington Post and Newsweek magazine.

The racial violence in Birmingham was page-1 news around the world and although the tone of criticism was generally moderate, the Alabama situation obviously hurt U.S. prestige. If U.S. image makers had hoped that the Nation's latest space feat would eclipse the specter of bigotry in Birmingham, they were rudely disappointed.

Pictures of police dogs lunging at Negroes vied with photos of Astronaut Gordon Cooper's space capsule on front pages throughout the world.

AFRICAN PRAISE

Nevertheless, in Addis Ababa, for example, leaders of 30 African states adopted a declaration Sunday condemning racism but praising the Kennedy administration for its efforts to "put an end to these intolerable malpractices" in the United States.

This mirrors the increasing tendency in Europe, India, and the Middle East to look at America's racial problems in their full complexity rather than in strictly monolithic terms.

Here is an area-by-area breakdown of reaction to the Birmingham crisis and the Cooper flight:

Egypt and the Middle East: Egyptian press reaction to Birmingham was surprisingly moderate, in sharp contrast to the day-in-day-out denunciations of the United States in recent times. Because Egypt's press is nationalized, the newspapers are presumed to reflect Government opinion.

The sharpest criticisms in the area were registered in the anti-American Al Baath, organ of the Baath Socialist Party which governs Syria and Iraq. It said Birmingham is reminiscent of policies followed by "some of the Fascist states against the Negroes in Africa."

One explanation for the restraint in Egyptian press commentary is the improvement of relations with the United States, of which Egyptian officials themselves speak. This is attributed to American economic aid, a more sympathetic attitude toward Arab unity and the personal diplomacy of Ambassador John Badeau.

Western diplomats believe the reaction to Alabama reflects a deliberate effort by President Gamal Abdel Nasser to minimize criticism of the United States at this time.

India: Indian reaction was symbolized by a front-page cartoon in the Hindustan Times which depicted the Statue of Liberty with a Ku Klux Klansman perched on her shoulder. The klansman was trying to snuff out the torch but it was kept ablaze, safely beyond his reach.

Public opinion in India has identified itself with President Kennedy as the embattled friend of the Negro. One Indian correspondent spoke with praise of the role of moderates in the racial crisis.

As a whole, Birmingham was given restrained news play, in sharp contrast to the angry criticism aroused by American race troubles a decade ago. Privately, however, Indian political leaders expressed a wish for a more militant policy by the White House in confronting the Birmingham crisis.

In both India and Pakistan there has been a remarkable lack of interest and controversy over Birmingham. The Pakistani newspaper, Dawn, reported President Kennedy's dispatching of troops to Alabama on page 8. In headline and tone, the treatment had been deadpan.

Africa: The declaration of praise at the Addis Ababa summit conference for President Kennedy's policies in Birmingham was the most recent official reaction to the U.S. racial crisis.

At a news conference in Addis Ababa yesterday, Sekou Toure, Premier of Guinea, told a news conference:

"We cannot say that the American people are racists—racism exists everywhere, even in Guinea.

"We know that in the United States a fight is being organized by the Government of President Kennedy. We approve without reserve of this policy of President Kennedy."

Toure's remarks take on added significance since Guinea was once described as the first Soviet satellite in Africa.

In sharp contrast was the gleeful account of Alabama's racial troubles in the press of white-ruled South Africa. Man-in-the-street interviews echoed the theme: "Why is the United States sticking he nose in South African apartheid (segregation) policy when she can't control her own Negroes?"

Jeeringly, South African newspapers referred to the United States as "the land of the free—except for the Negroes."

Europe: In the British press, the Birmingham disorders received fair to heavy play, with the southern city characterized as "the city of hate" and "riot city." Britons, who have their own growing agenda of racial problems, viewed the riots as a local rather than national failing. Editorialized the Daily Telegraph: "We (in England) have not yet reached a consistent national attitude to the color bar."

In Italy, the news from Birmingham was subordinate to domestic politics and the unsolved murder of a Bavarian playgirl in Rome's "dolce vita" area. The bulk of press opinion condemned "white extremists" in Alabama but endorsed the efforts of the Kennedy administration, as one newspaper put it, to promote the fulfillment of the justified aspirations of the Negro population." Only the Communist Daily Unita criticized President Kennedy for his "fainthearted" conduct in Alabama.

In Bonn, the Birmingham story received subdued news treatment, taking the backseat to the Cooper space flight. Editorially, the German newspaper reserved their criticisms for Birmingham's segregationist leaders and praised both moderates and the administration for their role in the crisis. But a 19-year-old secretary had this reaction: "Look who's talking about the way we treated the Jews. The way Americans suppress the Negroes, why we were no worse than they are now."

France, too, took a restrained view of the Birmingham racial conflict—far more so than in the case of Little Rock which precipitated a flood of protest letters to the American Embassy in Paris. This time France reacted with cool impartiality—no mass protests, anti-American newspaper crusades or heated attacks on radio. Pictures of police dogs mauling Negroes were widely published in France and evoked the strongest reaction to Birmingham's troubles. Generally, however, the French expressed the feeling that the Kennedy administration was doing its best to cope with a difficult situation.

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FALLOUT

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, earlier this afternoon the distinguished senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] submitted a resolution cosponsored by 30 Members of the Senate, of whom I am privileged to be one.

The resolution states:

It is the sense of the Senate that the United States should again offer the Soviet Union an immediate agreement banning all tests that contaminate the atmosphere or the oceans, bearing in mind that such tests can already be monitored by the United States without onsite inspections on Soviet territory.

That if the Soviet Union refuses to accede to such a first-step agreement, we commit ourselves before the world to conduct no nuclear tests in the atmosphere or underwater so long as the Soviet Union abstains from them.

That, in committing ourselves to such a moratorium, either unilaterally or by agreement, we keep the Soviet record of deceit and bad faith in mind, and maintain our testing facilities in a state of constant readiness so that the United States will never be caught unprepared should the Soviet Union suddenly resume nuclear testing in the atmosphere or underwater.

In making his presentation, the Senator from Connecticut said:

I consider it a great tragedy that we failed to make a ban on all tests that contaminate the atmosphere and the oceans our prime objective at Geneva. * * * Because of its very simplicity this proposal could and should have been made a test of Soviet good faith in the test-ban negotiations.

6-7-63
Pres. Politics

President Blamed by Rockefeller

(Copyright 1963 by the New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK — Gov. Nelson Rockefeller charged Thursday night that President John F. Kennedy's "vacillation and uncertainty" on Cuba and civil rights had "created two of the great crises of our time."

Rockefeller's attack on the President—made before nearly 3,000 cheering Republican leaders—was taken as further proof the governor regarded himself as a prime contender for the 1964 Republican presidential nomination.

NOTHING ALTERED

On Tuesday the governor declared that his recent marriage to the former Mrs. Margaretta Fitler Murphy had not in any way altered his position with respect to next year's presidential race.

The governor made his attack on the President at the annual fund-raising dinner of the Republican State Committee. Earlier, he presented his new bride to the 300 members of the committee at a reception and luncheon.

Thursday night's $100-a-plate GOP dinner served as a springboard for Sen. Kenneth B. Keating's campaign for re-election.

MAIN SPEAKER

The senator, a Rochester resident, was principal speaker. He attacked the Kennedy administration's policies but called on Republicans to provide alternative programs.

Rockefeller's charges against Kennedy were part of a passage in which he praised Keating. Referring to Keating as "the Paul Revere of the U.S. Senate," the governor declared:

"His timely warnings of the danger in Cuba alerted the nation—and the national administration. His years of work in the cause of human equality have won him the gratitude of Americans throughout the land."

GOVERNOR'S CHARGE

The governor said Keating's insistence that Soviet missiles were based in Cuba last year had forced the Kennedy administration to concede the presence of this nuclear striking force.

Rockefeller then charged that the President's "vacillation and uncertainty" on how to handle Cuba and the nation's growing civil rights problems had caused these two problems "to mushroom into two of the great crises of our times."

Will Fight Hard for Rights Bills

Atla. Const.
6-7-63
Pres. Pol.

By RAYMOND J. CROWLEY

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Kennedy administration hopes for a vast grass roots movement of racial conciliation to head off a possible wave of riots in the North and South this summer.

This word came Thursday from a source in close touch with administration planning.

President John F. Kennedy, this informant said, intends to fight hard for new civil rights legislation.

"It will be a tough fight," he said. "But we feel more people are aroused now and we have a greater chance of getting legislation than we had last year. At any rate, we can't just sit here and be impotent. We have to demonstrate we are acting."

UP TO LEADERS

But the federal government cannot do the job alone, he said. It is up to governors, mayors, clergymen, educators, newspaper publishers and other civic leaders to sit down with Negroes, demonstrate interest in their condition, and show them definite signs of progress.

Otherwise, the official said, things may get grim this summer. Students released from colleges and schools, and aroused by what they consider victories won in Birmingham and elsewhere by street demonstrations, may try the same tactic on a larger scale.

TINDER IN THE NORTH

In the South, he said, "White Only" signs will be a continual source of exacerbation to Negroes, a continual insult unless removed. But there is tinder also in the Negro ghettos of the North, he said.

For example, he mentioned that 17.8 per cent of the Negro population of Chicago is unemployed

Continued on Page 11, Column 1

President Asks Local Race Talks

Continued From Page 1

"and there obviously is going to be dissatisfaction there."

The dissatisfaction of the Negro North and South is deep and genuine," he said. "He wants the rights of full citizenship—and he wants them by yesterday."

And newspapers can play a great role, the official said. He said that, among others, newspapers in Atlanta, Nashville, Chattanooga and Anniston, Ala., had done fine work toward helping solve racial problems.

The administration source expressed the view that for southern political leaders, "the wave of the future" lies in being conciliatory, rather than extremist.

When asked whether Sen. Richard Russell, D-Ga., a leading Senate foe of civil rights legislation, is "responsive to this wave of the future," the administration man said:

"I don't think he is overwhelmed by it. He is a man of strong convictions and I haven't noticed any weakening.

"On the other hand, I don't think he is impressed too much by the way things have been handled by certain extremists in the South."

Walter Lippmann

Atl. Const.

A New Course On Race Issues

6-7-63

Pres. Politics

WASHINGTON—At long last, a President has recognized that the law of the land as defined by the courts must be enforced by executive action under a legislative mandate from the Congress. The Eisenhower policy, which was taken over by Kennedy, has been to leave the whole business to the courts.

The policy has worked badly, and now it has ended in a national crisis of law defiance. The legislation which the President will ask from Congress recognizes the principle of legislative and executive responsibility.

I wish one could say that now we are on the right track and all will be well. But we have to remember that the administration has been driven to take the right track by violence and the fear of more violence. It is the unhappy truth that the right national policy is being adopted not because it is right, not because it is wise to do justice, not because those in authority and the responsible leaders of opinion understood the growing desperation of the younger Negroes, but because the Negroes have gone into the streets to face the fire hoses and the dogs and the clubs.

It is a bad precedent in this dangerous age. There is only one way to erase the precedent so that we do not come to believe that the only way to change policy is not by reason and by law, but by violence. One way to prevent this is to make it quite clear that the President, on behalf of the nation, is resolutely in command of the enforcement of equal legal rights.

The evil precedent of violence as a way of progress will establish itself if now, when the legislation comes before Congress, there is any sign of a lack of resolution.

There is reason to think that American opinion has ripened to a point where the legislative battle in Congress might be won without a bruising and brutal sectional conflict. In the South, there is under the surface and breaking through it at many points a profound and beneficent upheaval of opinion. For in the South as elsewhere, there is arising a new and far-better-educated generation. They need and are entitled to have the protection and the support of unambiguous, unweaseled national leadership.

With the help of the new generation in the South and those of the old generation who have learned wisdom, it may be possible to resolve the legislative issues not by cloture and compulsion, but by the formation of a new national consensus.

N.Y.T 67-63
Pres. Politics

THE NEW YORK TIME

Transcript of Kennedy Address

Following is the text of President Kennedy's commencement address yesterday at San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif., as recorded by The New York Times, through the facilities of the American Broadcasting Company radio network:

I want to express a very strong sense of appreciation for the honor that you have given to me today. To be an instant graduate of this distinguished college is greatly appreciated, and I am delighted to participate in what is a most important ceremony in the lives of us all.

One of the most impressive, if not the most impressive accomplishments of this great Golden State has been the recognition by the citizens of this state of the importance of education as the basis for the maintenance of an effective free society.

This fact was recognized in our earliest beginnings at the Massachusetts Bay Colony. But I do not believe that any state in the Union has given more attention in recent years to educating its citizens—the highest level of the doctoral level, graduate level in the colleges, state colleges, the junior colleges, the high schools, the grade schools.

You recognize that a free society places special burdens upon any free citizen. To govern is to choose, and the ability to make those choices wise, and responsible, and prudent, requires the best of all of us.

No country can possibly move ahead, no free society can possibily be sustained, unless it has an educated citizenry whose qualities of mind and heart permit it to take part in the complicated and increasingly sophisticated decisions to pour not only upon the President and upon the Congress, but upon all the citizens who exercise the ultimate power.

Effort Is Cited

I'm sure that the graduates of this college recognize that the effort that the people of California, the Governor, the Legislature, the local communities, the faculties that this concentrated effort of mind and scholarship to educate the young citizens of this state has not been done merely to give this school's graduates an economic advantage in the life struggle.

Quite obviously, there is a higher purpose. And that is the hope that you will turn to the service of the state, the scholarship, the education, the qualities which societies have developed in you, that you render on the community level, or on the state level, or on the national level, or the international level, a contribution to the maintenance of freedom and peace, and the security of our country and those associated with it in a most critical time.

In so doing, you will follow a great and honorable tradition which combines American scholarship and American leadership in political affairs. It is an extraordinary fact of history, I think unmatched since the days of early Greece, that this country should have produced during its founding days in a population of a handful of millions such an extraordinary range of scholars and creative thinkers who helped build this country —Jefferson, Franklin, Morris, Wilson and all the rest.

'Great Tradition'

This is a great tradition which we must maintain in our times with increasing strength and increasing vigor.

The average salary for classroom teachers in California is $7,000, while in Mississippi it is $3,600.

Nearly three-quarters of the young white population of the United States have graduated from high school, but only about two-fifths of our non-white population has done the same.

In some states almost 40 per cent of the non-white population has completed less than five years of school, contrasted with 7 per cent of the white population.

In one American state over 36 per cent of the public school buildings are over 40 years of age. In another, only 4 per cent are that old.

Such facts as that one could prolong the recital indefinitely, make it clear that American children today do not yet enjoy equal educational opportunities for two primary reasons: One is economic, and the other is racial.

If our nation is to meet the goal of giving every American child a fair chance, because an uneducated American child makes an uneducated parent who produces, in many cases, another uneducated American child, we must move ahead swiftly in both areas.

And we must recognize that segregation in education — and I mean de facto segregation in the North as well as the proclaimed segregation in the South, brings with it serious handicaps to a large proportion of the population.

It does no good, as you in California know better than any, to say: "That is the business of another state."

It is the business of our country and in addition, these young uneducated boys and girls know no state boundaries as they come West as well as North and East. And they are your citizens as well as citizens of this country.

The second question relates to the quality of our education. Today one out of every three students in the fifth grades will drop out of high schools. And only two out of 10 will graduate from college.

In the meantime, we need more educated men and women and we need less and less unskilled labor. There are millions of jobs that will be available in the next seven years for educated young men and women. The demand will be overwhelming and there will be millions of people out of work who are unskilled because with new machines and technology there is less need for them.

This combination of a tremendously increasing population among our young people, of less need for unskilled labor, of increasingly unskilled labor available combines to form one of the most serious domestic problems that this country will face in the next ten years.

Of Americans 18 years of age or older, more than 23,000,000 have less than eight years of schooling and over 8,000,000 have less than five years. What kind of a citizen can we—what kind of judgment, what kind of response can we expect of a citizen who has been to school less than five years. And we've got in this country 8,000,000 who've been less than five years.

As a result, they can't read or write, or do simple arithmetic. They are illiterates in this rich country of ours and they constitute the hard core of our unemployed. They can't write a

just 100 years ago.

Our educational system is not expanding fast enough. By 1970 the number of students in our public elementary and secondary schools will have increased 25 per cent over 1960. Nearly three-quarters of a million new classrooms will be needed and we're not building them at that rate. By 1970 we will have 7,000,000 students in our colleges and universities —3,000,000 more than we do today. We are going to double the population of our colleges and universities in 10 years. We're going to have to build as many schools, college classrooms and buildings in 10 years as we did in 150 years.

By 1970, we will need 7,500 Ph.D.'s in the physical sciences, mathematics and engineering. In 1960 we graduated 3,000.

Such facts make it clear that we have a major responsibility and a major opportunity, one that we should welcome, because there is no greater asset in this country than an educated man or woman.

Education is the responsibility — education, quite rightly, is the responsibility —of the state and the local community. But from the beginning of our country's history, from the time of the Northwest Ordinance, as John Adams and Thomas Jefferson recognized, from the time of the Morrill Act at the height of the Civil War, when the land-grant college system was set up under the administration of President Lincoln, from the beginning it has been recognized that there must be a national commitment and that the national government must play its role in stimulating a system of excellence which can serve the great national purpose of a free society.

It is for that reason that we have sent to the Congress of the United States legislation to help meet the needs of higher education by assisting in the construction of college academic facilities and junior colleges and graduate centers and technical institutes, by stepping up existing programs for student loans and graduate fellow ships and other student assistance programs.

We've got to improve—and we have so recommended—the quality of our teachers by expanding teacher training institutes, by improving teacher preparation programs, by broadening educational research and by authorizing—and this is one of our greatest needs—increased training for teachers for the handicapped, for the deaf, for those who can't speak and those who are otherwise handicapped. And it's designed to strengthen public elementary and secondary education through grants to the states for better teacher salaries, to relieve critical classroom shortages, to meet the special educational problems of depressed areas and to continue and expand vocational education and counselling.

And finally, we must make a massive attack upon illiteracy in the year 1963 in the United States by an expansion of university extension courses and by a major effort to improve our libraries in every community of our country.

'Difficult Assignment'

I recognize that this represents a difficult assignment for us all but I don't think

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'Great Tradition'

This is a great tradition which we must maintain in our times with increasing strength and increasing vigor.

Those of you who are educated, those of us who recognize the responsibilities of an educated citizen, should now concern ourselves with whether we are providing an adequate education for all Americans, whether all Americans have an equal chance to develop their intellectual qualities and whether we are preparing ourselves today for the educational challenges which are going to come before this decade is out.

The first question, and the most important, is that every American boy and girl have an opportunity to develop whatever talents they have. All of us do not have equal talents but all of us should have an equal opportunity to develop those talents.

Let me cite a few facts to show that they do not. In this fortunate state of California the average current expenditure for a boy and girl in the public schools is $515, but in the State of Mississippi it is $230.

Salary Difference Noted

36 per cent of the public school buildings are over 40 years of age. In another, only 4 per cent are that old.

Such facts as that one could prolong the recital indefinitely, make it clear that American children today do not yet enjoy equal educational opportunities for two primary reasons: One is economic, and the other is racial.

If our nation is to meet the goal of giving every American child a fair chance, because an uneducated American child makes an uneducated parent who produces, in many cases, another uneducated American child, we must move ahead swiftly in both areas.

And we must recognize that segregation in education — and I mean de facto segregation in the North as well as the proclaimed segregation in the South, brings with it serious handicaps to a large proportion of the population.

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As a result, they can't read or write, or do simple arithmetic. They are illiterates in this rich country of ours and they constitute the hard core of our unemployed. They can't write a letter to get a job and they can't read, in many cases, a help-wanted sign.

Jobless Rate High

One out of every 10 workers who failed to finish elementary school are unemployed as compared to one out of 50. In short, our current educational programs, much as they represent a burden upon the taxpayers in this country, do not meet the responsibilities. The fact of the matter is that this is a problem which faces us all, no matter where we live, no matter what our political views must be.

Knowledge is power as Francis Bacon said 500 years ago, and today it is truer than it ever was.

What are we going to do by the end of this decade? There are 4,000,000 boys and girls born each year in the United States. Our population is growing each decade by a figure equal to the total population of this country at the time of Abraham Lincoln, years. We're going to have to build as many schools, college classrooms and buildings in 10 years as we did in 150 years.

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'Difficult Assignment'

I recognize that this represents a difficult assignment for us all but I don't think it's an assignment from which we should shrink.

I believe that education comes at the top of the responsibility of any government at whatever level. It is essential to our survival as a nation in a dangerous and hazardous world and it is essential to the maintenance of freedom at a time when freedom is under attack.

I have traveled in the last 24 hours from Washington to Colorado to Texas to here and on every street I see mothers standing with two or three or four children. They are going to pour into our schools and our colleges in the next 10 or 20 years and I want this generation of Americans to be prepared to meet this challenge as our forefathers did in making it possible for all of us to be here today.

We are the privileged. We are the privileged. And it should be the ambition of every free citizen to express and expand that privilege so that all of our countrymen and women share it.

Proceedings

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6-7-63
Pres Politics

YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, J

Washington

The Nation and the Parties on the Racial Issue

By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, June 7—The critical battleground in the racial conflict is now moving from the courts and the streets into the Congress. And the only hope there is that the leadership of both parties, led on to higher ground by thoughtful Republicans and Democrats alike, will produce an effective bipartisan coalition that will give relief to the militant Negro demands for equality.

The temptation to play politics with the racial crisis between now and the Presidential election of 1964 is very great, but the danger to the nation of a partisan wrangle on this issue is greater still. For if the effort to legislate equality between the races fails this time, the issue will be thrown back into the streets under much more dangerous circumstances.

Leaders of both parties now favor new civil rights legislation, particularly to open the facilities of all hotels, restaurants and stores to all citizens. A minority of both parties is opposed to new legislation for a variety of reasons. But a coalition of the majority of Republicans and Democrats who favor legislation is probably large enough even to vote down a filibuster in the Senate, if only national interests can be put above party interests.

President Kennedy has postponed presenting his civil rights program to the Congress with this in mind. Unless he can get the cooperation of the Republican leaders and a number of Republicans in both houses, he is in trouble, and trouble for Kennedy helps the Republicans politically. But on the race issue at this particular moment, trouble for Kennedy is also trouble for the country, and the tactics of the legislative battle are therefore extremely important.

The Administration's Pessimism

In its present mood, the Administration needs help. It is extremely pessimistic. To hear top officials at the Justice Department tell the story, the outlook on the race issue is bleak indeed. They say the crisis between the races is going to get worse instead of better. They are gloomy about getting civil rights legislation from this Congress. They feel that not only the militant white segregationists but the militant Negro integrationists are against them and they complain that the press both North and South does not understand what they are trying to do.

Two events have contributed to this view at the Justice Department. The first was the crisis in Birmingham, Ala., and the second was a meeting held in New York recently between Attorney General Robert Kennedy and a group of Negro leaders.

The Negro leaders in the New York meeting gave the Attorney General and Burke Marshall, one of his aides, a hard time. The meeting started with a savage comment by one of the Negroes against "the Kennedys." Thereafter, the Administration was blamed for not doing enough to settle the Birmingham problem, for hesitating to move Federal troops into Alabama until a white man was hurt, and for leaving the crisis in Alabama to be settled by Negro demonstrations in the streets.

As a matter of fact, the Attorney General and Burke Marshall had been deeply involved behind the

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As a matter of fact, the Attorney General and Burke Marshall had been deeply involved behind the scenes in trying to settle the Birmingham crisis. Marshall opened the New York meeting by explaining what the Justice Department had done to arrange a settlement there, but when he finished after 40 minutes, some of the the Negroes laughed at him.

After the meeting, an attorney for the Negro leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, came up and thanked Attorney General Kennedy for his efforts to settle the Birmingham case, but he did not speak up for the Justice Department in the meeting itself.

Robert Kennedy asked the attorney why he had remained silent, and noted that other Negro leaders who had written to thank him for his help on the civil rights question had also sat silent while militant Negroes in the meeting condemned the Administration.

The reply given to these questions was that militants in the movement for Negro leadership were now in the ascendancy, that "moderation" or "gradualism" or "token integration" were now offensive words to the Negro, and that sympathy by a Negro leader for the Administration's moderate approach was regarded as the work of "collaborationists."

Meanwhile, quite a few Republican Senators are determined not to vote for new civil rights legislation under the pressure of Negro demonstrations in the streets. These demonstrations have obviously forced the Administration to reverse its position and offer civil rights legislation, but if they continue, the demonstrations may very well defeat the legislation the Negro militants want.

All this provides ammunition for those in both parties who want to play politics with the issue, but the the issue is clearly too serious to be left to the politicians who want to gather votes on the battlefield. Bipartisan cooperation is the main hope of a compromise, and this is not likely to come about unless there is strong pressure from both parties for an accommodation.

NYT 6-8-63

Army Plans to Hire Additional Negroes And Puerto Ricans

Pres. Pal.

By WILL LISSNER

The Department of the Army moved here yesterday to hire more Negroes and Puerto Ricans in this area.

Eighteen personnel officers responsible for the hiring, upgrading and promotion of civilian employes met with leaders of minority-group organizations at the Office of Civilian Personnel, 346 Broadway.

They sought to discover additional steps by which Army agencies can assure Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other persons of nondiscriminatory hiring and promotion. The meeting was arranged under the authority of President Kennedy's Executive order of 1961 that directed the agencies to take all possible steps to assure equality of opportunity in Federal jobs.

The personnel officers said that the 10,000 civilian jobs at Army installations in this area ranged from common labor at Army warehouses through the various skilled categories to posts requiring technical skills and extended professional training. They also include the entire range of clerical occupations.

Joseph S. Carnegie represented the New York labor and industry committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the meeting. He said that past discrimination had conditioned even whites of goodwill to discriminate unconsciously. Past discrimination, he said, also led Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other persons to refuse to compete for jobs even though they might now have an equal chance of getting them.

Mr. Carnegie asked the personnel officer to take affirmative steps, such as the active recruitment of minority-group candidates. In this he was supported by Ralph S. Rosas and Louis A. Cardona of the Puerto Rican Labor Department.

Discussion around the table

Continued on Page 11, Column 2

tion and is completing 000,000 expansion program.

ARMY ACTS TO CUT EMPLOYMENT BIAS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

resulted in an agreement that the planning and carrying out of such recruiting drives were a mutual responsibility of hiring oficers and minority-group leaders. Several arranged a later meeting to plan joint action.

Representing the Urban League was Adolph Holmes, assistant national director of job development and employment. The attitude of the commanding officer at any installation is decisive, Mr. Holmes said.

Mr. Holmes joined with Mr. Rosas, an educator, in urging that the officers re-examine the "price tags" on jobs, such as high school diplomas. Frequently, they said, such qualifications were no real help in the task of identifying the best skilled person for the particular job but were adopted to provide some means of choosing between applicants.

Mr. Holmes and the others also proposed that members of minority groups be persuaded to take whatever Army jobs they could qualify for.

The session was arranged in connection with the annual meeting of the Army Civilian Personnel Officers Association of the New York area, of which Kenneth C. Medearis is chairman. It was led by Miss Moleen Pust, personnel officer of the Army Chemical Procurement District, Watervliet Arsenal. Installations represented are at Forts Jay, Totten, Niagara, Hamilton and Dix and Camp Kilmer.

STEVENSON BIDS U.S. BE TRUE TO IDEALS

MEMPHIS, June 7 (UPI)—Adlai E. Stevenson, United States representative at the United Nations, said today that "free America has little impact if what we do in our land is not what we tell others to do in theirs."

a"the few who resort to violence, who defy law and order, are not representative of a people who know that freedom and bigotry are incompatible," Mr. Stevenson said at the dedication of the Memphis Metropolitan Airport.

"Unhappily, the picture of America that others have is not always the same as ours," he said. "Too often our picture is of wealth and ease and surpluses and self-righteousness—in a hungry world. Too often our public dialogue is of weapons, missiles and war—in a world that yearns for peace." He continued:

"We know that there is no more compassionate, peaceful and responsible society anywhere on earth than ours, and to keep precisely that impression before the world is the job of every American.

"Not only our present security but our future influence depends on how we succeed in keeping alive our great propositions of freedom and equality, propositions that the United States nearly two centuries ago launched into the inner space that is the heart of man.

"It would be treason to our deepest convictions were we to fail."

lated over th years. He will put up for auction many souvenirs of his exclusive travels.

NYT 6-8-63

U.S. Pledges Speed in Promoting Civil Rights

Pres. Politics

Nation 'Dedicated to Policy' of Faster Gains, Freeman Tells U.N. Food Parley

By WILLIAM M. BLAIR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 7—The Kennedy Administration told representatives of 100 countries today that the United States was "dedicated to a policy" of accelerating the rate of progress on civil rights.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman took the opportunity to give the Administration's position at the World Food Congress, which is being held under the auspices of the United Nation Food and Agriculture Organization.

The conference has drawn more than 1,000 delegates. Many of them come from newly developing countries of Africa and Asia that are facing great problems of hunger and malnutrition.

Mr. Freeman made his statement in introducing K. Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish economist. Mr. Myrdal is the author of "The American Dilemma," regarded as a most comprehensive investigation of the position of the Negro in the United States.

Negroes Getting Angry

Later, Professor Myrdal told newsmen that race relations in the United States were in a "crisis", but "you shouldn't have been surprised."

"It was to be expected that sooner or later he [the Negro] would just get angry and stand up for his rights," he said.

It is natural, he went on, that with so much discrimination still in effect that Negroes should demand faster progress.

"The are seeing a vision, an opening, and they want full quality," Mr. Myrdal said. "Negroes want only to be accepted as other American."

He said the status of the American Negro has improved greatly in the last twenty years and that the broad effects of the present unrest were healthy because "this is when you have acceleration of progress."

In his address to the congress' plenary session, Mr. Myrdal said that unless the rich and poor countries alike awoke to the serious economic situation of a world half underfed, "the world is headed for an economic and political cataclysm."

Secretary Freeman recalled that Mr. Myrdal, professor of international economics at Stockholm University, had challenged the United States in 1944 by writing that "the Negro problem is not only America's greatest failure but also America's great opportunity for the future."

Since then, Mr. Freeman went on, "we have made great substantial progress toward the ideal" of equal opportunity.

"We have not made as much progress as we should," Mr. Freeman said. "We are conscious of our shortcomings—and I believe I can honestly say that no nation on earth publishes its shortcomings for all the world to see as much as we do."

He referred briefly to the "violence and conflict" that have taken place in recent weeks in the South and remarked that: "We are striving mightily to hasten that progress, and to overcome our shortcomings."

Seeks To Meet Challenge

"We seek today in the United States," Mr. Freeman said, "to apply the highest level of social engineering that we can muster to meet the challenge of human relations, as well as to the chal lenge of material well-being.

"Here, at this World Food Congress, where people of all colors and creeds have joined to find a way to conquer hunger and to achieve abundance for all people everywhere, I want to affirm our clear recognition that 'man does not live by bread alone,' and our faith in the principle of the brotherhood of man that is a fundamental part of the world's great religions."

Professor Myrdal said in his address that he had found "'a serious lag in the will and ability of those in power" in underdeveloped countries to adjust their systems of land ownership and tenancy to the necessity for raising agricultural productivity.

These needs, he said, are clearly conceived by rich countries now pressing for land reform in underdeveloped countries.

The underdeveloped countries, he said, are eager to support resolutions on land reform and sometimes they pass legislation. But new laws often are "full of loopholes and the enforcement of them is generally lax," he concluded.

Questions Land Reform

Dr. Myrdal said his studies in Southeast Asia had led him to doubt that land reform, along traditional patterns, would be the right policy in all countries.

He suggested that in some countries it would be best, or "a politically more realistic goal," to have a more capitalistic structure of landholdings. Such a system, e suggested, could have provisions protecting the agricultural worker's interests and "perhaps even assuring him of a patch of land."

"Next to the eradication of corruption in government," he continued, "administration and business in underdeveloped countries, I consider a rational solution of the landholding pro lem the most important condition for progress in agriculture.'

Indeed, he remarked, it is the "primary condition for a peaceful and steady political development that does not veer toward revolution of one sort or another."

All 5 Bl

Come In—Write In—Phone In

Dr. King Denounces President on Rights

NYT 6-10-63

Appeal.

The civil rights approach of the Kennedy Administration as compared with that of the Eisenhower Administration has merely substituted "an inadequate approach for a miserable one," the Rev. Dr. Matrin Luther King Jr. declared yesterday.

He said that President Kennedy "may have done a little more" than President Dwight D. Eisenhower, "but the plight of the vast majority of Negroes remains the same."

In his broadest attack to date on President Kennedy's civil rights record, the Southern Negro integrationist leader charged the President with a failure of leadership and with not having lived up to his campaign promises.

Dr. King suggested that Mr. Kennedy might have a chance to recoup if his civil rights pro-

Continued on Page 20, Column 8

DR. KING ATTACKS KENNEDY RECORD

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

posals scheduled to go to Congress this week were strong ones.

But he called on the President to "do more than issue a call."

He also said that Mr. Kennedy should not make his planned trip to Europe later this month, but should stay in Washington to push the program.

"If he leaves, he would be doing a grave disservice to the nation and to the civil rights movement," Dr. King asserted.

He expressed these views in a two-hour taped interview with David Susskind on the "Open End" television program on Station WPIX.

He said that "this bill cannot get through without the total weight of the President and his prestige behind it on a day to day basis."

"And he can't do it in another country," Dr. King added.

Among other things, Mr. Kennedy could revive "fireside chats" to explain civil rights to the nation, Dr. King suggested.

But he said that above all the President must start talking of integration in moral terms—in which "we seldom if ever hear the President of the United States speaking"—rather than in purely political terms.

Critizes Eisenhower

President Eisenhower failed "to take a forthright moral stand" after the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling in 1954, and "this set us back," Dr. King said.

"I think," he said, "that the new Administration will have to see the necessity of making up."

Dr. King indicated that integrationist groups, to help the President, might stage "a march on Washington, even sit-ins in Congress."

In another broadcast yesterday, Malcolm X., the Black Muslim leader, expressed what appeared to be mild criticism of Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Manhattan Democrat, who appeared on the platform at a Muslim rally this spring.

Asked on the WCBS radio program "Let's Find Out" if Mr. Powell was "moving in your direction," Malcolm X. said:

"It's hard to tell. He moves in one direction one minute and another direction another minute. He's flexible."

Wlkins Differs With King

On another televisions program the head of the nation's largest civil rights organization said yesterday that President Kennedy would serve no useful purpose by escorting two Negro students scheduled to enroll at the University of Alabama tomorrow.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said here that "i personally don't feel that it is a function of the President" to escort the students.

He thus disagreed with Dr. King and other Negro leaders who have urged the President to take this action to demonstrate his "personal and moral commitment" to equal rights for Negroes.

Mr. Wilkins, on the WCBS-T program "Newsmakers," said that the Federal Government was "big enough" to insure the enrollment of the two Negroes without the President's personal appearance. Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama has announced that he will attempt to block the Negroess' admittance.

Mr. Walkins, in contrast to some other Negro spokesmen, commended the actions of the Kennedy Administration in the civil rights field.

But he said he believed that the President should send Congress civil rights legislation covering all phases of discriminatinand segregation rather than a measure, prohibiting only discrimination in public accommodations.

Says Time For Talk Is Past

Pres. Petition
Atla. Const.
6-10-63

By TOM WICKER

(Copyright 1963 by the New York Times Co.)

HONOLULU — President John F. Kennedy said Sunday that in "a moment of moral and constitutional crisis" in American race relations "the time for token moves and idle talk is over."

Kennedy, in a speech before the national conference of mayors, called for increased local responsibility in meeting the racial disturbances that could be expected in Northern cities as well as in the South.

He suggested to the mayors a five-point program of action, briefly described his own legislative plans, and offered this personal credo:

"I do not say that all men are equal in their ability, character and motivation. I do say that every American should be given a fair chance to develop in full whatever talents he has and to share equally in the American dream."

FLYING BACK

After his speech, Kennedy boarded his Air Force jet for a non-stop, nine-hour flight to Washington.

Monday morning he will receive an honorary degree from American University and deliver an address that White House sources said would be "of the highest importance."

Kennedy arrived here Saturday night after a flight from Los Angeles. He spent the night in quarters at the Pearl Harbor naval base and attended a trinity Sunday mass there.

The President told an enthusiastic crowd of about 8,000 at Honolulu International Airport that he had come here "to speak to the mayors of the United States on a matter which concerns us all, and that is, how the American people can live more happily and more securely together."

There was no place the message could be "more appropriately said and understood" than Hawaii, Kennedy said, apparently referring to the state's racial amalgam. For "reaching into the Pacific, yet part of the United States, this island represents all that we are and all that we hope to be."

In his remarks to the mayors Sunday Kennedy gave them a

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

Kennedy Asks Mayors to Help

Continued From Page 1

broad outline of legislation he plans to submit to Congress, but warned that "the final responsibility, both now and after such legislation is enacted, will still rest with you at the local level."

"The problem is growing. The challenge is there. The cause is just," the President said. And he recommended the following five courses of action to the mayors:

1. Establishment in every city of a "biracial human relations committee," to identify developing tensions and to improve cooperation and communication between the races.

RULES OUT ORDINANCES

2. Elimination of any trace of local law requiring racial segregation in any form; "the Supreme Court," Kennedy said, "has made it clear beyond dispute that no local ordinance requiring segregation is constitutional."

3. Non-discriminatory practices in the hiring and promotion of municipal workers, "supervisory as well as custodial."

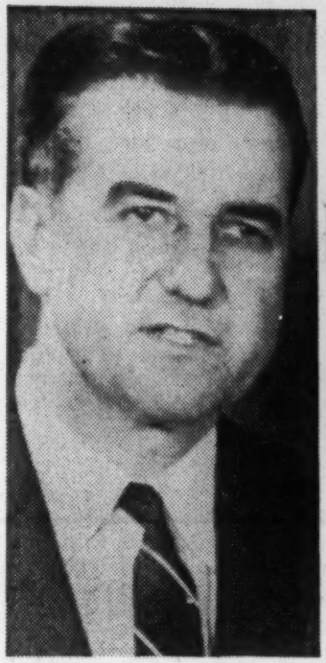
4. Equal opportunity ordinances in housing, public accommodations and employment opportunities.

5. Special campaigns to "lessen unemployment among the unskilled on both races" by reducing school drop-outs.

The President said his federal legislative proposals, which will be sent to Congress this week, would "seek, through legislative and executive action, to provide peaceful remedies for the grievances" that cause Negro demonstrations, and would seek "to give all Americans a fair chance to a full life."

He gave the following description of what the legislation would accomplish:

"Move (racial demonstrations) from the streets to the courts; erase all doubts as to the validity of conflicting legal arguments; require all merchants in all cities to take similar action at the same time, so that none can hang back for fear of being penalized for moving first; and, finally, meet the rising tide of discontent with appropriate nationwide action, without waiting for city-by-city, case-by-case solutions."



"NO VIOLENCE"
Dr. Frank Rose

Kennedy Rights Plea Endorsed by Massell

From Wire Dispatches

HONOLULU—Atlanta's vice mayor Sunday described President John F. Kennedy's civil rights requests in a speech before the National Conference of Mayors as "very reasonable."

Vice Mayor Sam Massell said:

"The President's address will be well received in the part of the United States I come from.

"There are still some people who are disturbed by continuous demands for equal rights but many are realizing that minority groups will quit demonstrations only when we stop discriminating.

"Kennedy is right — we must continue to plead with people to grant rights, but if this fails we must turn to legislation."

As for a five-point program the President recommended to the mayors, Massell said of the nation as a whole that "we're long overdue with these various reforms."

Massell said he was sitting in the first row and Kennedy stopped to congratulate him on the progress in Atlanta.

French Painter Dies

PARIS (AP) — French painter Jacques Villon, known as the inventor of cubism and a patriarch of modern art, died Sunday at his studio in nearby Puteaux after a long illness. He was 88.

NYT 6-10-63
Pres Pol

CITY EDITION

Weather Bureau Report (Page 52) forecasts:
artly cloudy and cooler today.
Fair and milder tomorrow.
. range: 70—54; yesterday: 87—63.
.-Hum. Index: mid-60's; yesterday: 80.

P TEN CENTS

KENNEDY APPEALS FOR LOCAL ACTION ON RACE PROBLEM

Time Over for Token Moves, He Warns Conference of Mayors in Honolulu

5-POINT PLAN IS OFFERED

He Asks More Responsibility by Community Leaders—Speaks in Capital Today

By TOM WICKER
Special to The New York Times

HONOLULU, June 9—President Kennedy told the National Conference of Mayors today that in "a moment of moral and constitutional crisis" in American race relations, "the time for token moves and idle talk is over."

He called for increased local responsibility in meeting disturbances that he said could be expected in Northern cities and in the South.

He suggested to the Mayors a five-point program of action, briefly described his legislative plans and offered this personal credo:

"I do not say that all men are equal in their ability, character and motivation. I do say that every American should be given a fair chance to develop in full whatever talents he has and to share equally in the American dream."

Will Get Degree

The President's remarks were prepared for delivery at a special session of the conference. Immediately after his speech he boarded his Air Force jet for a nine-hour, nonstop flight back to Washington.

Tomorrow morning he will receive an honorary degree there and deliver an address that White House sources said would be "of the highest importance."

Mr. Kennedy [illegible]

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There is no place that his message could be "more appropriately said and understood than in Hawaii," Mr. Kennedy said, apparently referring to the state's racial amalgam.

"Reaching into the Pacific, yet part of the United States, this island represents all that we are and all that we hope to be," he declared.

Says Cause Is Just

In his remarks to the Mayors Mr. Kennedy gave them a broad outline of legislation he planned to submit to Congress. But he warned that "the final responsibility, both now and after such legislation is enacted, will still rest with you at the local level."

"The problem is growing," he said. The challenge is there. The cause is just."

He recommended the following five courses to the Mayors:

¶Establishment in every city of a "biracial human relations committee" to identify developing tensions and improve

Continued on Page 20, Column 6

Kennedy Calls for Local Action To Help Solve Racial Problems

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

cooperation and communication between the races.

¶Elimination of local laws requiring racial segregation in any form. "The Supreme Court," Mr. Kennedy said, "has made it clear beyond dispute that no local ordinance requiring segregation is constitutional."

¶Establishment of nondiscriminatory practices in hiring and promoting municipal workers, "supervisory as well as custodial."

¶Establishment of equal-opportunity ordinances in housing public accommodations and employment.

¶Organization of special campaigns to "lessen unemployment among the unskilled of both races" by reducing school dropouts.

Remedies to be Sought

In his proposals to be sent to Congress this week, the President said, he will "seek, through legislative and Executive action, to provide peaceful remedies for the grievances" that cause Negro demonstrations, and "to give all Ameri- life."

He described as follows what the legislation would accomplish:

"Move [racial demonstrations] from the streets to the courts; erase all doubts as to the validity of conflicting legal arguments; require all merchants in all cities to take similar action at the same time, so that none can hang back for fear of being penalized for moving first, and finally, meet the rising tide of discontent with appropriate nationwide action, without waiting for city-by-city, case-by-case solutions."

The President gave no further details, but this appeared to be a general description of the Administration's public accommodations bill, which was expected to be based on the power of the Government to regulate interstate commerce.

Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic leader, came here with Mr. Kennedy and conferred with him during the 2,635-mile flight from Los Angeles. He said he expected th legislation and a civil rights message to be sent to Congress in the middle of the week.

The President probably will confer separately with Republican Congressional leaders, seeking their support, Mr. Mansfield said.

Mr. Kennedy asked the Mayors to return to their communities and set an example "to which the timid can rally and which those clinging to the past cannot ignore."

Plans Meetings

He said he would meet with labor, religious, Government and business leaders, but warned:

"Justice cannot await too many meetings. It cannot await the action of the Congress or even the courts. We face a moment of moral and constitutional crisis, and men of generosity and vision must make themselves heard in every part of the land.

"It is clear to me that the time for token moves and idle talk is over, that these rights are going to be won, and that our responsibility, yours and mine, is to see that they are won in a peaceful and constructive manner."

He told the Mayors he was seeking them to be "alert, not alarmed." Demonstrations like those in Birmingham, Boston, Jackson, Greensboro, Nashville, Philadelphia and other cities, he said, "can be expected in many other cities in the nex few months, North and South."

Students will be out of school, many Negroes will be seasonally unemployed and the Birmingham crisis will have "stepped up the tempo of the nationwide drive for full equality," the President noted.

"Rising summer temperatures are often accompanied by rising human temperatures on all sides," he added.

The chief question for the Mayors, he said is "whether you will do nothing, thereby inviting pressure and tension and possible violence, or whether you anticipate these problems and move to fulfill the rights of your Negro citizens in a peaceful and constructive manner."

He appealed to them not only on the grounds of peace and idealism, but also on the ground of self-interest.

"The financial history of those communities which have been beset with racial disturbances shows that they attract less capital and do less business," he said.

He referred to Birmingham where he said investment in plant expansion had declined by 80 per cent in recent years.

Impressed With Gains

On the other hand, Mr. Kennedy told the Mayors, he has been impressed in the last two years, and particularly in the last few weeks, by how much can be done by those determined "to get it done."

He drew a parallel between the Mayors' responsibilities and his own for the District of Columbia about whose problems he said the Federal Government was "doing something."

He pointed to open public accommodations in Washington, equal employment policies in the Federal and District governments; desegregated public schools; plans for a fair-housing ordinance, private action to open private employment to more Negroes and recommendations for District home rule which would give Negroes greater voice in Washington affairs.

His Administration, he said, Mayors on similar Federal-local programs—to improve public welfare; root out juvenile delinquency; eradicate urban blight, increase youth employment, assist urban mass transit, promote mental health, provide more recreational and health facilities, and war on organized crime.

All these proposals, the President said, could be moved to a higher level of consideration by the creation of a new Cabinet post.

Last year, when Mr. Kennedy proposed a Cabinet-level Department of Urban Affairs, he said he would name Robert C. Weaver, Negro Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, as Secretary.

Mr. Weaver's invovement generally is believed to have been a major reason why the proposal was defeated in Congress.

Mr. Kennedy ended his address with this appeal:

"I ask you to join with me, here and now, in recognizing the rights of all Americans, in guiding along constructive channels the attainment of a peceful revolution, a peaceful revolution which will not only avoid disaster, but fulfill our highest obligations."

The President's only other public activity today was to lay a wreath on the memorial to the battleship Arizona, which was sunk during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

file Presidential Politics

The President has spoken in a most timely and forceful fashion. I commend the speech to every American.

Mr. President, on Thursday, June 6, President Kennedy also spoke at the commencement exercises of San Diego State College. It was a most noteworthy statement concerning the responsibility of the leaders of this country, present and future, to provide the best education possible for all Americans.

Three basic questions were posed by the President. First, does every American child have an equal chance for a good education? Second, is the quality of American education adequate to our current needs? Third, can our existing educational system meet the demands of tomorrow?

These are questions most worthy of the attention of a college graduating class. They are, moreover, questions to which all members of the 88th Congress should attempt to find meaningful answers through comprehensive legislation in behalf of our educational system. The time has come to stop giving primary attention to areas of disagreement and to direct our energies toward solutions of the basic challenges of education.

Within the past few days, then, the President of the United States has spoken out courageously and wisely upon three of the most important subjects of our time—indeed, of all times. First, he has spoken out on the need of education for everyone, for every American in particular. Second, he has spoken out as to the importance of the protection of those basic constitional and human rights for which this country stands and to which this Nation has been dedicated since its founding.

Finally, he has spoken out in the cause of genuine world peace. He has not talked in terms of platitudes or of panaceas, but rather in terms of the process of peace itself and the meaning of a just and enduring peace.

I ask unanimous consent that the President's addresses on the subjects that I have mentioned be printed at this point in the RECORD. They are entitled to a part of the great history of this Nation, and all Americans should have access to them through the pages of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 10, 1963]

TEXT OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S SPEECH TO MAYORS

I am here to discuss with you a problem which is both national and local—where Federal and municipal governments must act in concert—the problem of race relations.

This is not a southern problem—it is a national problem. And I would ask any mayor who believes there is no problem in his city to talk to those who once believed the same, and then look at his own unemployment, delinquency, housing, and other indicators.

Federal action—including additional Federal legislation—can help to meet this problem. State action can help. But, in the last analysis, what happens in Birmingham or Chicago or Atlanta or Los Angeles depends in large measure on the leadership in those communities. We will back you up—we will work with you in every way we can—but the mayor of every major metropolitan city in every section of America must be aware of the difficult challenge he faces.

I am asking you to be alert, not alarmed. The demonstrations of unrest in Birmingham, Boston, Jackson, Greensboro, Nashville, Philadelphia, and elsewhere can be expected in many other cities in the next few months, North and South. Students will then be out of college and high school. Large numbers of Negroes will still be out of work. The events in Birmingham have stepped up the tempo of the nationwide drive for full equality—and rising summer temperatures are often accompanied by rising human temperatures on all sides.

PEACEFUL REMEDIES

The Federal Government does not control these demonstrations. It neither starts them, directs them, nor stops them. What we can do is to seek, through legislative and Executive action, to provide peaceful remedies for the grievances which set them off—to give all Americans a fair chance to a full life.

I would hope that every mayor here would recognize the assistance they would be provided by those legislative proposals which would help move these disputes from the streets to the courts, erase all doubts as to the validity of conflicting legal arguments, require all merchants in all cities to take similar action at the same time, so that none can hang back for fear of being penalized for moving first, and, finally, meet the rising tide of discontent with appropriate nationwide action, without waiting for city-by-city, case-by-case solutions.

Such legislation is, therefore, in your interst—and I hope it will have your support.

But the final responsibility, both now and after such legislation is enacted, will still rest with you at the local level. The problem is growing. The challenge is there. The cause is just.

The question is whether you will do nothing, thereby inviting pressure and tension and possible violence—or whether you will anticipate these problems and move to fulfill the rights of your Negro citizens in a peaceful and constructive manner.

WISDOM AND FORESIGHT

I ask that you act with wisdom and foresight in these matters—not merely for the peace of the country, but for the good of your own community. The financial history of those communities which have been beset with racial disturbances shows that they attract less capital and do less business. As a Birmingham businessman said, after investment in new plant and expansion had declined 80 percent in the last few years: "We've become known as a city of reaction, rebellion and riot—and because of that we're not gaining industry as fast as we should."

It is not enough to say that these are difficult problems in many parts of the country. The Vice President and I have been impressed in the last 2 years—and particularly in the last few weeks—by how much can be done by those determined to get it done. We have met with employers who were pleasantly surprised by how peacefully their hiring practices could be integrated.

We met last week with merchants from all sections of the country who had, without delay or difficulty, desegregated their public accommodations, including lunch counters, hotels, and theaters. We shall be having more meetings—with labor and religious leaders, with Government and business leaders.

It is clear to me that the time for token moves and idle talk is over—that these rights are going to be won—and that our responsibility, yours and mine, is to see that they are won in a peaceful and constructive manner.

ACTION IN FIVE AREAS

I would suggest at least five areas where you can take important action:

First: Every city can and should establish, preferably through official action by the mayor over governing body, a biracial human relations committee—to identify community tensions before they reach the crisis state, to improve cooperation and communication between the races, and to advise local officials, merchants and organizations as to what steps can be taken to insure prompt progress.

Second: Every local government can and should make certain that its own ordinances and practices are in accordance with constitutional law. The Supreme Court has made it clear beyond dispute that no local ordinance requiring segregation is constitutional—whether it applies to schools, zoning, restaurants, or places of amusement, either privately or publicly owned. Nor can segregation be required without ordinance at a municipal golf course, playground, swimming pool, or other city-owned facilities. In short, every instance or institution of segregation sanctioned by local legislation or public action is clearly invalid—and you should move to abolish it.

There will be a difficult period of transition for some. But "the basic guarantees of our Constitution," the Supreme Court said less than 2 weeks ago, "are warrants for the here and now * * * not merely hopes to some future enjoyment."

Third: Every local government can and should follow nondiscriminatory practices in the employment and promotion of its municipal workers. No group of taxpayers or voters should be excluded from the payrolls of your police, fire, school, and other departments. No city government can expect to understand the views of its Negro citizens—and no community can be expected to look favorably on its city government—unless men and women of all races are employed at all levels, supervisory as well as custodial, in all parts of that government.

Fourth: Every local government can and should enact equal opportunity ordinances to spell out the civil rights of all who live in that community; ordinances on equal employment opportunities, equal housing opportunities, and equal access to public accommodations. Such measures are not the exclusive concern of the Federal Government. On the contrary, where local leaders have assumed this responsibility, there has been remarkably little difficulty with racial problems. Where local government has abdicated this responsibility and left it to the Federal Government, there has been too much difficulty.

Fifth: I urge each of you personally to undertake a special campaign this summer in your own community to lessen unemployment among the unskilled of both races by reducing school dropouts. Tell your young people to stay in school. Tell them their chances for steady, gainful employment will be far better for every year of schooling. Tell them that unemployment among 16- and 21-year-olds is already at the million mark, with more on the way for, as the number of young jobseekers grows, the proportion of unskilled jobs has dropped to 1 out of 20.

STEPS ON FEDERAL LEVEL

I have not proposed to you any step that the Federal Government is unwilling to take in its own area of jurisdiction. We have undertaken to eliminate segregation and discrimination in Federal employment, in federally financed housing and construction, in Federal recreation areas, in our cafeterias, and other facilities. The proportion of Negroes holding Federal jobs in many areas is still distressingly low, particularly in the higher grade jobs. But we aim to change

this as quickly as possible and, nationwide, have increased the number of Negroes in the higher grades by more than a third.

We have supported equal rights in the courts and the Congress, and will shortly prepare further steps.

Your responsibilities, of course, are more localized—but we are responsible for a city: The District of Columbia. Much has been written about crime and race relations in Washington—much of it untrue—but we are concerned about the District's problems, though they are less than those of some other cities and, more importantly, we are doing something about them.

All places of public accommodation in the Nation's Capital have been opened, with little difficulty, to customers of all races. Equal employment is the policy of the District government as well as the Federal Government. There is no racial bar to any public school in Washington. The District Commissioners have announced their intention to enact a fair housing ordinance unless the Congress itself does so promptly.

We are actively intervening to open up more employment opportunities in the building trades union. And we have urged the Congress to provide home rule for the District in order that all the citizens of Washington may participate more actively and effectively in accomplishing needed improvements.

PROGRESS IN WASHINGTON

Moreover, by striving to improve the quality of life for the residents of the District, Negro and white alike, we are helping to ease the economic and other pressures which would otherwise increase tensions. We are prepared to work with you on similar Federal-local programs—to improve public welfare, to root out juvenile delinquency, to eradicate urban blight, to increase youth employment, to assist urban mass transit, to promote mental health, to provide more recreational and health facilities and to war on organized crime.

These measures—some of which are barely underway—have been effective in the District of Columbia, and I know that, on a nationwide basis, they have, for the most part, been supported by this conference in the Congress. The elevation of all these urban development problems to a higher level of consideration by the creation of a new Cabinet post is already long overdue.

In conclusion, my fellow chief executives, may I say this: Improvement of race relations and the fulfillment of human rights is a continuing problem and challenge. I do not propose to limit our mutual concern to this one brief address. I hope to meet with many of you in the White House in the near future.

But justice cannot wait for too many meetings. It cannot wait the action of the Congress or even the courts. We face a moment of moral and constitutional crisis—and men of generosity and vision must make themselves heard in every part of the land. I do not say that all men are equal in their ability, character, and motivation. I do say that every American should be given a fair chance to develop in full whatever talents he has and to share equally in the American dream.

On your return from this conference, you can set an example in your communities to which the timid can rally and which those clinging in the past cannot ignore. I ask you to join with me, here and now, in recognizing the rights of all Americans—in guiding along constructive channels the attainment of a peaceful revolution, a peaceful revolution which will not only avoid disaster but fulfill our highest obligations.

[From the Washington, (D.C.) Post, June 7, 1963]

TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT SAN DIEGO STATE COLLEGE

This is a proud moment—proud for me as a recipient of this honorary degree, proud for those of you who have earned your degrees with hard labor, proud for your families and communities who also labored hard for this achievement. Only a small portion of the world's population can share and understand that pride. In fact, only a small portion of our own population have completed four years of college.

You are the fortunate ones. You will be the leaders, the doers, the contributors to our society and progress. You will, on the average, earn nearly twice as much in your lifetime as high school graduates and over three times as much as grade school graduates.

Yes, you are the fortunate ones, the educated, the elite, the only aristocracy our system permits. But I am not here merely to congratulate you, to remind you of your future riches. I am here to remind you of your responsibilities—and particularly your responsibility toward education, toward those who should follow in your footsteps.

THREE BASIC QUESTIONS

However proud we may be, and have a right to be, over the past achievements of our education system, it is time the whole Nation faced up more frankly to the answers to three basic questions: First, whether every American child has an equal chance for a good education; second, whether the quality of American education is adequate to our current needs; and third, whether the educational system we have today can meet the demands of tomorrow.

First, does every American child today have a fair educational opportunity? Let me cite a few facts:

1. In this fortunate State of California, the average current expenditure for a boy or girl in the public schools is $515. But in the State of Mississippi it is $230. The average salary for classroom teachers in California is $7,050, while it is only $3,610 in Mississippi.

2. Nearly three-quarters of the young white population of our Nation have graduated from high school, but only about two-fifths of our nonwhite population have finished. In some States, almost 40 percent of the nonwhite population has completed less than 5 years of school contrasted with 7 percent of the white population.

3. In one American State, over 36 percent of the public school buildings are over 40 years old. In another, only 4 percent are that old.

TWO REASONS CITED

Such facts—and one could prolong this recital indefinitely—make it clear that American children today do not yet enjoy equal educational opportunities, for two primary reasons: one is economic, and the other is racial.

If our Nation is to meet the goal of giving every American child a fair educational break, we must move swiftly ahead in both areas. We must put more resources into the undernourished sectors of our education system. And we must recognize that segregation in education—and I mean the de facto segregation of the North as well as the proclaimed segregation of the South—brings with it serious handicaps to a large percentage of our Nation's population.

Our goal must be an educational system in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence—a system in which all are created equal, a system in which every child, whether born a banker's son in a Long Island mansion or a Negro sharecropper's son in an Alabama cotton field, has every opportunity for an education that his abilities and character deserve.

SECOND QUESTION

The second question relates to the quality of our education. Does our system effectively educate our boys and girls to meet the needs and problems of our contemporary society?

Again let us look at some facts:

1. One out of every three students in the fifth grade will drop out before high school graduation. And only 2 out of every 10 will graduate from college—unless we do something about it. In the meantime, the occupations and professions which require increased education and training continue to grow, while employment in unskilled jobs continues to decline.

2. Of Americans 18 years of age or older, more than 23 million have had less than 8 years of schooling, and over 8 million less than 5 years. As a result, many of these fellow citizens lack the ability to read or write with ease or to do simple arithmetic. They are termed "functional illiterates," and it is no accident that they constitute the hardest "hard core" of our unemployed and those on welfare.

One out of every ten workers who fail to finish elementary school is unemployed today as compared to 1 out of 50 college graduates.

3. Even students who finish elementary school or high school often lack a solid grounding in the humane and classical disciplines which are the heart of our civilization.

NEEDS ARE CITED

In short, our current educational programs do not meet our current needs. We need a major effort to eradicate adult illiteracy, for the man who cannot read a "help wanted" ad or write a letter is beaten before he starts. We need to improve our programs of technical and vocational education, both in school and after school. We need to combat the dropout problem.

Finally, we need to strengthen the freedom of research, inquiry and judgment which is the glory of our civilization. Our schools must present our children with all the facts about their world and their heritage, not just those which support a single viewpoint or party line. For education is the instrument of freedom, and indoctrination the weapon of tyranny—and the difference between education and indoctrination best sums up the difference between ourselves and our adversaries abroad.

The third and final question we must ask is: What of the future? Four million boys and girls are born each year in the United States. Our population is growing each decade by a figure equal to the total population of the country at the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. Is our educational system adequate to meet the needs of an expanding population, and expanding technology and an expanding culture?

Here are some facts:

1. By 1970, the number of students in our public elementary and secondary schools will have increased by 25 percent over that of 1960. Nearly three-quarters of a million new classrooms are needed during this decade, but our present construction rate will not provide them.

2. By 1970, we will have 7 million students in our colleges and universities, nearly 3 million more than we have today. This will require over $2 billion a year for facilities—a billion dollars more than we are devoting today.

3. By 1970, we will need 7,500 Ph. D's. each year in the physical sciences, mathematics and enginering if we are to continue our economic growth and preserve our military

security—but in 1960 we graduated only 3,000.

Such facts make it clear how far out present effort falls below our future need. We must take rapid measures to enlarge our educational facilities, to extend our program of fellowships, to improve our teacher training and our libraries and our laboratories, and to work in every way to keep our education abreast of our population growth.

TASK FOR ENTIRE NATION

Education, historically and necessarily, is the responsibility of the State and the local community. Those who are willing to make the necessary investment—in approving bond issues, in building modern facilities, in paying salaries sufficient to attract and retain talented teachers, in encouraging freedom of discussion and dissent—will receive rich dividends on that investment. Their communities will prosper, their horizons will expand.

But this is a task for the entire Nation, for every citizen, and for government at every level. Your own State has shown what a difference forward-looking leadership can make, under Governor Brown, your legislation, and the master plan for education.

But education is also a national responsibility. Not every State can do what California has done. But California has a stake in what every State does—or fails to do. People move freely from one State to another; these are not 50 separate States.

The role of the Federal Government is not to take over the responsibility of the States; it is to give the States the means to fulfill that responsibility, which they owe to themselves and the Nation.

PROGRAM RECOMMENDED

For this reason, I have recommended to the Congress a comprehensive education improvement program. It is designed to help meet the needs of higher education by assisting the construction of college academic facilities, junior colleges, graduate centers, and technical institutes, and by stepping up existing programs for student loans, graduate fellowships and other student assistance programs.

It is designed to improve educational research and to authorize increased training of teachers of the gifted, the handicapped, and the culturally deprived. It is designed to strengthen public elementary and secondary education through grants to the States for better teacher salaries, to relieve critical classroom shortages, to meet the special educational problems of depressed areas and to continue and expand existing programs for vocational education, guidance, and counseling.

Finally, this program is designed to meet the continuing education needs of our communities by a massive attack on illiteracy, by an expansion of university extension courses and a major effort to improve library services in each community as well as in our schools and colleges.

AWARE OF OBJECTIONS

I am well aware of all the objections which have been raised for more than 50 years to any kind of Federal effort in education—objections involving States rights and civil rights, objections involving race and religion, objections to including this item or not including some other item.

But the time has come for the American people of every party and section to realize the immensity and the necessity of this challenge, to realize that no solution will please everyone, and to mobilize their aroused support behind a program such as the one I have sent to the Congress. And I hope that those of you who have received the blessings of education will be in the forefront of that fight.

This is no novel or subversive idea. "By far the most important bill in our whole code," wrote Jefferson, "is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for preservation of freedom and happiness."

Jefferson truly spoke the American faith. As a nation, we have no deeper concern, no older commitment and no higher interest than a strong, sound, and free system of education for all. In fulfilling this obligation to ourselves and our children, we provide for the future of our Nation—and for the future of freedom.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 10, 1963

"There are few earthly things more beautiful than a university," wrote John Masefield, in his tribute to the English universities—and his words are equally true here. He did not refer to spires and towers, to campus greens, and ivied walls. He admired the splendid beauty of the university, he said, because it was "a place where those who hate ignorance may strive to know, where those who perceive truth may strive to make others see."

I have, therefore, chosen this time and this place to discuss a topic on which ignorance too often abounds and the truth is too rarely perceived—yet it is the most important topic on earth: world peace.

What kind of peace do I mean? What kind of peace do we seek? Not a pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking about genuine peace—the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living—the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children—not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men—not merely peace in our time but peace for all time.

I speak of peace because of the new face of war. Total war makes no sense in an age when great powers can maintain large and reltaively invulnerable nuclear forces and refuse to surrender without resort to those forces. It makes no sense in an age when a single nuclear weapon contains almost 10 times the explosive force delivered by all of the Allied air forces in the Second World War. It makes no sense in an age when the deadly poisons produced by a nuclear exchange would be carried by wind and water and soil and seed to the far corners of the globe and to generations unborn.

Today the expenditure of billions of dollars every year on weapons acquired for the purpose of making sure we never need to use them is essential to keeping the peace. But surely the acquisition of such idle stockpiles—which can only destroy and can never create—is not the only, much less the most efficient, means of assuring peace.

I speak of peace, therefore, as the necessary rational end of rational men. I realize that the pursuit of peace is not as dramatic as the pursuit of war—and frequently the words of the pursuer fall on weary ears. But we have not more urgent task.

Some say that it is useless to speak of world peace or world law or world disarmament—and that it will be useless until the leaders of the Soviet Union adopt a more enlightened attitude. I hope they do. I believe we can help them to do it. But I also believe that we must reexamine our own attitude—as individuals and as a Nation—for our attitude is as essential as theirs. And every graduate of this school, every thoughtful citizen who despairs of war and wishes to help bring peace, should begin by looking inward—by examining his own attitude toward the possibilities of peace, toward the Soviet Union, toward the course of the cold war and toward freedom and peace here at home.

First, let us reexamine our attitude toward peace itself. Too many of us think it impossible. Too many think it unreal. But that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable—that mankind is doomed—that we are gripped by forces we cannot control.

We need not accept that view. Our problems are man-made—therefore, they can be solved by man. And man can be as big as he wants. No problem of human destiny is beyond the reach of human beings. Man's reason and spirit have often solved the seemingly unsolvable—and we believe they can do it again.

I am not referring to the absolute, infinite concept of universal peace and good will of which some fantasies and fanactics still dream. I do not deny the values of hopes and dreams but we would merely invite discouragement and incredulity by making that our only and immediate goal.

Let us focus instead on a more practical, more attainable peace—based not on a sudden revolution in human nature but on a gradual evolution in human institutions—on a series of concrete actions and effective agreements which are in the interest of all concerned. There is no single, simple key to this peace—no grand or magic formula to be adopted by one or two powers. Genuine peace must be the product of many nations, the sum of many acts. It must be dynamic, not static, changing to meet the challenge of each generation. For peace is a process—a way of solving problems.

With such a peace, there will still be quarrels and conflicting interests, as there are within families and nations. World peace, like community peace, does not require that each man love his neighbor—it requires only that they live together with mutual tolerance, submitting their disputes to a just and peaceful settlement. And history teaches us that enmities between nations, as between individuals, do not last forever. However fixed our likes and dislikes may seem, the tide of time and events will often bring surprising shifts in the relations between nations and neighbors.

So let us persevere. Peace need not be impracticable—and war need not be inevitable. By defining our goal more clearly—by making it seem more manageable and less remote—we can help all people to see it, to draw hope from it, and to move irresistibly toward it.

Second, let us reexamine our attitude toward the Soviet Union. It is discouraging to think that their leaders may actually believe what their propagandists continually write. It is discouraging to read a recent authoritative Soviet text on military strategy and find, on page after page, wholly baseless and incredible claims—such as the allegation that "American imperialist circles are preparing to unleash different types of wars * * * that there is a very real threat of a preventive war being unleashed by American imperialists against the Soviet Union * * * (and that) the political aims of the American imperialists are to enslave economically and politically the European and other capitalist countries * * * (and) to achieve world domination * * * by means of aggressive wars."

Truly, as it was written long ago: "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." Yet it is sad to read these Soviet statements—to realize the extent of the gulf between us. But it is also a warning—a warning to the American people not to fall into the same trap as the Soviets, not to see only a distorted and desperate view of the other side, not to see conflict as inevitable, accommodation as impossible and communication as nothing more than an exchange of epithets and threats.

No government or social system is so evil that its people must be considered to be lacking in virtue. As Americans, we find communism profoundly repugnant as a negation of personal freedom and dignity. But we can still hail the Russian people for their

many achievements—in science and space, in economic and industrial growth, in culture and in acts of courage.

Among the many traits the peoples of our two countries have in common, none is stronger than our mutual abhorrence of war. Almost unique among the major world powers, we have never been at war with each other. And no nation in the history of battle ever suffered more than the Russians suffered in the course of the Second World War. At least 20 million lost their lives. Countless millions of homes and farms were burned or sacked. A third of the nation's territory, including nearly two-thirds of its industrial base, was turned into a wasteland—a loss equivalent to the devastation of all this country east of Chicago.

Today, should total war ever break out again—no matter how—our two countries would become primary targets. It is an ironical but accurate fact that the two strongest powers are the two in most danger of devastation. All we have built up, all we have worked for, would be destroyed. And even in the cold war—which brings burdens and dangers to so many countries, including this nation's closest allies—our two countries bear the heaviest burdens. For we are both devoting cast sums to massive weapons that could better be used to combat ignorance, poverty, and disease. We are both caught up in a vicious and dangerous cycle in which suspicion on one side breeds suspicion on the other, and new weapons beget counter-weapons.

In short, both the United States and its allies, and the Soviet Union and its allies, have a mutually deep interest in a just and genuine peace and in halting the arms race. Agreements to this end are in the Soviets' interest as well as ours—and even the most hostile nations can be relied upon to accept and keep those treaty obligations, and only those treaty obligations, which are in their own interest.

So, let us not be blind to our differences—but let us also direct attention to our common interests and to the means by which those differences can be resolved. And if we cannot now end our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity. For, in the final analysis, our most basic common link is the fact that we all inhabit this planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal.

Third, let us reexamine our attitude toward the cold war. Let us remember that we are not engaged in a debate, seeking to pile up debating points. We are not here distributing blame or pointing the finger of judgment. We must deal with the world as it is, and not as it might have been had the history of the last 18 years been different.

We must, therefore, persevere in the search for peace in the hope that constructive changes within the Communist bloc might bring within reach solutions which now seem beyond us. We must conduct our affairs in such a way that it becomes in the Communists' interest to agree on a genuine peace. Above all, while always defending our own vital interests, nuclear powers must avert those confrontations which present an adversary with a choice of either a humiliating retreat or a nuclear war. To adopt that kind of course in the nuclear age would be evidence only of the bankruptcy of our policy—or of a collective death-wish for the world.

To secure these ends, America's weapons are nonprovocative, carefully controlled, designed to deter and capable of selective use. Our military forces are committed to peace and disciplined in self-restraint. Our diplomats are instructed to avoid unnecessary irritants and purely rhetorical hostility.

For we can seek a relaxation of tension without relaxing our guard. And, for our part, we do not need to use threats to prove that we are resolute. We do not need to jam foreign broadcasts out of fear our faith will be eroded. We are unwilling to impose our system on any unwilling people—but we are willing and able to engage in peaceful competition with any people on earth.

Meanwhile, we seek to strengthen the United Nations, to help solve its financial problems, to make it a more effective instrument of peace, to develop it into a genuine world security system—a system capable of resolving disputes on the basis of law, of insuring the security of the large and the small, and of creating conditions under which arms can be finally abolished.

At the same time we seek to keep peace inside the non-Communist world, where many nations, all of them our friends, are divided over issues which weaken Western unity, which invite Communist intervention or which threaten to erupt into war. Our efforts in west New Guinea, in the Congo, in the Middle East and in the Indian subcontinent, have been persistent and patient despite criticism from both sides. We have also tried to set an example for others—by seeking to adjust small but significant differences with our own closest neighbors in Mexico and in Canada.

Speaking of other nations, I wish to make one point clear. We are bound to many nations by alliances. Those alliances exist because their concerns and ours substantially overlap. Our commitment to defend Western Europe and West Berlin, for example, stands undiminished because of the identity of our vital interests. The United States will make no deal with the Soviet Union at the expense of other nations and other peoples, not merely because they are our partners, but because their interests and our converge.

Our interests converge, however, not only in defending the frontiers of freedom, but in pursuing the paths of peace. It is our hope—and the purpose of Allied policies—to convince the Soviet Union that she, too, should let each nation choose its own future, so long as that choice does not interfere with the choices of others. The Communist drive to impose their political and economic system on others is the primary cause of world tension today. For there can be no doubt that, if all nations, could refrain from interfering in the self-determination of others, the peace would be much more assured.

This will require a new effort to achieve world law—a new context for world discussions. It will require increased understanding between the Soviets and ourselves. And increased understanding will require increased contact and communication. One step in this direction is the proposed arrangement for a direct line between Moscow and Washington, to avoid on each side the dangerous delays, misunderstandings, and misreadings of the other's actions which might occur in a time of crisis.

We have also been talking in Geneva about other first-step measures of arms control, designed to limit the intensity of the arms race and to reduce the risks of accidental war. Our primary long-range interest in Geneva, however, is general and complete disarmament—designed to take place by stages, permitting parallel political developments to build the new institutions of peace which would take the place of arms. The pursuit of disarmament has been an effort of this Government since the 1920's. It has been urgently sought by the last three administrations. And however dim the prospects may be today, we intend to continue this effort—to continue it in order that all countries, including our own, can better grasp what the problems and possibilities of disarmament really are.

The one major area of these negotiations where the end is in sight—yet where a fresh start is badly needed—is a treaty to outlaw nuclear tests. The conclusion of such a treaty—so near and yet so far—would check the spiraling arms race in one of its most dangerous areas. It would place the nuclear powers in a position to deal more effectively with one of the greatest hazards which man faces—the further spread of nuclear arms. It would increase our security—it would decrease the prospects of war. Surely this goal is sufficiently important to require our steady pursuit, yielding neither to the temptation to give up the whole effort nor the temptation to give up our insistence on vital safeguards.

I am taking this opportunity, therefore, to announce two important decisions in this regard:

First, Chairman Khrushchev, Prime Minister Macmillan and I have agreed that high-level discussions will shortly begin in Moscow looking toward early agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty. Our hopes must be tempered with the caution of history—but with our hopes go the hopes of all mankind.

Second, to make clear our good faith and solemn convictions on this matter, I now declare that the United States does not propose to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere so long as other States do not do so. We will not be the first to resume. Such a declaration is no substitute for a formal binding treaty—but I hope it will help us achieve one. Nor would such a treaty be a substitute for disarmament—but I hope it will help us achieve it.

Finally, my fellow Americans, let us reexamine our attitude toward peace and freedom here at home. The quality and spirit of our own society must justify and support our efforts abroad. We must show it in the dedication of our own lives—as many of you who are graduating today will have a unique opportunity to do, by serving without pay in the Peace Corps abroad or in the proposed National Service Corps here at home.

But wherever we are, we must all, in our daily lives, live up to the age-old faith that peace and freedom walk together. In too many of our cities today, the peace is not secure because freedom is incomplete.

It is the responsibility of the executive branch at all levels of government—local, State, and National—to provide and protect that freedom for all citizens by all means within their authority. It is the responsibility of the legislative branch at all levels, wherever that authority is not now adequate, to make it adequate. And it is the responsibility of all citizens in all sections to respect the rights of all others and to respect the law of the land.

All this is not unrelated to world peace. "When a man's ways please the Lord," the Scriptures tell us, "he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." And is not peace, in the last analysis, basically a matter of human rights—the right to live out our lives without fear of devastation—the right to breathe air as nature provided it—the right of future generations to a healthy existence?

While we proceed to safeguard our national interests, let us also safeguard human interests. And the elimination of war and arms is clearly in the interest of both. No treaty, however much it may be to the advantage of all, however tightly it may be worded, can provide absolute security against the risks of deception and evasion. But it can—if it is sufficiently effective in its enforcement and if it is sufficiently in the interests of its signers—offer far more security and far fewer risks than an unabated, uncontrolled, unpredictable arms race.

The United States, as the world knows, will never start a war. We do not want a war. We do not now expect a war. This generation of Americans has already had enough—more than enough—of war and hate and oppression. We shall be prepared for war, if others wish it. We shall be alert to try to stop it. But we shall also do our part

G-10-63 file Pre-Pd.

AIRCRAFT USED BY SENATOR GOLDWATER TO FLY TO CLEVELAND IS PERSONAL PROPERTY OF H. H. TIMKEN, JR.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HAGEN of California). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] is recognized for 10 minutes.

(Mr. BOW asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, earlier in the day the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK] made some remarks relating to people in my own congressional district and I do not believe the day should go by without some reply to those remarks. I advised the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK] that I intended to make these remarks on the floor this afternoon.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK] should have checked his facts before he issued his bitter attack today upon the Timken Co., of Canton, Ohio, for allegedly using a company aircraft to take Senator GOLDWATER to Cleveland for a political engagement.

The aircraft used by Senator GOLDWATER to fly to Cleveland is a four-place jet that is the personal property of H. H. Timken, Jr., and not the property of the Timken Co.

This information was given to the individual, presumably Mr. VANIK's agent, who checked at the airport yesterday.

We have gone a long way from the fundamental precepts of individual liberty in this country if a man can be criticized for using his own personal property, be it an old Ford or a new jet aircraft, to carry his friends and associates wherever he wants to go at any time.

No tax writeoff is involved, the corporation is not involved, and Mr. VANIK could have learned this easily if he had wished to do so before he launched his unreasoned attack upon the Timken family.

Let me say at this point that no man in any community in this country is more civic minded than H. H. Timken, Jr. I have just returned from Canton where we dedicated last week the new Stark County Historical Society, the National Professional Football Hall of Fame and the new Canton City Plaza, in all of which Mr. Timken has had a leading role. That he should be subjected to unreasonable attack in the House today is a scandalous thing.

Let me add that when the gentleman from Ohio who spoke earlier today rises to criticize transportation, he might do well to begin in his own political party where, as the senior Senator from Virginia pointed out last week, the most extravagant President in the history of the United States has at his disposal and in almost constant use by himself, his brothers, sisters and other, 10 helicopters, a private $8 million fan-jet Boeing 707-320 airplane, three other Boeing 707's luxuriously appointed, one Air Force Douglas DC-6B for airports where jets cannot land, a 20-foot Lincoln Continental automobile in addition to three other family cars and the regular White House fleet, a special railroad car, two yachts, a third yacht available from the Navy, and a racing yawl supplied by the Coast Guard.

The Senator was kind enough to omit mention of the other Army and Air Force aircraft that are dispatched to Hyannis Port, Palm Beach or wherever the Presidential family may be vacationing to carry the morning newspapers, the afternoon mail and whatever else may be required for the comfort and convenience of the first family, all at the taxpayers' expense.

The matter I rise in objection to, Mr. Speaker, is the fact that in the case of the Timken Co., Mr. Timken spent his own money and bought the aircraft with his own money which he had earned, whereas these other things are being paid for by the taxpayers. We have heard people speaking about here today and saying they are going to do so much for them. One other good way to cut down taxes and expenses is to cut down on some of these luxuries.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I will be glad to yield to my colleague.

Mr. AYRES. I have known the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK], for a long, long time. In fact, he is a little older than I am, having been born on April 7, 1913, but he is a gentleman who has learned through the years. He has a very sweet wife, Betty, and two children, a daughter and a son, and his son John I know. Mr. VANIK was a city councilman in 1938 in the great city of Cleveland and came to this body in November 1954. I would say to my colleague who adjoins my district, that I do not think Mr. VANIK, who was my college classmate at Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, meant anything derogatory in his statement, but I am surprised that Mr. VANIK would accept the word of someone else, because ordinarily Mr. VANIK is not the type to criticize someone without knowing the facts, and in this case apparently he did not.

Mr. BOW. There is no question but what the facts were not known, or else I am sure Mr. VANIK would not have made this statement. The point I make is it is unfortunate that the name of a great American such as this representative of the Timken Co., or any other person as far as that is concerned, should be bandied around on the floor of this House to the point where they are going to ask the Internal Revenue Service to make an investigation. It puts a cloud upon these people unnecessarily, without any facts back of it.

This is something that has been going on, I am afraid, in this country for too long, where statements of this kind are made which affect these people. It just seems to me most unfortunate, Mr. Speaker, that this could happen in this great House of Representatives. We have too many important things to do here. This Congress has been going along, and if you look the record over it

Pres. Pol. 6-10-63 Atla. Jour.

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

Kennedy Rights Program Upset

By DREW PEARSON

Washington.

THE INSIDE story of the talks which have gone into President Kennedy's message to Congress on civil rights dates back to more than two months ago when he was trying to work out a compromise bill which would please both sides.

Kennedy, who served in the Senate with Southern senators, was anxious not to alienate them. His planning has always been to give priority to certain bills, and at this Congress, he wanted a tax bill passed first and needed Southern senators to pass it. So he began a painstaking study of civil rights legislation which would not antagonize them.

But Bull Connor's police dogs in Birmingham changed all this. They also changed the plans of Negro leaders.

Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, and Rev. Martin Luther King had planned to make 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, a year to dramatize the fact that Negroes had not been fully emancipated from economic and social slavery 100 years after Lincoln freed them. But Wilkins and King had planned peaceful demonstrations.

FLAMES FANNED

However, the photos of the police dogs, trained by the bull-voiced police commissioner of Birmingham, snapping and snarling at Negro demonstrators, fanned the flames which neither the Negro leaders themselves nor President Kennedy can stop. Connor's police dogs have become a symbol to Negroes something like the bombing of Pearl Harbor to the American public.

Negroes have now become emotional, no longer willing to listen to pedestrian, slow solutions, such as Bobby Kennedy's proposal to register and vote.

As a result, the President has been working, almost desperately, behind the scenes, to head off racial eruption that could lead to violence all over the country.

It was his brother, the attorney general, who first warned the President that he would have to make a stronger commitment to Negroes. The attorney general confessed that his previous plan of persuading them to register and vote was too slow to work. The attorney general had urged this instead of freedom marches and sit-in demonstrations.

But he did not figure either on the competition between the more radical Negro organization CORE and the more conservative NAACP. CORE's demonstrations began to take both the money and the leadership away from the NAACP, so NAACP adopted a more vigorous policy.

The Kennedys continued to urge the more moderate approach until a few weeks ago. Then came Bull Connor's police dogs, after which they got reports on how tense and flammable the situation has become. At this point the President began to seek stronger civil rights legislation and also got on the phone to white leaders in the problem areas, urging economics concessions to Negroes. At the same time the two brothers have been on the phone to Negro leaders, urging calm.

Two serious problems have been highlighted in these talks. One is the fact that it makes no difference that Negroes have made more progress in the last two years than at any other time in history; that racial barriers are going down, and that such important Southern cities as Atlanta are becoming desegregated. This recent progress, fast as it has been, is too slow.

Second, a million or so Negroes have migrated to Northern cities expecting to find the millenium, and instead have found unemployment, slums, and poverty. For the most part this is not a matter of discrimination, but of automation and lack of jobs. White labor is suffering too.

CONTINUING

As industry automates, more and more unskilled workers are being thrown out, and Negroes, being less skilled, suffer most. This trend is going to continue.

The Northern Negro who has long lived in the big cities is secure. But the recent arrival from the South is not. This is why the crime rate in Northern cities is high; and why Bull Connor's police dogs in Birmingham have created a dangerous undercurrent in cities as far away as Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles. There, race relations have been fairly good, and a situation resulting from a depressed economy is now being blamed on discrimination.

These are some of the factors behind the President's civil rights message to Congress.—(c1963.)

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Jack Tarver, President

EDITORIALS 24

On The Local Level

THE PRESIDENT reported over the weekend that he realizes the final answer to the problem of racial strains lies at the local level.

Good. This has been so all along and will continue to be so. These problems must be analyzed in the light of local conditions and solutions sought within that framework.

This is a good formula when it works. That is to say, when the leaders of each race face up to the problem, meet in good faith and through collective bargaining rid their communities of one artificial barrier after another.

But this situation assumes forthrightness and good will and patience. It also assumes control by the moderates.

The President's remarks preface his going to Congress for a new civil rights bill. He thinks that what he asks for will put an end to street demonstrations and other provocative measures of the immoderates. These dramatic idiocies have made things considerably more difficult for the men of good will of the middle road.

Whether the President gets what he wants or not will not make too much difference except as a platform plank in the 1964 campaign.

The final answer today and tomorrow, as it was yesterday, rests at the local level.

And this answer is based on mutual tolerance, common sense, a respect for law and order and a realization that we're all in this together.

We have been forthright about our troubles and the way we go about solving them here in Atlanta. We have made admirable progress within the law, and if we can keep our troubles off the streets and in the courts and meeting rooms, nothing can stop us.

Pres. Politics 6-10-63

1963. NYT

ARMY PLANS TO COPE WITH RACE VIOLENCE

WASHINGTON, June 8 (AP) —Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara has designated the Army to carry out Government orders in connection with new racial violence.

Secretary of the Army Cyrus R. Vance is using the existing chain of command to prepare for any additional deployment of troops and to maintain liaison with the field and other Government agencies.

From Mr. Vance, the chain of command runs down through Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, the Army Chief of Staff, to regional commanders, including divisions. From Mr. Vance, it extends up through the Justice Department to the White House, with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy an important figure in shaping Administration policy.

The Army's War Room, focal point for plans and data in day-to-day operations, is used as the clearing point for contact between Army headquarters here and the field. It is also used when the Justice Department or White House need to communicate quickly with Mr. Vance.

Williams Gets Knighthood

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, June 8 — Alan Meredith Williams, British Consul General in New York, was made a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in the Queen's birthday honors list published Saturday. The award carries a knighthood. He had been a Companion of the order.

Pre-Pilots

RACE GRADUALISM SCORED AS 'FOLLY'

Jewish Congress Offers Plan —Asks Kennedy's Backing

By IRVING SPIEGEL

The American Jewish Congress charged yesterday that the policy of gradualism in achieving racial equality was a "folly and a failure."

The organization's national governing council, its policy-making body, also urged President Kennedy to move "boldly" in coping with what it described as the "crucial domestic issue of our time—closing the civil rights gap between what the Constitution promises and the way millions of Americans live."

In a statement adopted by the council at a special meeting in the Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 East Eighty-fourth Street, the organization said that "gradualism means sacrificing the constitutional rights and the potential for human development of a whole generation of American Negroes."

The statement contained an eight-point "basic legislative program" that it urged President Kennedy to include in submitting his civil rights message to Congress this week. The Jewish group called for enactment of measures that would:

¶Give the Department of Justice power to institute court actions to enjoin any denial of equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.

¶Require all public school districts still maintaining racial segregation — including those that have achieved only token desegregation — to prepare and promptly carry out plans for full integration at the beginning of the next school year.

¶Provide Federal financial assistance, technical aid and advice to school districts that need help in integrating their schools.

¶Prohibit discrimination based on race, religion or national origin in all places of public accommodation that affect interstate commerce or are licensed by state or local officials.

¶Establish a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission along the lines of state antidiscrimination commissions that have operated successfully since 1945.

¶Protect effectively the right to vote, including a provision making a sixth grade education conclusive proof of literacy.

¶Require all present and future legislation providing for Federal benefits to include effective provisions prohibiting discrimination in the distribution of such benefits.

¶Make the Civil Rights Commission a permanent body and give it authority to investigate not only denial of voting rights but also every aspect of racial or religious discrimination.

Shad Polier, chairman of the governing council, submitted the eight-point program. The meeting was attended by leaders of the American Jewish Congress from various sections of the country.

Zafrulla Khan in Leningrad

LONDON, June 8 (Reuters) —Mohammad Zafrulla Khan, president of the United Nations General Assembly, arrived in Leningrad Saturday to begin an eight-day tour of the Soviet Union, the Russian press agency Tass reported.

Kennedy Bad as Ike, Says King

NEW YORK—The civil rights approach of the Kennedy Administration—as opposed to that of the Eisenhower Administration—has been merely to substitute "an inadequate approach for a miserable one," the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. asserted Sunday.

He said President Kennedy "may have done a little more" than former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, "But the plight of the vast majority of Negroes remains the same."

In his broadest attack to date on President Kennedy's civil rights record, the Southern Negro integrationist leader charged the President with a failure of leadership and with not having lived up to his campaign promises.

CHANCE TO RECOUP

King indicated that Kennedy might have a chance to recoup if the civil rights proposals that are expected to be given Congress this week are strong ones.

But he called on the President to "do more than issue a call," and said he should not make his planned trip to Europe later this month, but stay in Washington to push the program.

"If he leaves, he would be doing a grave disservice to the nation and to the civil rights movement," King asserted. He spoke in a two-hour taped interview with David Susskind on the "Open End" television program on Station WPIX in New York.

Among other things, Kennedy could revive "fireside chats" to explain civil rights to the nation, Dr. King suggested. But he said that above all the President must start talking of integration in moral terms—in which "We seldom if ever hear the President of the United States speaking—rather than purely political terms."

IKE IS ATTACKED

President Eisenhower failed "to take a forthright moral stand" after the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling in 1954, and "this set us back." Dr. King indicated that integrationist groups, to aid the President, may stage "a march on Washington, even sit-ins in Congress."

In another broadcast Sunday, Malcolm X, the Black Muslim leader, expressed what appeared to be mild criticism of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., D-N.Y., who appeared on the platform at a Muslim rally this spring.

Asked on the WCBS radio program "Let's find out" if the Harlem congressman was "moving in your direction," Malcolm said:

"It's hard to tell. He moves in one direction one minute and another direction another minute. He's flexible."

Reuther Prods Democrats On Civil Rights Platform

Pres. Pol. — Huff 6-10-63

DETROIT, June 8 (UPI)—Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, called Saturday for immediate implementation of the civil rights planks in the Democratic national platform of 1960.

Mr. Reuther made the plea in a telegram to President Kennedy and Congressional leaders.

"There is no half-way house to human freedom," Mr. Reuther said. "We must determine now, once and for all, whether we believe in the United States Constitution, which guarantees the rights of all citizens; whether we are willing to act in the knowledge that all men are free and have the right to exercise all the privileges of freedom."

Jackie Selects Colors For Ranch-Style Home

6-10-63 cont. Pres. Pol.

Caroline is getting "pink frost" for her new bedroom and John Jr.'s will be done in a good, cowboy color, dessert Zinia, a lively yellow.

A tasteful yet conservative group of appropriate colors are being used in the new ranch-style summer home of President and Mrs. Kennedy located on Rattlesnake Mountain near the village of Marshall, Va.

Mrs. Kennedy made this selection of tones for both interior and exterior finishes. The walls of the reception hall and the corridors are done in off white and the woodwork matches the walls in a satin finish.

PRESIDENT'S ROOM

Both ceiling and walls in the President's bedroom are finished in pure white. Mrs. Kennedy's bedroom has the ceiling in off white with floral pattern wallpaper.

Off white was used in the nurse's room. Both ceiling and walls of the guest room is papered with a large multi-colored block pattern and the woodwork is finished in a satin white.

DUSTY PINK

The walls of the large living room are in a dusty pink, and the dining room in a warm yellow. The kitchen and counter space areas are finished in a pure white semi-gloss.

The exterior surfaces are in a dusty gold shade with the wood trim painted in gleaming white. Colorwise, both interior and exterior colors of the summer home definitely make for cheerful, leisurely living.

'Peak' Sweet

Try powdered sugar instead of granulated in whipped cream. It will be in "peak" condition when ready to serve.

Fire Hoses Halt Negroes In Danville

DANVILLE, Va., (AP) — Hose-wielding firemen and police armed with nightsticks broke up a Negro demonstration around the City Jail Monday night and a Negro leader warned that soon "blood may flow in the streets."

The melee broke out near the jail where 37 Negroes had been imprisoned earlier in the day during a noisy protest march through downtown Danville.

Three additional persons, including a white man, John Robert Zellner, 24, of Atlanta, were arrested in the 10 minutes or so it took authorities to disperse the crowd of about 50 at the jail.

A Negro leader, the Rev. A. I. Dunlap, charged that some of the demonstrators were "beaten unmercifully" with police clubs and said:

"I am mighty afraid violence will erupt."

GOV. GEORGE
He Raises His Hand to

See over also

Dixie, Negroes To Aid GOP, Miller Hopes

Pres. Politics

Atla Jour!

6-11-63

By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

Republican National Chairman William E. Miller indicated here Tuesday the party hopes to carry the South and get the Negro vote, too, in next year's presidential election.

William E. Miller

It was failure to get not all of the one and not enough of the other that cost candidate Richard Nixon the election in 1960. Mr. Miller a New York congressman, told the Georgia Association of Broadcasters Monday night the GOP now concedes no area in the South.

In an interview Tuesday he also let it be known the party does not intend to be maneuvered out of the Negro vote this time. Many observers credit Kennedy telephone calls to Georgia in behalf of Martin Luther King Jr. with the tilting of the Negro vote to the Democratic side.

"The history of the party indicates we ought to get them," Rep. Miller said about the vote of Negroes.

HE STEERED clear of any too direct comments on current racial troubles except to say the party has had no unusual number of overtures from citizens of Alabama and Mississippi. There, racial troubles are greatest and dislike of the Kennedys is keenest.

"I don't think this trouble is

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GOP CHIEF

Continued From Page 1

localized," he said about racial tension. "We have heard quite a bit lately from Philadelphia."

As national chairman until one day after the 1964 Republican convention—he says he is getting out of politics then—Mr. Miller would express no personal preference for any of the mentioned contenders.

BUT HE DID LIST the ones he says he hears the most about—Nelson Rockefeller, Barry Goldwater and George Romney—and commented that he thinks "no one has a commanding lead right now."

In answer to a question, he said he had the same opinion six weeks ago, before the re-marriage of his homestate governor.

Several months ago there were reports one group of Republicans, including some Mississippi-based one, were out to get rid of Mr. Miller. However, he more than weathered that storm, and his slashing attacks on the Kennedys have been highly praised in some quarters, especially Republican ones.

HE DID ANNOUNCE recently, however, he intends to quit Congress and the party after the convention, to spend more time with his family and private affairs.

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RFK Fails To Sway Dixie On Rights Try

Atlanta Journal Bureau
1426 G Street, NW

WASHINGTON, June 11 — A warning by Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy of possible racial disorder has failed to soften opposition of Southern senators, including Georgia's, to new civil rights legislation.

Mr. Kennedy met privately Monday at the Capitol with Sen. Richard B. Russell and Sen. Herman E. Talmadge of Georgia and at least nine other Dixie solons.

Sen. Russell said afterwards: "We had a complete meeting of the mind—we agreed to disagree."

The Georgia senior senator said the conference was friendly, but the Southerners made it clear they would not support proposals which "aim another blow at property rights in this country."

The Kennedy administration reportedly will offer legislation to lower racial barriers in privately owned public accommodations such as restaurants, hotels and theaters.

SENATE Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., who arranged the session, said the matter of a filibuster by the Southerners was not discussed.

It is generally accepted that the Southern group, headed by Sen. Russell, will resist new legislation with a filibuster.

Sen. Russell is expected to call the Southern caucus together soon to plan strategy.

One source described the session as "completely abortive." The attorney general made no dent whatever in the Southerners' resistance, the source said.

Eleven of the 17 senators who comprise the Southern caucus were reported present at the meeting.

Pre. Politics 6-11-63 N47

THE

U.S. Mayors of South and North Back Kennedy Integration Aims

Civil Rights Is Uppermost at Parley of the 650 Executives in Hawaii

By LAWRENCE E. DAVIES
Special to The New York Times

HONOLULU, June 10—Mayors from South and North informally and individually today accepted major points of a race relations challenge left with the United States Conference of Mayors here yesterday by President Kennedy.

Some from both sections asserted they already had met most of the salient recommendations made by the President for solving the critical domestic racial problems.

And Chief of Police Herbert Jenkins of Atlanta, in an outspoken criticism of the actions of some Southern mayors and governors, told the opening session of the mayors, confrence that he had never ceased to be amazed to hear them "even express a sincere belief that the status quo will be maintained notwithstanding what the United States Supreme Court might rule."

Race Relations in Forefront

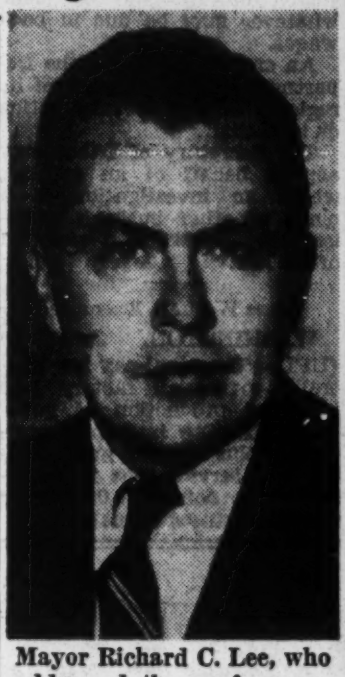
The conference opened at the Hilton Hawaiian Village, with race relations the uppermost topic among the 650 delegates and aides, even though civil rights appeared nowhere in the official agenda. A floor fight over a prospective civil rights resolution remained a possibility for later in the week.

Mayor Richard C. Lee of New Haven, Conn., in his opening address as conference president, interpolated the following comment in his prepared text after welcoming speeches by Mayor Neal S. Blaisdell of Honolulu and Lieut Gov. William Richardson of Hawaii:

"The President used plain and blunt language in race relations and the role that each of us can have in the most difficult elective position in America. The answers are in our hands, hearts and minds."

Mayor Wagner of New York, outside the meeting hall, linked race and unemployment as "the great domestic problems" and said, "Everybody has to realize he cannot close his eyes and hope they go away."

Appraising President Kennedy's speech as "a timely one to mayors all over the country," Mr. Wagner said New York had covered the five areas advocated by the President — establishing a biracial human relations committee, seeing that local ordinances and practices were in accord with constitutional law, following non-discriminatory practices in employment and promotion of municipal workers, adopting equal opportunity ordinances, and campaigning for reduced school dropouts and lessened unemployment among the unskilled.



Mayor Richard C. Lee, who addressed the conference.

"Dogs and hoses, in my opinion, are never going to solve the problems," Mr. Wagner asserted, "but in the North, before we criticize, we've got to see that our house is in order, and there remains a lot to be done in some areas. In New York City we have been working not only just now, as matters come to a head in the world, but we have been working on a day-to-day basis for a long time."

Houston Integration Cited

Mayor Lewis Cutrer of Houston, Texas, said he "agreed heartily with some of the things President Kennedy mentioned," but on others the mayor had his "own independent views."

"I feel that private enterprise, which risks its money and foots the bills," he said, "should have the sole right to decide whom to serve. But in Houston we have recognized the right of all parties and we have handled our public facilities in accordance with court rulings. Our golf courses, restaurants in public buildings, libraries—and, since a few days ago, our swimming pools—all have been integrated. Hotels and lunch counters integrated voluntarily and our theater owners plan to integrate."

A fellow Texan, Mayor Jack M. Moore of Beaumont, acclaimed President Kennedy for a "fine speech" and said his city used this approach:

"The Negroes have legal rights and we have no right to deny them. We work with them, and they with us, to avoid incidents. ur interracial council with our Negroes have been very fair."

Although there would be "some conflicts," Mayor Moore said, he predicted the South would work its way out of the present situation.

NYT
Pres Pol

, JUNE 11, 1963.

In The Nation

President Kennedy's Yea and Nay

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, June 10—Some citizens who are in full sympathy with President Kennedy's stated objective of ending every form of racial discrimination — private and public—which exists in the American society, but who also approve of his insistence that as "a people of laws" we should abide by constitutional lawmaking process, may see inconsistency in his counsels to the National Association of Mayors in Hawaii. At one point he expressed his purpose as that of moving racial demonstrations for relief of grievances "from the streets to the courts." But at another he said that "justice cannot await action of Congress or even of the courts."

The key to the variance between these two statements is probably Mr. Kennedy's urging that the municipalities of the United States, which are neither "Congress" nor "the courts," move at once to eliminate local ordinances and practices which stand in the way of what he conceives to be interracial "justice." But the Supreme Court has already forbidden local or state enforcement of the ancient common law against trespass on privately owned places of public accommodation where compulsory segregation is a statute or official policy. Hence by "justice" which "cannot await" its legislative and judicial assertion the President's comment can be read to apply only to such pervasive local practices as racial discrimination in municipal hiring, in housing and in opportunity for education and employment.

However, the sentence was so broadly phrased that it could encourage the spread of the method of seeking redress in the streets instead of in the courts that Mr. Kennedy in the same speech was deploring. The method was sanctioned *ex post facto* in the Southern sit-in cases. The Supreme Court ruled that the laws against trespass in these instances were not enforceable because they sought to protect an unconstitutional condition, although this enforceability was constitutional at the time because the court had not yet ruled otherwise. But the important judicial distinction between communities where trespass on private property is illegal and where it still is not has since been disregarded by street demonstrators in non-Southern cities.

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This development imposes on the President, the Department of Justice and the Federal judiciary an obligation constantly to stress this difference that was absent from the Supreme Court's language in dismissing the sit-in trespass convictions; also from Mr. Kennedy's sweeping sentence about "justice" in his Hawaii speech. It also imposes a heavy obligation on Negro leaders who were discharging it with complete responsibility until their leadership was threatened by inciters of their people to take the law into their own hands.

"It is clear to me," said Mr. Kennedy at Honolulu, "that the time for token moves and idle talk is over—that these [Negro] rights are going to be won—and that our responsibility, yours and mine, is to see that they are won in a peaceful and constructive manner." But, as The Washington Star noted editorially today, although "this is also the responsibility of the Negroes, and especially the Negro leaders . . ., the President didn't go into that side of the story."

The Attorney General's Attitude

The fact is that the Administration is highly apprehensive of racial violence throughout the nation. This was made clear today by Attorney General Kennedy in a meeting with members of the Senate. Said one, "He painted a terrible picture of a situation which could become uncontrollable" in his effort to persuade the Southerners to support the forthcoming Administration bill. This, according to the same Senator, "would prohibit free customer choice by every private business establishment—the larger by law, the rest by officially stimulated pressure—through an obviously unenforceable expansion of the interstate commerce clause."

But the enforceability of this measure, in whatever form it may get through Congress—and the indications are that a Senate filibuster against it will fail—will be much less difficult if Administration spokesmen, and the President especially, are always careful to emphasize two particular determinations. One, that the rule of law will prevail. The other, that the Government cannot be scared into accepting a rule of law in which wrongs redressed are at the expense of the rights of others.

atta. Const. 6-11-63

Kennedy Rights Bills Greeted By a Big 'No' from South

Pres. Politics

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Kennedy administration gave Southern senators a preview of some of its civil rights proposals Monday and Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., reported: "We had a complete meeting of the minds—we agreed to disagree."

That was just about what Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy expected when he outlined the legislation President John F. Kennedy is expected to propose in a message to Congress later this week.

"No commitments were asked, and none were given," said Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, who arranged the conference.

At the White House, press secretary Pierre Salinger said Republican leaders of Congress will be consulted, possibly at a joint session with Democratic leaders, before the message is delivered.

The administration is counting on Republicans to help break the Southern filibuster that Sen. Harry F. Byrd, D-Va., told a National Press Club audience will greet the President's civil rights proposals.

Byrd predicted the filibuster would delay both the President's tax-cut bill and the adjournment of Congress. Byrd later attended the meeting with the other Southerners.

Speaking on his 76th birthday, Byrd said the country is on the verge of serious racial trouble, in the North as well as South, and expressed hope it will not result in violence.

Salinger announced 150 labor union leaders will meet with the President at the White House late Thursday to discuss race relations, and he said a group of religious leaders will be in to see Kennedy next Monday.

Mansfield told newsmen that at the meeting with Southern senators the attorney general did not spell out details of the proposed civil rights legislation, since he

Continued on Page 10, Column 5

Dixie Gives Kennedy A Big 'No'

Continued From Page 1

said no final conclusion has been reached yet.

Russell, leader of the Southern forces, told reporters he got the impression the administration is "pretty well decided on what they are going to do," and "we agreed to disagree."

Russell added that the meeting was amicable, but said his group made it clear it would not go along with proposals which "aim another blow at property rights in this country."

This was a reference to a proposal to require owners of restaurants and other public accomodations to serve members of all races.

Other Southerners attending the meeting were Sens. Allen J. Ellender D-La.; George Smathers, D-Fla.; Russell B. Long, D-La.; Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga.; John L. McClellan, D-Ark.; Lister Hill, D-Ala.; Olin Johnston, D-S.C.; Sam J. Ervin, D-N.C.; and James O. Eastland, D-Miss., chairman of the Judiciary Committee which handles civil rights legislation.

While the contents of the proposals outlined to the Southern senators were not made public, Rep. Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., told reporters in New York that the administration plan covers six main points.

Also priority on all court calendars for civil right petitions; continuing the Federal Civil Rights Commission for four more years; replacing local voting registrars with federal registrars in any area where 15 per cent or more of the vote-age population is deprived of its vote.

Atlg. Const. 6-11-63

William S. White

Politicians Wary Of Racial Crisis

Pres. Politics

WASHINGTON — Both political parties are walking on tiptoe on the racial issue, aware that old political certainties may be certainties no longer and aware most of all that this can no longer be seen as only a Southern problem. Because all recognize both the national and political dangers inherent in the situation, there is a curious tendency to treat it with far less overt partisanship than used to be the case.

Indeed, the coming struggle in the Senate over President Kennedy's new civil rights proposals may have some of the bipartisan overtones usually reserved for grave foreign policy issues.

At the center of the crisis, of course, is the Kennedy administration; and it, too, is proceeding with the greatest of caution. Generally, the racial issue has been approached politically by this administration as essentially a problem of keeping in touch with minority group demands but never quite meeting those demands in any of their more extreme forms.

The question now, however, has become far more complicated by the sudden introduction of a great new factor. This is the sharp emergence of racial feeling as a wholly national fact of life—a fact of life which some informed officials now believe may become even harsher and more difficult to handle in the North than in the South.

The administration's most active figure in this issue, Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, is in a most ironical position. Though a symbol to many in the South of what is felt to be a deeply unfriendly federal attitude toward that region, he is at the same time under heavy attack from Negro extremists in the North.

So, in a less direct way, is his brother, the President. What some of these extremists have been saying in private about—and to—Robert Kennedy and John Kennedy is certainly no less bitter than what has been said about them by, say, Gov. George Wallace of Alabama.

Piling complication upon complication is the new situation in the Northern white community. Formerly, that community was generally if somewhat vaguely sympathetic to Negro demands in the South but at the same time felt no intimate involvement. Now there is a sudden sense of involvement and fear in the North, fear for property rights and for the maintenance of the more subtle, but nonetheless real, forms of segregation practiced in the North.

It is conceivable that those who are preaching Negro "revolution" in the South may find they are promoting white "counter-revolution" in the North. This is the ultimate nightmare of many politicians, in both parties, today.

Pres Politics 6-11-63

Atlg. Const.

Entertainers Snub Segregated Clubs

NEW YORK (AP)—The American Guild of Variety Artists voted in convention Monday for an immediate national boycott of entertainment centers that racially segregate either customers or employes.

Delegates to the 16th national convention of AGVA voted unanimously by cheering acclamation, according to an announcement made after their closed session.

President Joey Adams of AGVA said the unanimous vote made it mandatory on the union's national board to approve the boycott. This formal action was scheduled for Friday.

AGVA, with several thousand members, is one of the major unions in the entertainment field. Its jurisdiction extends to nightclubs, hotel supper clubs, and other centers that use vaudeville type live entertainment. It does not cover the legitimate stage or television.

The boycott resolution voiced AGVA's intention to "aid and support and lend assistance to the President and the attorney general of the United States in their programs and efforts to eliminate and ban the policy of segregation in hotels, nightclubs and other places of entertainment."

The resolution continued:

"AGVA will advocate the non-appearance of AGVA members in any hotels, club or place of entertainment where such a policy of segregation exists."

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 12, 1963

file Pers Politics

JUN 20 1963

Dear Mr. Minnis:

In response to your recent letter, I am glad to send you the enclosed press release. Although we do not maintain a mailing list, the White House Press Release Office will send you specific press releases upon request.

Sincerely yours,

Pierre Salinger
Press Secretary
to the President

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206
Five Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosure

6-21-63

June 7, 1963

Mr. Pierre Salinger
Press Secretary
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Salinger:

Please send us the text of the President's address on June 6 at San Diego State College and please place us on your mailing list for the texts of future Presidential Addresses.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

JUN 20 1963

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE JUNE 6, 1963

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(San Diego, California)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT GRADUATION EXERCISES OF
SAN DIEGO STATE COLLEGE
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

(AS ACTUALLY DELIVERED)

President Love, Governor Brown, Chancellor Heilbrun, Dr. Loewe, Trustees, Fellow Graduates, Ladies and Gentlemen: I want to express a very warm sense of appreciation for the honor that you have given to me today, to be an instant graduate of this distinguished college. It is greatly appreciated and I am delighted to participate in what is a most important ceremony in the lives of us all.

One of the most impressive, if not the most impressive accomplishment of this great Golden State has been the recognition by the citizens of this State of the importance of education as the basis for the maintenance of an effective, fres society. This fact was recognized in our earliest beginnings at the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but I do not believe that any State in the Union has given more attention in recent years to educating its citizens to the highest level, doctorate level, in the State colleges, the junior colleges, the high schools, the grade schools. You recognize that a free society places burdens upon any free citizens. To govern is to choose and the ability to make those choices wisely and responsibly and prudently implies the best of all of us.

No country can possibly move ahead, no free society can possibly be sustained, unless it has an educated citizenry whose quality of mind and heart permit it to take part in the complicated and sophisticated decisions that pour not only upon the President and upon the Congress, but upon all the citizens who service the ultimate power.

I am sure that the graduates of this college recognize that the effort of the people of California that govern the Legislature, the local communities, the faculty, that this concentrated effort of mind and scholarship to educate the young citizens of this State has not been done merely to give this school's graduates an economic advantage in the life struggle. Quite obviously, there is a higher purpose, and that is the hope that you will turn to the service of the State, the scholarship, the education, the qualities which society has helped develop in your; that you will render on the community level or on the State level or on the national level or the international level a contribution to the maintenance of freedom and peace and the security of our country and those associated with it in a most critical time.

In so doing, you will follow a great and laudable tradition which combined American scholarship and American leadershil in political affairs. It is an extraordinary fact of history, I think, unmatched since the days of early Greece, that this country should have produced during its founding days in a population of a handful of men such an extraordinary range of scholars and creative thinkers who helped build this country -- Jefferson, Franklin, Morris, Wilson, and all the rest. This is a great tradition which we must maintain in our time with increasing strength and increasing vigor.

MORE

Those of you who are educated, those of us who recognize the responsibilities of an educated citizen, should now concern ourselves with whether we are providing an adequate education for all Americans, will all Americans have an equal chance to develop their intellectual qualities and whether we are preparing ourselves today for the educational challenges which are going to come before this decade is out.

The first question, and the most important -- does every American boy and girl have an opportunity to develop whatever talents they have? All of us do not have equal talent, but all of us should have an equal opportunity to develop those talents. Let me cite a few facts to show that they do not.

In this fortunate State of California, the average current expenditure for a boy and girl in the public schools is $515, but in the State of Mississippi it is $230. The average salary for classroom teachers in California is $7,000, while in Mississippi it is $3600.

Nearly three-quarters of the young, white population of the United States have graduated from high school, but only about two-fifths of our non-white population has done the same. In some States, almost 40 percent of the non-white population has completed less than five years of school. Contrast it with seven percent of the white population. In one American State, over 36 percent of the public school buildings are over 40 years of age. In another, only four percent are that old.

Such facts, and one could prolong the recital indefinitely, make it clear that American children today do not yet enjoy equal educational opportunities for two primary reasons: One is economic and the other is racial. If our Nation is to meet the goal of giving every American child a fair chance, because an uneducated child makes an uneducated parent who in another day produces another uneducated child, we must move ahead swiftly in both areas, and we must recognize that segregation and education, and I mean de facto segregation in the North as well as the proclaimed segregation in the South, brings withit serious handicaps to a large proportion of the population. It does no good, as you in California know better than any, to say that that is the business of another State. It is the business of our country, and in addition, these young, uneduczted boys and girls know no State boundaries and they come West as well as North and East, and they are your citizens as well as citizens of this country.

The second question relates to the quality of our education. Today one out of every three students in the fifth grade will drop out of high school, and only two outof ten will graduate from college. In the meantime, we need more educated men and women, and we need less and less unskilled labor. There are millions of jobs that will be available in the next seven years for educated young men and women. The demand will be overwhelming, and there will be millions of people out of work who are unskilled because with new machines and technology there is less need for them. This combination of a tremendously increasing population among our young people, of less need for unskilled labor, of increasingly unskilled labor available, combines to form one of the most serious domestic problems that this country will fact in the next ten years. Of Americans 18 years of age or older, more than 23 million have less than eight years of schooling, and over 8 million have less than five years. What kind of judgment, what kind of response can we expect of a citizen who has been to school less than five years, and we have in this country 8 million who have been to school lessthan five years? As a result,

they can't read or write or do simple arithmetic. They are illiterate in this rich country of ours, and they constitute the hard core of our unemployed. They can't write a letter to get a job, and they can't read, in many cases, a help-wanted sign. One outof every ten workers who failed to finish elementary school are unemployed, as compared to one out of 50 (college craduates).

In short, our current educational programs, much as they represent a burden upon the taxpayers of this country, do not meet the responsibility. The fact of the matter is that this is a problem which faces us all, no matter where we live, no matter what our political views must be. "Knowledge is power," as Francis Bacon said 500 years ago, and today it is truer than it ever was.

What are we going to do by the end of this decade? There are four million boys and girls born each year in the United States. Our population is growing each decade by a figure equal to the total population of this country at the time of Abraham Lincoln just 100 years ago. Our educational system is not expanding fast enough. By 1970 the number of students in our public, elementary, and secondary schools will have increased 25 percent over 1960. Nearly three-quarters of a million new classrooms will be needed, and we are not building them at that rate. By 1970 we will have 7 million students in our colleges and universities, 3 million more than we do today. We are going to double the population of our colleges and universities in ten years. We are going to have to build as many school, and college classrooms and buildings in 10 years as we did in 150 years.

By 1970 we will need 7500 Ph.D.'s (each year) in the physical sciences, mathematics, and engineering, In 1960 we graduated 3000. Such facts make it clear that we have a major responsibility and a major opportunity, one that we should welcome, because there is no greater asset in this country than an educated man or woman. Education, quite rightly, is the responsibility of the State and the local community, but from the beginning of our country's history, from the time of the Northwest Ordinance, as John Adams and Thomas Jefferson recognized, from the time of the Morrill Act at the height of the Civil War, when the Land Grant College system was set up under the Administration of President Lincoln, from the beginning it has been recognized that there must be a national commitment and that the national government must play its role in stimulating a system of excellence which can serve the great national purpose of a free society, and it is for that reason that we have sent to the Congress of the United States legislation to help meet the needs of higher education, by assisting in the construction of college academic facilities, and junior colleges and graduate centers, and technical institutes, and by stepping up existing programs for student loans and graduate fellowships and other student assistance programs.

We have to improve, and we have so recommended, the quality of our teachers by expanding teacher training institutes, by improving teacher preparation programs, by broadening educational research and by authorizing -- and this is one of our greatest needs -- increased training for teachers for the handicapped -- the deaf, and those who can't speak, and those who are otherwise handicapped. And it is designed to strengthen public elementary and secondary education through grants to the States for better teachers' salaries, to relieve critical classroom shortages, to meet the special educational problems of depressed areas, and the continuing expansion of vocational education and counsel.

MORE

(OVER)

And finally, we must make a massive attack upon illiteracy in the year 1963 in the United States by an expansion of university extension courses and by a major effort to improve our libraries in every community of our country.

I recognize that this represents a difficult assignment for us all, but I don't think it is an assignment from which we should shrink. I believe that education comes at the top of the responsibilities of any government, at whatever level. It is essential to our survival as a nation in a dangerous and hazardous world, and it is essential to the maintenance of freedom at a time when freedom is under attack.

I have traveled inthe last 24 hours from Washington to Colorado to Texas to here, and on every street I see mothers standing with two or three or four children. They are going to pour into our schools and our colleges in the next 10 or 20 years and I want this generation of Americans to be as prepared to meet this challenge as our forefathers did in making it possible for all of us to be here today.

We are the privileged, and it should be the ambition of every citizen to express and expand that privilege so that all of our countrymen and women share it.

Thank you.

ENd

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

RFK: Race Crisis to Get Worse

Atta forward Pres. Hd.

By JACK ANDERSON 6-14-63

Washington.

ATTY. GEN. Robert Kennedy, looking harassed and haggard, warned of worsening race relations the other day at separate closed - door sessions of his party's Southern and Northern senators.

The divided meeting led Wyoming Sen. Gale McGee to remark ruefully: "Here we are talking about the problem of segregation, and we're meeting as segregated senators."

But the attorney general gave both groups the same gloomy briefing. He confessed that the race issue was "a boiling kettle" which is keeping him up nights, warned that the worst outbreaks can be expected in the North.

"There were over 60 riots last week," he said.

He blamed extremists of both races but leveled his harshest blast at Alabama's big-stick lawman Eugene "Bull" Connor.

RESENTMENT

Connor's dogs and hoses caused Negro resentment to boil to the surface, Kennedy said. He claimed that the Rev. Martin Luther King had no more than 10 demonstrators when he first came to Birmingham to organize antisegregation marches.

It was his arrest on Good Friday and the harsh attitude of city officials which won him Negro support, Kennedy alleged.

The attorney general was also disappointed in the Rev. King who had been more belligerent than expected. He had expressed his private appreciation to federal negotiators for "saving the day" in Birmingham but had refused to give them any public credit.

The attorney general was more worried about racial tension in the North where, he warned, it is approaching the explosion point. He expressed alarm over the "breakdown of communications."

He also reported that the militant Black Muslims, the white-hating Negro extremists, have no following in the South but "bear watching" in the North.

At Kennedy's session with Southern solons, Louisiana Sen. Allen Ellender tried to bait him.

"Isn't it true," Ellender demanded, "that you publicly stated you favored the demonstrators?"

Kennedy snapped back denial and called upon Alabama Sen. Lister Hill for confirmation.

Virginia Sen. Harry Byrd, his apple cheeks flushed, was politely belligerent. He warned that integration can never be imposed upon some rural sections.

Except for Byrd and Ellender, the Southerners discussed the Negro question calmly with Kennedy.

South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond contributed a few surprisingly restrained remarks, and Georgia Sen. Richard Russell, the traditional leader of Southern filibusters, merely raised some constitutional questions.

At the Northern meeting, West Virginia Sen. Robert Byrd urged the attorney general "to do everything possible" to prevent Negroes from using children in their demonstrations.

Kennedy replied that Negroes are fighting for racial equality for future generations and are prepared to sacrifice children to win the battle.

Michigan Sen. Phil Hart called upon Kennedy to send Congress a bill that would complete desegregation in every school district.

"This was in the Democratic platform," he declared, "and I ran on the platform."

UNWORKABLE

Answering for Kennedy, civil rights chief Burke Marshall insisted such a bill would be "completely unworkable."

In answer to a question from Alaska Sen. Ernest Gruening, Senate Leader Mike Mansfield announced he was prepared to keep the Senate in session all year if it took that long to get a civil rights bill passed.

But he warned: "We're not going to be able to get a bill that Joe Clark and Phil Hart would want," referring to the senators from Pennsylvania and Michigan who have been pressing for a strong rights measure.

Mansfield also cautioned that it would take Republican help to break a Southern filibuster, notified GOP Sen. Jacob Javits of New York that 27 Republican votes would be needed.

For the time being, however, Mansfield will hold off action on Negro rights until tempers cool down across the country. —(c1963.)

NYT 6-14-63

ITY EDITION

Weather Bureau Report (Page 50) forecasts:
udy with chance of rain today.
Fair and seasonal tomorrow.
range: 72—58; yesterday: 80—55.
-Hum. Index: 67; yesterday: 74.

Pres. Politics

M TEN CENTS

KENNEDY PRESSES G.O.P. TO SUPPORT CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE

Has 2d Talk With Heads of Party—Also Sees Truman and 300 Union Leaders

BROAD BACKING SOUGHT

Message to Congress Due Next Week—Ban on Job Discrimination Dropped

By ANTHONY LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON June 13 — President Kennedy renewed his efforts today to rally the broadest possible support for new civil rights legislation.

He held a second meeting with Congressional leaders of both parties on his legislative plans. He talked with former President Harry S. Truman. And he met with nearly 300 labor union leaders.

The theme of bipartisanship was most significant. Today was the second time Mr. Kennedy had invited Republican leaders in to discuss his ideas on civil rights legislation. He scheduled a third session for next Monday.

That kind of consultation on a domestic issue is wholly extraordinary. At most, the opposition party would usually be called in the day before a message was delivered and informed of its contents.

It is now evident that the two weeks of delay in sending the much-discussed civil rights message to Capitol Hill were designed to let the President build as broad a base of support as possible.

Expected Next Week

The message is now expected to go to Congress the middle of next week, but even that is not certain. Mr. Kennedy leaves next weekend for his European trip.

Republican leaders attending the White House talks today were headed by the principal party spokesman in each house, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois and Representative Charles A. Halleck of Indiana.

With them were Representatives Leslie C. Arends of Illinois and Gerald R. Ford Jr. of Michigan, the assistant House Republican leader and chairman of the House Republican Conference, respectively. Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa came along as a substitute for Senator Thomas H. Kuchel of California, the assistant Senate Republican leader.

The leading Congressional Democrats were also there, including Vice President Johnson.

The legislative package discussed centered on the previous-

Continued on Page 18, Column 8

telephone service
cent levy on air travel.

Pres. Politics

JOB STUDY IN SOUTH BEGUN BY PENTAGON

NYT 6-14-63

WASHINGTON, June 13 (AP) — The Defense Department disclosed today it was making on-the-spot surveys on the extent of equal employment of civilian Negroes at major military bases in the South.

These surveys are part of a program for the armed services at home and overseas intended to promote efficient utilization of all employes, the department said today.

Reports received from the services "also will identify and correct any instances in which past discrimination may be impeding present employment opportunities," the Pentagon said.

Stephen Shulman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, said that the matter of race was not involved in that part of the program directed at improving utilization of employees. But, he said, the Defense Department would not be "color blind" in the studies of current employment practices.

Crewless Trains Forecast

Mr. Evers had been scheduled to be a witness.

Dr. Henry, testifying about a number of previously disclosed incidents, painted a grim picture of Negro life in Mississippi.

He said he had been arrested twice on trumped-up charges to discourage his activities for racial equality. The plate-glass window of his drugstore has been smashed seven times, he said. Last April, when Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr., Democrat of Michigan, was visiting him, the Henry home was bombed, Dr. Henry said.

Dr. Henry said that only eight of more than 200 Negro public high schools in Mississippi were accredited by the State Board of Education. Not one Negro attends a school with white children, he testified.

Late in the afternoon, Mr. Kennedy met for about an hour and a half with the labor leaders, many of whom pledged him their cooperation in attempting to end racial discrimination in unions and elsewhere.

Outlines Rights Program

Mr. Kennedy outlined in general terms his forthcoming civil rights legislative proposals. He told the labor leaders they "could do more, could move more rapidly," according to Dallas W. Sells, president of the Indiana State American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

As the meeting opened in the East Room of the White House, the President told the group they were to discuss a matter that concerned "all who occupy positions of responsibility."

What he wanted most of all, he said, was "to hear from you of what we can most usefully do about the matter."

Then he introduced Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, who termed the racial crisis "the most serious problem that we can possibly face." The basic solution, Mr. Wirtz suggested, is "to have more jobs" and equality of economic opportunity.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters of America, admonished the other labor leaders that they "ought to be moving faster." Negroes themselves, he said, are already "moving faster than their own leadership."

David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, said he had pledged "complete support" to Mr. Kennedy and to his proposed legislation.

"There is a large economic problem involving Negroes," Mr. McDonald said, "and, if we do not solve it by educating Negroes to get jobs," the problem will have to be solved by taxation for "a permanent relief dole."

"This the Negro doesn't want, he said.

James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, said he had suggested that the President add a fair employment practices bill to his legislative program.

The labor leaders agreed afterward that there was no dissention at the meeting. A statement issued by George Meany, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., said he had pledged "the unstinting assistance of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. to the prompt achievement of a full, enforceable civil rights program on every front."

New Rights Legislation

Congress Is Found in Mood to Act, But the Prospects Are It Will Hedge

By CABELL PHILLIPS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 13—A favorable atmosphere for new civil rights legislation exists in Congress, a check of party leaders indicates, but the prospect is hedged by many provisos and limitations. A consensus of these leaders is that new laws aimed at correcting discrimination in certain types of public accommodations are a possibility at this session, provided their applicability is limited to large business establishments.

News Analysis

It is also believed that a ban on Federal aid to school districts practicing segregation can be passed provided it is not accompained by authority for the Government to initiate suits for its enforcement.

The present crisis in race relations in the South and other parts of the country has worked to ameliorate, to some extent, the die-hard opposition to stricter civil rights laws, many Congressional sources say. But the new legislation, they add, still will have to be won in strife, including probably a Senate filibuster.

Drawing the Line

The line between the attainable and unattainable, these sources believe, is to be drawn at the point where an attempt is made to make the statutes inclusive and inflexible.

For example, all agree that a mandatory fair employment practices code that wipes out all vestiges of job discrimination is beyond reach at this session. Opposition would not come only from civil rights opponents in the South, but also elsewhere from states-rights conservatives, Democratic and Republican.

Similarly, it is believed that any attempt under a public accommodations statute to enforce nondiscrimination at village tourist homes and roadside restaurants, and their larger counterparts in cities, would meet with defeat.

However, if such a statute were limited in scope to establishments of a truly inter-state charaicter, or those doing a substantial dollar volume of business, the prospects for passage would be much improved.

Opposition is almost equally intense against giving the Attorney General authority to initiate suits for the enforcement of these or any other civil rights statutes. Such authority would virtually eliminate litigation in state and local courts, which has been a chief tactic of delay and defense used by segregationists.

Contrary to Negro Demands

These limitations run contrary to the "all and now" theme that marks the demands of Negro leaders and many of their liberal white supporters. On the other hand, they also mark the practical limits of congressional willingness to meet these demands. At this time, anyway. And this, it is stressed, is the measure of what is attainable.

Whether a program of Negro demonstrations aimed at Congress, which has been promised by some leaders, would stretch these limitations is open to question. Most members questioned about it say that demonstrations would have no effect. Others say that it might have an opposite effect to that intended, that Congress would become more recalcitrant at any efforts to coerce it.

Democratic leaders, who have been in close touch with the White House in recent weeks, say that President Kennedy has been placed in a difficult position by the explosive rise in civil rights pressures.

the kind of bill it would propose, and to get reactions from the two groups.

A official who attended both sessions said the results were "encouraging."

"Actually," he added, "the Southerners were easier to deal with than some of the liberals. The liberals wanted to talk only about how far such a bill should go. They seemed to want to knock down all the barriers at one stroke. But the Southerners, some of them, at least were interested in finding out what could be done in practical terms.

"I'm convinced that a good many of them recognize that new legislation is inevitable. They are going to fight it, which they have to do to stay alive politically. But once they have made the fight, I believe many of them are prepared to accept some new laws as long as they don't completely outrage their supporters."

Senate sources say that plenty of votes are available to pass a moderate civil rights program once it has cleared the probable hurdle of a filibuster.

A leadership nosecount indicates that 40 to 45 Democratic votes would be available to invoke closure, leaving 20 to 25 to be contributed by Republicans for the necessary 67.

KENNEDY PRESSES FOR G.O.P. BACKING

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

ly reported bill to prohibit the exclusion of Negroes from hotels, theaters, restaurants and other places of public accommodation.

Other legislative requests of the President include authority for the Justice Department to step into school segregation cases and methods of speeding up lawsuits to secure voting rights for Negroes.

Senator Dirksen objected strongly to basing this measure on the Federal Government's power over interstate commerce.

Republicans are sensitive because of the use of the commerce clause of the Constitution in the past for such social goals, as setting minimum wages. Senator Dirksen said he was concerned about a further "shredding" of the clause.

The Administration is now expected to base the public accommodations proposal, constitutionally, on both the commerce clause and the 14th Amendment. Senator Dirksen prefers relying on the amendment's provision that no state shall discriminate on account of race.

The possibility that the program would include some kind of ban on discrimination in employment has waned in recent days. This possibility now has apparently been foreclosed. It was not mentioned today.

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At the Capitol, discussion of the racial issue continued to boil up.

A House Judiciary subcommittee heard testimony from Dr. Aaron Henry of Mississippi, a friend and associate of Medgar W. Evers, the Negro leader who was slain two days ago.

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Hard Role to Play

He will be obliged, they say, to come out for a strong rights program closely approximating the maximum demands of the more influential Negro leadership groups. It is important for the President to establish and maintain a role of aggressive leadership in this crisis.

At the same time, it is argued, he must guard against demands so extreme that they would aid his opposition. The program that is ultimately shaped, a leader said, "must be bold enough to show the Negroes that he means business, and moderate enough to have some practical chance of getting through Congress; that a pretty hard mix."

Among the series of conference held this week were two in which Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and Burke Marshall, his chief civil rights deputy, met separately at the Capitol, first with a group of Senate Southern leaders, and later the same day with a group of liberals. The purpose was to review the Administration's thinking on

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Scout Crash Claims 13th Life

ESCALANTE, Utah, June 13 (UPI) — The 13th victim of Monday's Escalante scouting expedition accident died last night in a Panguitch, Utah, hospital, raising the toll in the truck crash to seven Boy Scouts and six adults. The latest victim was Marvin Porchatis, 29 years old, of Salt Lake City.

Missile Submarine in Debut

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla., June 13 (UPI)—The Lafayette, cruising about 75 feet below the surface of the Atlantic, launched two Polaris rockets 33 minutes apart today in its debut as the United States' largest missile - firing nuclear submarine. The missiles reportedly struck at targets more than 1,500 miles away in the Atlantic.

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A Time for Reflection and Vigilant Calm

By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, June 13—The civil rights debate has started with a series of ugly threats which, if carried out, could produce the most ominous constitutional and racial crisis of this century.

Even before President Kennedy has sent his civil rights program to Capitol Hill, Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, one of the Southern leaders, has threatened to "use the filibuster and any other means that are available" to oppose the legislation.

Meanwhile, the Rev. George Lawrence, the Northeast regional representative for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said in New York yesterday that any filibuster against Congressional civil rights action would touch off "massive acts of civil disobedience all over the nation."

Thousands upon thousands of Negroes, Rev. Lawrence added, would pour into Washington this summer to press for action and would, unless satisfied, "tie up public transportation by laying our bodies prostrate on runways of airports, across railroad tracks and at bus depots."

Before we go much further down this ominous path, it may be wise for those who want to help the Negro achieve equality and those who oppose Negro equality to take a calm look ahead.

The Senate Line-Up

The President is now committed to a civil rights program. It will probably go to the Congress next week and will be the focus of attention throughout the long, hot, irritating Washington summer and well into the autumn. If the end of this is an unbroken filibuster in the Senate, and therefore no legislative relief for the legitimate grievances of the American Negro, it is difficult to see how racial violence can be avoided.

The question remains, however, whether threats of civil disobedience are the way to avoid or break a filibuster, and it is here that the most careful judgment will have to be made on how best to serve the cause of equality.

Senator Hill and Senator Richard Russell of Georgia have threatened a filibuster. It will take two thirds of Senate members present and voting (67 out of 100) to bring the legislation to a vote. There are now 67 Democratic Senators and 33 Republicans, but 22 of the Democrats are from the South. Therefore, to cut off the debate, 45 Democratic and 22 Republican votes would be necessary.

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To get this will require the greatest demonstration of bipartisan cooperation ever put together in this generation on a domestic issue. If all 100 members of the Senate vote, the President will have to get the support of every Democrat from the North and West and he can lose only 11 Republicans.

In this situation, then, who are the friends of the Negro? Those who urge and threaten more and bigger Negro demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience in Washington and elsewhere, or those who want to let the great constitutional and social question be debated in an atmosphere of vigilant calm?

Nobody who has talked to any large number of Senators on Capitol Hill this week will lightly recommend the path of massive demonstrations on Capitol Hill—unless, of course, he wants to see the President's program defeated.

The conservative Republicans are in no mood to be pressured or blackmailed into voting for this program. Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican leader in the Senate, is taking a statesmanlike attitude toward the problem. He is cooperating with the White House and trying to work out a program that will give the Negroes relief, but it is his judgment that he cannot carry his party with him in an atmosphere of turmoil.

The Administration, too, has had some solemn second thoughts about approving more demonstrations. Unless it can get a non-violent and non-partisan atmosphere for the debate, it is convinced that it cannot win. For this reason, there was some irritation here today at former President Truman's caustic remark that the Republicans "have never done anything on civil rights"—this at a moment when President Kennedy was pleading with the Republican leaders to help him draft an acceptable civil rights program.

Demonstration or Intimidation?

It is easy to scoff at those who now propose moderation. The demonstrations against the Negro's humiliation are easy to understand, and without them it is clear that the Administration would not now be considering such a legislative program of civil rights.

Yet there is a point beyond which demonstration can easily be interpreted as intimidation, and produce a counteraction that will revive the Republican-Democratic conservative coalition in the Senate.

That coalition is not solid now. It has been shaken by the events of the last few weeks, and this is precisely the paradox of the situation. For, while the Negro demonstrations have undoubtedly created the opportunity for new civil rights legislation, continued and mounting demonstrations could easily carry the battle into the plaza on Capitol Hill and defeat the whole program.

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FOR RELEASE AT 12:00 NOON, EST June 19, 1963

Office of the White House Press Secretary

NOTICE: There should be no premature release of this message, nor should its contents be paraphrased, alluded to or hinted at in earlier stories. There is a total embargo on this message until 12:00 noon, June 19, 1963, which includes any and all references to any material in this message.

Pierre Salinger
Press Secretary
to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

MESSAGE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Last week I addressed to the American people an appeal to conscience -- a request for their cooperation in meeting the growing moral crisis in American race relations. I warned of "a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety" in many parts of the country. I emphasized that "the events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or State or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them." "It is a time to act", I said, "in the Congress, in State and local legislative bodies and, above all, in all of our daily lives."

In the days that have followed, the predictions of increased violence have been tragically borne out. The "fires of frustration and discord" have burned hotter than ever.

At the same time, the response of the American people to this appeal to their principles and obligations has been reassuring. Private progress -- by merchants and unions and local organizations -- has been marked, if not uniform, in many areas. Many doors long closed to Negroes, North and South, have been opened. Local bi-racial committees, under private and public sponsorship, have mushroomed. The Mayors of our major cities, whom I earlier addressed, have pledged renewed action. But persisting inequalities and tensions make it clear that Federal action must lead the way, providing both the nation's standard and a nationwide solution. In short, the time has come for the Congress of the United States to join with the Executive and Judicial Branches in making it clear to all that race has no place in American life or law.

On February 28, I sent to the Congress a message urging the enactment this year of three important pieces of civil rights legislation:

1. Voting. Legislation to assure the availability to all of a basic and powerful right -- the right to vote in a free American election -- by providing for the appointment of temporary Federal voting referees while voting suits are proceeding in areas of demonstrated need; by giving such suits preferential and expedited treatment in the Federal courts; by prohibiting in Federal elections the application of different tests and standards to different voter applicants; and by providing that, in voting suits pertaining to such elections, the completion of the sixth grade by any applicant creates a presumption that he is literate. Armed with the full and equal right to vote, our Negro citizens can help win other rights through political channels not now open to them in many areas.

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2. Civil Rights Commission. Legislation to renew and expand the authority of the Commission on Civil Rights, enabling it to serve as a national civil rights clearing house offering information, advice and technical assistance to any public or private agency that so requests.

3. School Desegregation. Legislation to provide Federal technical and financial assistance to aid school districts in the process of desegregation in compliance with the Constitution.

Other measures introduced in the Congress have also received the support of this Administration, including those aimed at assuring equal employment opportunity.

Although these recommendations were transmitted to the Congress some time ago, neither House has yet had an opportunity to vote on any of these essential measures. The Negro's drive for justice, however, has not stood still -- nor will it, it is now clear, until full equality is achieved. The growing and understandable dissatisfaction of Negro citizens with the present pace of desegregation, and their increased determination to secure for themselves the equality of opportunity and treatment to which they are rightfully entitled, have underscored what should already have been clear: the necessity of the Congress enacting this year -- not only the measures already proposed -- but also additional legislation providing legal remedies for the denial of certain individual rights.

The venerable code of equity law commands "for every wrong, a remedy." But in too many communities, in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens for which no effective remedy at law is clearly and readily available. State and local laws may even affirmatively seek to deny the rights to which these citizens are fairly entitled -- and this can result only in a decreased respect for the law and increased violations of the law.

In the continued absence of Congressional action, too many state and local officials as well as businessmen will remain unwilling to accord these rights to all citizens. Some local courts and local merchants may well claim to be uncertain of the law, while those merchants who do recognize the justice of the Negro's request (and I believe these constitute the great majority of merchants, North and South) will be fearful of being the first to move, in the face of official, customer, employee or competitive pressures. Negroes, consequently, can be expected to continue increasingly to seek the vindication of these rights through organized direct action, with all its potentially explosive consequences, such as we have seen in Birmingham, in Philadelphia, in Jackson, in Boston, in Cambridge, Maryland, and in many other parts of the country.

In short, the result of continued Federal legislative inaction will be continued, if not increased, racial strife -- causing the leadership on both sides to pass from the hands of reasonable and responsible men to the purveyors of hate and violence, endangering domestic tranquility, retarding our Nation's economic and social progress and weakening the respect with which the rest of the world regards us. No American, I feel sure, would prefer this course of tension, disorder and division -- and the great majority of our citizens simply cannot accept it.

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For these reasons, I am proposing that the Congress stay in session this year until it has enacted -- preferably as a single omnibus bill -- the most responsible, reasonable and urgently needed solutions to this problem, solutions which should be acceptable to all fair-minded men. This bill would be known as the "Civil Rights Act of 1963", and would include -- in addition to the aforementioned provisions on voting rights and the Civil Rights Commission -- additional titles on public accommodations, employment, Federally assisted programs, a Community Relations Service, and education, with the latter including my previous recommendation on this subject. In addition, I am requesting certain legislative and budget amendments designed to improve the training, skills and economic opportunities of the economically distressed and discontented, white and Negro alike. Certain executive actions are also reviewed here; but legislative action is imperative.

I. Equal accommodations in public facilities

Events of recent weeks have again underlined how deeply our Negro citizens resent the injustice of being arbitrarily denied equal access to those facilities and accommodations which are otherwise open to the general public. That is a daily insult which has no place in a country proud of its heritage -- the heritage of the melting-pot, of equal rights, of one nation and one people. No one has been barred on account of his race from fighting or dying for America -- there are no "white" or "colored" signs on the foxholes or graveyards of battle. Surely, in 1963, 100 years after Emancipation, it should not be necessary for any American citizen to demonstrate in the streets for the opportunity to stop at a hotel, or to eat at a lunch counter in the very department store in which he is shopping, or to enter a motion picture house, on the same terms as any other customer. As I stated in my message to the Congress of February 28, "no action is more contrary to the spirit of our democracy and Constitution -- or more rightfully resented by a Negro citizen who seeks only equal treatment -- than the barring of that citizen from restaurants, hotels, theatres, recreational areas and other public accommodations and facilities."

The United States Government has taken action through the courts and by other means to protect those who are peacefully demonstrating to obtain access to these public facilities; and it has taken action to bring an end to discrimination in rail, bus and airline terminals, to open up restaurants and other public facilities in all buildings leased as well as owned by the Federal Government, and to assure full equality of access to all Federally owned parks, forests and other recreational areas. When uncontrolled mob action directly threatened the nondiscriminatory use of transportation facilities in May 1961, Federal marshals were employed to restore order and prevent potentially widespread personal and property damage. Growing nationwide concern with this problem, however, makes it clear that further Federal action is needed now to secure the right of all citizens to the full enjoyment of all facilities which are open to the general public.

Such legislation is clearly consistent with the Constitution and with our concepts of both human rights and property rights. The argument that such measures constitute an unconstitutional interference with property rights has consistently been rejected by the courts in upholding laws on zoning, collective bargaining, minimum wages, smoke control and countless other measures designed to make certain that the use of private property is consistent with the public interest. While the legal situations are not parallel, it is interesting to note that Abraham Lincoln, in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation 100 years ago, was also

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accused of violating the property rights of slave-owners. Indeed, there is an age-old saying that "property has its duties as well as its rights"; and no property owner who holds those premises for the purpose of serving at a profit the American public at large can claim any inherent right to exclude a part of that public on grounds of race or color. Just as the law requires common carriers to serve equally all who wish their services, so it can require public accommodations to accommodate equally all segments of the general public. Both human rights and property rights are foundations of our society -- and both will flourish as the result of this measure.

In a society which is increasingly mobile and in an economy which is increasingly interdependent, business establishments which serve the public -- such as hotels, restaurants, theatres, stores and others -- serve not only the members of their immediate communities but travelers from other states and visitors from abroad. Their goods come from all over the nation. This participation in the flow of interstate commerce has given these business establishments both increased prosperity and an increased responsibility to provide equal access and service to all citizens.

Some 30 states*, the District of Columbia and numerous cities -- covering some 2/3 of this country and well over 2/3 of its people -- have already enacted laws of varying effectiveness against discrimination in places of public accommodation, many of them in response to the recommendation of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947. But while their efforts indicate that legislation in this area is not extraordinary, the failure of more states to take effective action makes it clear that Federal legislation is necessary. The state and local approach has been tried. The voluntary approach has been tried. But these approaches are insufficient to prevent the free flow of commerce from being arbitrarily and inefficiently restrained and distorted by discrimination in such establishments.

Clearly the Federal Government has both the power and the obligation to eliminate these discriminatory practices: first, because they adversely affect the national economy and the flow of interstate commerce; and secondly, because Congress has been specifically empowered under the Fourteenth Amendment to enact legislation making certain that no state law permits or sanctions the unequal protection or treatment of any of its citizens.

There have been increasing public demonstrations of resentment directed against this kind of discrimination -- demonstrations which too often breed tension and violence. Only the Federal Government, it is clear, can make these demonstrations unnecessary by providing peaceful remedies for the grievances which set them off.

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*Alaska	Illinois	Maryland	Nebr.	N. D.	S. D.
Calif.	Indiana	Mass.	N. H.	Ohio	Vermont
Colo.	Iowa	Mich.	N. J.	Oregon	Wash.
Conn.	Kansas	Minn.	N. M.	Penn.	Wisc.
Idaho	Maine	Mont.	N. Y.	Rhode Is.	Wyoming

Cities with public accommodations ordinances which are outside the above states include Washington, D. C., Wilmington, Del., Louisville, Ky, El Paso, Texas, Kansas City, Mo. and St. Louis, Mo.

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For these reasons, I am today proposing, as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1963, a provision to guarantee all citizens equal access to the services and facilities of hotels, restaurants, places of amusement and retail establishments.

This seems to me to be an elementary right. Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure. The proposal would give the person aggrieved the right to obtain a court order against the offending establishment or persons. Upon receiving a complaint in a case sufficiently important to warrant his conclusion that a suit would materially further the purposes of the Act, the Attorney General -- if he finds that the aggrieved party is unable to undertake or otherwise arrange for a suit on his own (for lack of financial means or effective representation, or for fear of economic or other injury) -- will first refer the case for voluntary settlement to the Community Relations Service described below, give the establishment involved time to correct its practices, permit state and local equal access laws (if any) to operate first, and then, and only then, initiate a suit for compliance. In short, to the extent that these unconscionable practices can be corrected by the individual owners, localities and states (and recent experience demonstrate how effectively and uneventfully this can be done), the Federal Government has no desire to intervene.

But an explosive national problem cannot await city-by-city solutions; and those who loudly abhor Federal action only invite it if they neglect or evade their own obligations.

This provision will open doors in every part of the country which never should have been closed. Its enactment will hasten the end to practices which have no place in a free and united nation, and thus help move this potentially dangerous problem from the streets to the courts.

II. Desegregation of Schools

In my message of February 28, while commending the progress already made in achieving desegregation of education at all levels as required by the Constitution, I was compelled to point out the slowness of progress toward primary and secondary school desegregation. The Supreme Court has recently voiced the same opinion. Many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court decision in 1954 will enter segregated high schools this year, having suffered a loss which can never be regained. Indeed, discrimination in education is one basic cause of the other inequities and hardships inflicted upon our Negro citizens. The lack of equal educational opportunity deprives the individual of equal economic opportunity, restricts his contribution as a citizen and community leader, encourages him to drop out of school and imposes a heavy burden on the effort to eliminate discriminatory practices and prejudices from our national life.

The Federal courts, pursuant to the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court and earlier decisions on institutions of higher learning, have shown both competence and courage in directing the desegregation of schools on the local level. It is appropriate to keep this responsibility largely within the judicial arena. But it is unfair and unrealistic to expect that the burden of initiating such cases can be wholly borne by private litigants. Too often those entitled to bring suit on behalf of their children lack the economic means for instituting and maintaining such cases or the ability to withstand the personal, physical and economic harassment which sometimes descends upon those who do institute them. The same is true of students wishing to attend the college of their choice but unable to assume the burden of litigation.

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These difficulties are among the principal reasons for the delay in carrying out the 1954 decision; and this delay cannot be justified to those who have been hurt as a result. Rights such as these, as the Supreme Court recently said, are "present rights. They are not merely hopes to some future enjoyment of some formalistic constitutional promise. The basic guarantees of our Constitution are warrants for the here and now . . . "

In order to achieve a more orderly and consistent compliance with the Supreme Court's school and college desegregation decisions, therefore, I recommend that the Congress assert its specific Constitutional authority to implement the 14th Amendment by including in the Civil Rights Act of 1963 a new title providing the following:

(A) Authority would be given the Attorney General to initiate in the Federal District Courts appropriate legal proceedings against local public school boards or public institutions of higher learning -- or to intervene in existing cases -- whenever

(1) he has received a written complaint from students or from the parents of students who are being denied equal protection of the laws by a segregated public school or college; and

(2) he certifies that such persons are unable to undertake or otherwise arrange for the initiation and maintenance of such legal proceedings for lack of financial means or effective legal representation or for fear of economic or other injury; and

(3) he determines that his initiation of or intervention in such suit will materially further the orderly progress of desegregation in public education. For this purpose, the Attorney General would establish criteria to determine the priority and relative need for Federal action in those districts from which complaints have been filed.

(B) As previously recommended, technical and financial assistance would be given to those school districts in all parts of the country which, voluntarily or as the result of litigation, are engaged in the process of meeting the educational problems flowing from desegregation or racial imbalance but which are in need of guidance, experienced help or financial assistance in order to train their personnel for this changeover, cope with new difficulties and complete the job satisfactorily (including in such assistance loans to a district where State or local funds have been withdrawn or withheld because of desegregation).

Public institutions already operating without racial discrimination, of course, will not be affected by this statute. Local action can always make Federal action unnecessary. Many school boards have peacefully and voluntarily desegregated in recent years. And while this Act does not include private colleges and schools, I strongly urge them to live up to their responsibilities and to recognize no arbitrary bar of race or color -- for such bars have no place in any institution, least of all one devoted to the truth and to the improvement of all mankind.

III. Fair and Full Employment

Unemployment falls with special cruelty on minority groups. The unemployment rate of Negro workers is more than twice as high as that of the working force as a whole. In many of our larger cities, both North and South, the number of jobless Negro youth -- often 20% or more -- creates an atmosphere of frustration, resentment and unrest which does not bode well for the future. Delinquency, vandalism, gang warfare, disease, slums and the high cost of public welfare and crime are all directly related to unemployment among whites and Negroes

alike -- and recent labor difficulties in Philadelphia may well be only the beginning if more jobs are not found in the larger Northern cities in particular.

Employment opportunities, moreover, play a major role in determining whether the rights described above are meaningful. There is little value in a Negro's obtaining the right to be admitted to hotels and restaurants if he has no cash in his pocket and no job.

Relief of Negro unemployment requires progress in three major areas:

(1) More jobs must be created through greater economic growth. The Negro -- too often unskilled, too often the first to be fired and the last to be hired -- is a primary victim of recessions, depressed areas and unused industrial capacity. Negro unemployment will not be noticeably diminished in this country until the total demand for labor is effectively increased and the whole economy is headed toward a level of full employment. When our economy operates below capacity, Negroes are more severely affected than other groups. Conversely, return to full employment yields particular benefits to the Negro. Recent studies have shown that for every one percentage point decline in the general unemployment rate there tends to be a two percentage point reduction in Negro unemployment.

Prompt and substantial tax reduction is a key to achieving the full employment we need. The promise of the area redevelopment program -- which harnesses local initiative toward the solution of deep-seated economic distress -- must not be stifled for want of sufficient authorization or adequate financing. The accelerated public works program is now gaining momentum; states, cities and local communities should press ahead with the projects financed by this measure. In addition, I have instructed the Departments of Labor, Commerce, and Health, Education, and Welfare to examine how their programs for the relief of unemployment and economic hardship can be still more intensively focussed on those areas of hard-core, long-term unemployment, among both white and non-white workers. Our concern with civil rights must not cause any diversion or dilution of our efforts for economic progress -- for without such progress the Negro's hopes will remain unfulfilled.

(2) More education and training to raise the level of skills. A distressing number of unemployed Negroes are illiterate and unskilled, refugees from farm automation, unable to do simple computations or even to read a help-wanted advertisement. Too many are equipped to work only in those occupations where technology and other changes have reduced the need for manpower -- as farm labor or manual labor, in mining or construction. Too many have attended segregated schools that were so lacking in adequate funds and faculty as to be unable to produce qualified job applicants. And too many who have attended non-segregated schools dropped out for lack of incentive, guidance or progress. The unemployment rate for those adults with less than 5 years of schooling is around 10%; it has consistently been double the prevailing rate for high school graduates; and studies of public welfare recipients show a shockingly high proportion of parents with less than a primary school education.

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Although the proportion of Negroes without adequate education and training is far higher than the proportion of whites, none of these problems is restricted to Negroes alone. This nation is in critical need of a massive upgrading in its education and training effort for all citizens. In an age of rapidly changing technology, that effort today is failing millions of our youth. It is especially failing Negro youth in segregated schools and crowded slums. If we are ever to lift them from the morass of social and economic degradation, it will be through the strengthening of our education and training services -- by improving the quality of instruction; by enabling our schools to cope with rapidly expanding enrollments; and by increasing opportunities and incentives for all individuals to complete their education and to continue their self-development during adulthood.

I have therefore requested of the Congress and request again today the enactment of legislation to assist education at every level from grade school through graduate school.

I have also requested the enactment of several measures which provide, by various means and for various age and educational groups, expanded job training and job experience. Today, in the new and more urgent context of this Message, I wish to renew my request for these measures, to expand their prospective operation and to supplement them with additional provisions. The additional $400 million which will be required beyond that contained in the January Budget is more than offset by the various Budget reductions which I have already sent to the Congress in the last four months. Studies show, moreover, that the loss of one year's income due to unemployment is more than the total cost of 12 years of education through high school; and, when welfare and other social costs are added, it is clear that failure to take these steps will cost us far more than their enactment. There is no more profitable investment than education, and no greater waste than ill-trained youth.

Specifically, I now propose:

(A) That additional funds be provided to broaden the Manpower Development and Training Program, and that the Act be amended, not only to increase the authorization ceiling and to postpone the effective date of State matching requirements, but also (in keeping with the recommendations of the President's Committee on Youth Employment) to lower the age for training allowances from 19 to 16, to allocate funds for literacy training, and to permit the payment of a higher proportion of the program's training allowances to out-of-school youths, with provisions to assure that no one drops out of school to take advantage of this program;

(B) That additional funds be provided to finance the pending Youth Employment bill, which is designed to channel the energies of out-of-school, out-of-work youth into the constructive outlet offered by hometown improvement projects and conservation work;

(C) That the pending vocational education amendments, which would greatly update and expand this program of teaching job skills to those in school, be strengthened by the appropriation of additional funds, with some of the added money earmarked for those areas with a high incidence of school drop-outs and youth unemployment, and by the addition of a new program of demonstration youth training projects to be conducted in these areas;

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(D) That the vocational education program be further amended to provide a work-study program for youth of high-school age, with Federal funds helping their school or other local public agency employ them part time in order to enable and encourage them to complete their training;

(E) That the ceiling be raised on the Adult basic education provisions in the pending Education program, in order to help the states teach the fundamental tools of literacy and learning to culturally deprived adults. More than 22 million Americans in all parts of the country have less than eight years of schooling; and

(F) That the public welfare work-relief and training program, which the Congress added last year, be amended to provide Federal financing of the supervision and equipment costs, and more Federal demonstration and training projects, thus encouraging state and local welfare agencies to put employable but unemployed welfare recipients to work on local projects which do not displace other workers.

To make the above recommendations effective, I call upon more states to adopt enabling legislation covering unemployed fathers under the aid-to-dependent children program, thereby gaining their services for "work-relief" jobs, and to move ahead more vigorously in implementing the Manpower Development and Training Program. I am asking the Secretaries of Labor and HEW to make use of their authority to deal directly with communities and vocational schools whenever State cooperation or progress is insufficient, particularly in those areas where youth unemployment is too high. Above all, I urge the Congress to enact all of these measures with alacrity and foresight.

For even the complete elimination of racial discrimination in employment -- a goal towards which this nation must strive (as discussed below) -- will not put a single unemployed Negro to work unless he has the skills required and unless more jobs have been created -- and thus the passage of legislation described above (under both sections (1) and (2)) is essential if the objectives of this message are to be met.

(3) Finally racial discrimination in employment must be eliminated. Denial of the right to work is unfair, regardless of its victim. It is doubly unfair to throw its burden on an individual because of his race or color. Men who served side by side with each other on the field of battle should have no difficulty working side by side on an assembly line or construction project.

Therefore, to combat this evil in all parts of the country,

(A) The Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under the Chairmanship of the Vice President, should be given a permanent statutory basis, assuring it of adequate financing and enforcement procedures. That Committee is now stepping up its efforts to remove racial barriers in the hiring practices of Federal Departments, Agencies and Federal contractors, covering a total of some 20 million employees and the nation's major employers. I have requested a company-by-company, plant-by-plant, union-by-union report to assure the implementation of this policy.

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(B) I will shortly issue an executive order extending the authority of the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity to include the construction of buildings and other facilities undertaken wholly or in part as a result of Federal grant-in-aid programs.

(C) I have directed that all Federal construction programs be reviewed to prevent any racial discrimination in hiring practices, either directly in the rejection of presently available qualified Negro workers or indirectly by the exclusion of Negro applicants for apprenticeship training.

(D) I have directed the Secretary of Labor, in the conduct of his duties under the Federal Apprenticeship Act and Executive Order No. 10925, to require that the admission of young workers to apprenticeship programs be on a completely nondiscriminatory basis.

(E) I have directed the Secretary of Labor to make certain that the job counseling and placement responsibilities of the Federal-State Employment Service are carried out on a nondiscriminatory basis, and to help assure that full and equal employment opportunity is provided all qualified Negro applicants. The selection and referral of applicants for employment and for training opportunities, and the administration of the employment offices' other services and facilities, must be carried on without regard to race or color. This will be of special importance to Negroes graduating from high school or college this month.

(F) The Department of Justice has intervened in a case now pending before the NLRB involving charges of racial discrimination on the part of certain union locals.

(G) As a part of its new policy on Federal employee organizations, this Government will recognize only those that do not discriminate on grounds of race or color.

(H) I have called upon the leaders of organized labor to end discrimination in their membership policies; and some 118 unions, representing 85% of the AFL-CIO membership, have signed nondiscrimination agreements with the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. More are expected.

(I) Finally, I renew my support of pending Federal Fair Employment Practices legislation, applicable to both employers and unions. Approximately two-thirds of the nation's labor force is already covered by Federal, state and local equal employment opportunity measures -- including those employed in the 22 states and numerous cities which have enacted such laws as well as those paid directly or indirectly by Federal funds. But, as the Secretary of Labor testified in January 1962, Federal legislation is desirable, for it would help set a standard for all the nation and close existing gaps.

This problem of unequal job opportunity must not be allowed to grow, as the result of either recession or discrimination. I enlist every employer, every labor union, and every agency of government -- whether affected directly by these measures or not -- in the task of seeing to it that no false lines are drawn in assuring equality of the right and opportunity to make a decent living.

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IV. Community Relations Service

I have repeatedly stressed the fact that progress in race relations, while it cannot be delayed, can be more solidly and more peacefully accomplished to the extent that legislation can be buttressed by voluntary action. I have urged each member of the United States Conference of Mayors to establish bi-racial human relations committees in every city; and I hope all communities will establish such a group, preferably through official action. Such a board or committee can provide invaluable services by identifying community tensions before they reach the crisis stage, by improving cooperation and communication between the races, and by advising local officials, merchants and organizations on the steps which can be taken to insure prompt progress.

A similar agency is needed on the Federal level -- to work with these local committees, providing them with advice and assistance -- to work in those communities which lack a local committee -- and generally to help ease tensions and suspicions, to help resolve inter-racial disputes and to work quietly to improve relations in any community threatened or torn with strife. Such an effort is in no way a substitute for effective legislative guarantees of human rights. But conciliation and cooperation can facilitate the achievement of those rights, enabling legislation to operate more smoothly and more effectively.

The Department of Justice and its Civil Rights Division have already performed yeoman service of this nature, in Birmingham, in Jackson, and throughout the country. But the problem has grown beyond the time and energies which a few otherwise burdened officials can make available -- and, in some areas, the confidence of all will be greater in an intermediary whose duties are completely separated from departmental functions of investigation or litigation.

It is my intention, therefore, to establish by Executive Order (until such time as it can be created by statute) an independent Community Relations Service -- to fulfill the functions described above, working through regional, state and local committees to the extent possible, and offering its services in tension-torn communities either upon its own motion or upon the request of a local official or other party. Authority for such a Service is included in the proposed omnibus bill. It will work without publicity and hold all information imparted to its officers in strict confidence. Its own resources can be preserved by its encouraging and assisting the creation of state and local committees, either on a continuing basis or in emergency situations.

Without powers of enforcement or subpoena, such a Service is no substitute for other measures; and it cannot guarantee success. But dialogue and discussion are always better than violence -- and this agency, by enabling all concerned to sit down and reason together, can play a major role in achieving peaceful progress in civil rights.

V. Federal programs

Simple justice requires that public funds, to which all taxpayers of all races contribute, not be spent in any fashion which encourages, entrenches, subsidizes or results in racial discrimination. Direct discrimination by Federal, state or local governments is prohibited by the Constitution. But indirect discrimination, through the use of Federal funds, is just as invidious; and it should not be necessary to resort to the courts to prevent each individual violation. Congress and the Executive have their responsibilities to uphold the Constitution also;

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and, in the 1960's, the Executive branch has sought to fulfill its responsibilities by banning discrimination in Federally financed housing, in NDEA and NSF institutes, in Federally affected employment, in the Army and Air Force Reserve, in the training of civilian defense workers and in all Federally owned and leased facilities.

Many statutes providing Federal financial assistance, however, define with such precision both the Administrator's role and the conditions upon which specified amounts shall be given to designated recipients that the amount of administrative discretion remaining -- which might be used to withhold funds if discrimination were not ended -- is at best questionable. No administrator has the unlimited authority to invoke the Constitution in opposition to the mandate of the Congress. Nor would it always be helpful to require unconditionally -- as is often proposed -- the withdrawal of all Federal funds from programs urgently needed by Negroes as well as whites; for this may only penalize those who least deserve it without ending discrimination.

Instead of permitting this issue to become a political device often exploited by those opposed to social or economic progress, it would be better at this time to pass a single comprehensive provision making it clear that the Federal Government is not required, under any statute, to furnish any kind of financial assistance -- by way of grant, loan, contract, guaranty, insurance or otherwise -- to any program or activity in which racial discrimination occurs. This would not permit the Federal Government to cut off all Federal aid of all kinds as a means of punishing an area for the discrimination occurring therein -- but it would clarify the authority of any administrator with respect to Federal funds or financial assistance and discriminatory practices.

Conclusion

Many problems remain that cannot be ignored. The enactment of the legislation I have recommended will not solve all our problems of race relations. This bill must be supplemented by action in every branch of government at the Federal, state and local level. It must be supplemented as well by enlightened private citizens, private businesses and private labor and civic organizations, by responsible educators and editors, and certainly by religious leaders who recognize the conflict between racial bigotry and the Holy Word.

This is not a sectional problem -- it is nationwide. It is not a partisan problem. The proposals set forth above are based on a careful consideration of the views of leaders of both parties in both Houses of Congress. In 1957 and 1960, members of both parties rallied behind the Civil Rights measures of my predecessor; and I am certain that this tradition can be continued, as it has in the case of world crises. A national domestic crisis also calls for bipartisan unity and solutions.

We will not solve these problems by blaming any group or section for the legacy which has been handed down by past generations. But neither will these problems be solved by clinging to the patterns of the past. Nor, finally, can they be solved in the streets, by lawless acts on either side, or by the physical actions or presence of any private group or public official, however appealing such melodramatic devices may seem to some.

During the weeks past, street demonstrations, mass picketing and parades have brought these matters to the Nation's attention in dramatic fashion in many cities throughout the United States. This has happened because these racial injustices are real and no other remedy was in sight. But, as feelings have risen in recent days, these demonstrations have increasingly endangered lives and property, enflamed emotions and

unnecessarily divided communities. They are not the way in which this country should rid itself of racial discrimination. Violence is never justified; and, while peaceful communication, deliberation and petitions of protest continue, I want to caution against demonstrations which can lead to violence.

This problem is now before the Congress. Unruly tactics or pressures will not help and may hinder the effective consideration of these measures. If they are enacted, there will be legal remedies available; and, therefore, while the Congress is completing its work, I urge all community leaders, Negro and white, to do their utmost to lessen tensions and to exercise self-restraint. The Congress should have an opportunity to freely work its will. Meanwhile, I strongly support action by local public officials and merchants to remedy these grievances on their own.

The legal remedies I have proposed are the embodiment of this nation's basic posture of common sense and common justice. They involve every American's right to vote, to go to school, to get a job and to be served in a public place without arbitrary discrimination -- rights which most Americans take for granted.

In short, enactment of "The Civil Rights Act of 1963" at this session of the Congress -- however long it may take and however troublesome it may be -- is imperative. It will go far toward providing reasonable men with the reasonable means of meeting these problems; and it will thus help end the kind of racial strife which this nation can hardly afford. Rancor, violence, disunity and national shame can only hamper our national standing and security. To paraphrase the words of Lincoln; "In giving freedom to the Negro, we assure freedom to the free -- honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve."

I therefore ask every member of Congress to set aside sectional and political ties, and to look at this issue from the viewpoint of the Nation. I ask you to look into your hearts -- not in search of charity, for the Negro neither wants nor needs condescension -- but for the one plain, proud and priceless quality that unites us all as Americans; a sense of justice. In this year of the Emancipation Centennial, justice requires us to insure the blessings of liberty for all Americans and their posterity -- not merely for reasons of economic efficiency, world diplomacy and domestic tranquility -- but, above all, because it is right.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

THE WHITE HOUSE,

June 19, 1963.

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Pres / Politics

President's Message: 'Our Heritage of Equal Rights'

WASHINGTON (AP)—The text of President John F. Kennedy's civil rights message to Congress Wednesday:

Last week I addressed to the American people an appeal to conscience—a request for their cooperation in meeting the growing moral crisis in American race relations. I warned of "a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety" in many parts of the country. I emphasized that "the events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them." "It is a time to act," I said, "in the Congress, in state and local legislative bodies and, above all, in all of our daily lives."

In the days that have followed, the predictions of increased violence have been tragically borne out. The "fires of frustration and discord" have burned hotter than ever.

At the same time, the response of the American people to this appeal to their principles and obligations has been reassuring. Private progress—by merchants and unions and local organizations—has been marked, if not uniform, in many areas.

Many doors long closed to Negroes, North and South, have been opened. Local biracial committees, under private and public sponsorship, have mushroomed. The mayors of our major cities, whom I earlier addressed, have pledged renewed action.

But persisting inequalities and tensions make it clear that federal action must lead the way, providing both the nation's standard and a nationwide solution. In short, the time has come for the Congress of the United States to join with the executive and judicial branches in making it clear to all that race has no place in American life or law.

Rights Legislation

On Feb. 28, I sent to the Congress a message urging the enactment this year of three important pieces of civil rights legislation:

1. Voting. Legislation to assure the availability to all of a basic and powerful right — the right to vote in a free American election—by providing for the appointment of temporary federal voting referees while voting suits are proceeding in areas of demonstrated need; by giving such suits preferential and expedited treatment in the federal courts; by prohibiting in federal elections

merchants who do recognize the justice of the Negro's request (and I believe these constitute the great majority of merchants, North and South) will be fearful of being the first to move, in the face of official, customer, employe or competitive pressures.

Negroes, consequently, can be expected to continue increasingly to seek the vindication of these rights through organized direct action, with all its potentially explosive consequences, which we have seen in Birmingham, in Philadelphia, in Jackson, in Boston, in Cambridge, Md., and in many other parts of the country.

In short, the result of continued federal legislative inaction will be continued, if not increased, racial strife—causing the leadership on both sides to pass from the hands of reasonable and responsible men to the purveyors of hate and violence, endangering domestic tranquility, retarding our nation's economic and social progress and weakening the respect with which the rest of the world regards us. No American, I feel sure, would prefer this course of tension, disorder and division—and the great majority of our citizens simply cannot accept it.

Omnibus Bill

For these reasons, I am proposing that the Congress stay in session this year until it has enacted — preferably as a single omnibus bill—the most responsible, reasonable and urgently needed solutions to this problem, solutions which should be acceptable to all fair-minded men. This bill would be known as the "Civil Rights Act of 1963," and would include—in addition to the aforementioned provisions on voting rights and Civil Rights Commission—additional titles on public accommodations, employment, federally assisted programs, a community relations service, and education, with the latter including my previous recommendation on this subject. In addition, I am requesting certain legislative and budget amendments designed to improve the training, skills and economic opportunities of the economically distressed and discontented, white and Negro alike. Certain executive actions are also reviewed here; but legislative action is imperative.

1. Equal accommodations in public facilities.

Events of recent weeks have again underlined how deeply our Negro citizens resent the injustice of being arbitrarily denied

100 years ago, was also accused of violating the property rights of slaveowners. Indeed, there is an age-old saying that "Property has its duties as well as its rights"; and no property owner who holds those premises for the purpose of serving at a profit the American public at large can claim any inherent right to exclude a part of that public on grounds of race or color. Just as the law requires common carriers to serve equally all who wish their services, so it can require public accommodations to accommodate equally all segments of the general public. Both human rights and property rights are foundations of our society—and both will flourish as the result of this measure.

Mobile Society

In a society which is increasingly mobile and in an economy which is increasingly interdependent, business establishments which serve the public—such as hotels, restaurants, theaters, stores and others—serve not only the members of their immediate communities but travelers from other states and visitors from abroad. Their goods come from all over the nation. This participation in the flow of interstate commerce has given these business establishments both increased prosperity and an increased responsibility to provide equal access and service to all citizens.

Some 30 states, the District of Columbia and numerous cities—covering some ⅔ of this country and well over ⅔ of its people—have already enacted laws of varying effectiveness against discrimination in places of public accommodation, many of them in response to the recommendation of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947. But while their efforts indicate that legislation in this area is not extraordinary, the failure of more states to take effective action makes it clear that federal legislation is necessary. The state and local approach has been tried. The voluntary approach has been tried. But these approaches are insufficient to prevent the free flow of commerce from being arbitrarily and inefficiently restrained and distorted by discrimination in such establishments.

(The states and cities to which the message referred were listed as: Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North

SENDS CONGRESS BILL
President John F. Kennedy

lem cannot await city-by-city solutions; and those who loudly abhor federal action only invite it if they neglect or evade their own obligations.

This provision will open doors in every part of the country which never should have been closed. Its enactment will hasten the end to practices which have no place in a free and united nation, and thus help move this potentially dangerous problem from the streets to the courts.

II. Desegregation of schools.

In my message of Feb. 28, while commending the progress already made in achieving desegregation of education at all levels as required by the Constitution, I was compelled to point out the slowness of progress toward primary and secondary school desegregation. The Supreme Court has recently voiced the same opinion. Many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court decision in 1954 will enter segregated high schools this year, having suffered a loss which can never be regained. Indeed, discrimination in education is one basic cause of the other inequities and hardships inflicted upon our Negro citizens. The lack of equal educational opportunity deprives the individual of equal economic opportunity, restricts his contribution as a citizen and community leader, encourages him to drop out of school and imposes a heavy burden on the effort to eliminate discriminatory practices and prejudices from our national life.

the attorney general would establish criteria to determine the priority and relative need for federal action in those districts from which complaints have been filed.

(B) As previously recommended, technical and financial assistance would be given to those school districts in all parts of the country which, voluntarily or as the result of litigation, are engaged in the process of meeting the educational problems flowing from desegregation or racial imbalance but which are in need of guidance, experienced help or financial assistance in order to train their personnel for this changeover, cope with new difficulties and complete the job satisfactorily (including in such assistance loans to a district where state or local funds have been withdrawn or withheld because of desegregation).

Public institutions already operating without racial discrimination, of course, will not be affected by this statute. Local action can always make federal action unnecessary. Many school boards have peacefully and voluntarily desegregated in recent years. And while this act does not include private colleges and schools, I strongly urge them to live up to their responsibilities and to recognize no arbitrary bar of race or color—for such bars have no place in any institution, least of all one devoted to the truth and the improvement of all mankind.

III. Fair and full employment.

Unemployment falls with special cruelty on minority groups. The unemployment rate of Negro workers is more than twice as high as that of the working force as a whole. In many of our larger cities, both North and South, the number of jobless Negro youth—often 20 per cent or more—creates an atmosphere of frustration, resentment and unrest which does not bode well for the future. Delinquency, vandalism, gang warfare, disease, slums and the high cost of public welfare and crime are all directly related to unemployment among white and Negroes alike—and recent labor difficulties in Philadelphia may well be only the beginning if more jobs are not found in the larger Northern cities in particular.

Need Opportunity

Employment opportunities, moreover, play a major role in determining whether the rights described above are meaningful. There is little value in a Negro's obtaining the right to be admitted to hotels and restaurants if he has

schooling is around 10 per cent; it has consistently been double the prevailing rate for high school graduates; and studies of public welfare recipients show a shockingly high proportion of parents with less than a primary school education.

Not Only Negroes

Although the proportion of Negroes without adequate education and training is far higher than the proportion of whites, none of these problems is restricted to Negroes alone. This nation is in critical need of a massive upgrading in its education and training effort for all citzens. In an age of rapidly changing technology, that effort today is failing millions of our youth. It is especially failing Negro youth in segregated schools and crowded slums. If we are ever to lift them from the morass of social and economic degradation, it will be through the strengthening of our education and training services—by improving the quality of instruction; by enabling our schools to cope with rapidly expanding enrollments; and by increasing opportunities and incentives for all individuals to complete their education and to continue their self-development during adulthood.

I have therefore requested of the Congress and request again today the enactment of legislation to assist education at every level from grade school through graduate school.

I have also requested the enactment of several measures which provide, by various means and for various age and educational groups, expanded job training and job experience. Today, in the new and more urgent context of this message, I wish to renew my request for these measures, to expand their prospective operation and to supplement them with additional provisions. The additional $400 million which will be required beyond that contained in the January budget is more than offset by the various budget reductions which I have already sent to the Congress in the last four months. Studies show, moreover, that the loss of one year's income due to unemployment is more than the total cost of 12 years of education through high school; and, when welfare and other social costs are added, it is clear that failure to take these steps will cost us far more than their enactment. There is no more profitable investment than education, and no greater waste than ill-trained youth.

Detailed Proposals

states to adopt enabling legislation covering unemployed fathers under the aid-to-dependent children program, thereby gaining their services for "work-relief" jobs, and to move more vigorously in implementing the manpower development and training program. I am asking the secretaries of labor and HEW to make use of their authority to deal directly with communities and vocational schools whenever state cooperation or progress is insufficient, particularly in those areas where youth unemployment is too high. Above all, I urge the Congress to enact all of these measures with alacrity and foresight.

For even the complete elimination of racial discrimination in employment — a goal towards which this nation must strive (as discussed below) —will not put a single unemployed Negro to work unless he has the skills required and unless more jobs have been created — and thus the passage of legislation described above (under both sections (1) and (2)) is essential if the objectives of this message are to be met.

(3) Finally race discrimination in employment must be eliminated. Denial of the right to work is unfair, regardless of its victim. It is doubly unfair to throw its burden on an individual because of his race or color. Men who served side by side with each other on the field of battle should have no difficulty working side-by-side on an assembly line or construction project.

Therefore, to combat this evil in all parts of the country,

(A) The Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under the chairmanship of the vice president, should be given a permanent statutory basis, assuring it of adequate financing and enforcement procedures. That committtee is now stepping up its efforts to remove racial barriers in the hiring practices of federal departments, agencies and federal contractors, covering a total of some 20 million employes and the nation's major employers. I have requested a company-by-company, plant-by-plant, union-by-union report to assure the administration of this policy.

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government—whether affected directly by these measures or not—in the task of seeing to it that no false lines are drawn in assuring equality of the right and opportunity to make a decent living.

IV. Community relations service.

I have repeatedly stressed the fact that progress in race relations, while it cannot be delayed, can be more solidly and more peacefully accomplished to the extent that legislation can be buttressed by voluntary action. I have urged each member of the United States Conference of Mayors to establish biracial human relations committees in every city; and I hope all communities will establish such a group, preferably through official action. Such a board or committee can provide invaluable services by identifying community tensions before they reach the crisis stage, by improving cooperation and communication between the races, and by advising local officials, merchants and organizations on the steps which can be taken to insure prompt progress.

Advice Agency

A similar agency is needed on the federal level—to work with these local committees, providing them with advice and assistance—to work in those committees, which lack a local committee—and generally, to help ease tensions and suspicions, to help resolve inter-racial disputes and to work quietly to improve relations in any community threatened or torn with strife. Such an effort is in no way a substitute for effective legislative guarantees of human rights. But conciliation and cooperation can facilitate the achievement of those rights, enabling legislation to operate more smoothly and more effectively.

The Department of Justice and its Civil Rights Division have already performed yeoman service of this nature, in Birmingham, in Jackson, and throughout the country. But the problem has grown beyond the time and energies which a few otherwise burdened officials can make available—and, in some areas, the confidence of all will be greater in an intermediary whose duties are completely separated from departmental functions of investigation or litigation.

It is my intention, therefore, to establish by executive order (until such time as it can be created by statute) an independent community relations service—to fulfill the functions described above, working through regional, state and local committees to the extent possible and offering its services in tension-torn communities either upon its own motion or

mittees, under private and public sponsorship, have mushroomed. The mayors of our major cities, whom I earlier addressed, have pledged renewed action.

But persisting inequalities and tensions make it clear that federal action must lead the way, providing both the nation's standard and a nationwide solution. In short, the time has come for the Congress of the United States to join with the executive and judicial branches in making it clear to all that race has no place in American life or law.

Rights Legislation

On Feb. 28, I sent to the Congress a message urging the enactment this year of three important pieces of civil rights legislation:

1. Voting. Legislation to assure the availability to all of a basic and powerful right — the right to vote in a free American election—by providing for the appointment of temporary federal voting referees while voting suits are proceeding in areas of demonstrated need; by giving such suits preferential and expedited treatment in the federal courts; by prohibiting in federal elections the application of different tests and standards to different voter applicants, and by providing that, in voting suits pertaining to such elections, the completion of the sixth grade by any applicant creates a presumption that he is literate. Armed with the full and equal right to vote, our Negro citizens can help win other rights through political channels not now open to them in many areas.

2. Civil rights commission. Legislation to renew and expand the authority of the Commission on Civil Rights, enabling it to serve as a national civil rights clearing house offering information, advice and technical assistance to any public or private agency that so requests.

2. School desegregation. Legislation to provide federal technical and financing assistance to aid school districts in the process of desegregation in compliance with the Constitution.

Other measures introduced in the Congress have also received the support of this administration, including those aimed at assuring equal employment opportunity.

Although these recommendations were transmitted to the Congress sometime ago, neither house has yet had an opportunity to vote on any of these essential measures. The Negroes' drive for justice, however, has not stood still —nor will it, it is now clear, until full equality is achieved.

Immediate Need

The growing and understandable dissatisfaction of Negro citizens with the present pace of desegregation and their increased determination to secure for themselves the equality of opportunity and treatment to which they are rightfully entitled have underscored what should already have been clear: The necessity of the Congress enacting this year—not only the measure already proposed—but also additional legislation providing legal remedies for the denial of certain individual rights.

The venerable code of equity law commands "for every wrong, remedy." But in too many communities, in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens for which no effective remedy at law is clearly and readily available. State and local laws may even affirmatively seek to deny the rights to which these citizens are fairly entitled—and this can result only in a decreased respect for the law and increased violations of the law.

In the continued absence of congressional action, too many state and local officials as well as businessmen will remain unwilling to accord these rights to all citizens. Some local courts and local merchants may well claim to be uncertain of the law, while those posing that the Congress stay in session this year until it has enacted — preferably as a single omnibus bill—the most responsible, reasonable and urgently needed solutions to this problem, solutions which should be acceptable to all fair-minded men. This bill would be known as the "Civil Rights Act of 1963," and would include—in addition to the aforementioned provisions on voting rights and Civil Rights Commission—additional titles on public accommodations, employment, federally assisted programs, a community relations service, and education, with the latter including my previous recommendation on this subject. In addition, I am requesting certain legislative and budget amendments designed to improve the training, skills and economic opportunities of the economically distressed and discontented, white and Negro alike. Certain executive actions are also reviewed here; but legislative action is imperative.

1. Equal accommodations in public facilities.

Events of recent weeks have again underlined how deeply our Negro citizens resent the injustice of being arbitrarily denied equal access to those facilities and accommodations which are otherwise open to the general public. That is a daily insult which has no place in a country proud of its heritage—the heritage of the melting-pot, of equal rights, of one nation and one people. No one has been barred on account of his race from fighting or dying for America—there are no "white" or "colored" signs on the foxholes or graveyards of battle. Surely, in 1963, 100 years after emancipation, it should not be necessary for any American citizen to demonstrate in the streets for the opportunity to stop at a hotel, or to eat at a lunch counter in the very department store in which he is shopping, or to enter a motion picture house, on the same terms as any other customer. As I stated in my message to the Congress of February 28, "No action is more contrary to the spirit of our democracy and Constitution—or more rightfully resented by a Negro citizen who seeks only equal treatment—than the barring of that citizen from restaurants, hotels, theaters, recreational areas and other public accommodations and facilities."

Business Protection

The United States government has taken action through the courts and by other means to protect those who are peacefully demonstrating to obtain access to these public facilities; and it has taken action to bring an end to discrimination in rail, bus and airline terminals, to open up restaurants and other public facilities in all buildings leased as well as owned by the federal government, and to assure fully equality of access to all federally owned parks, forests and other recreational areas. When uncontrolled mob action directly threatened the nondiscriminatory use of transportation facilities in May 1961, federal marshals were employed to restore order and prevent potentially widespread personal and property damage. Growing nationwide concern with this problem, however, makes it clear that further federal action is needed now to secure the right of all citizens to the full enjoyment of all facilities which are open to the general public.

Such legislation is clearly consistent with the Constitution and with our concepts of both human rights and property rights. The argument that such measures constitute an unconstitutional interference with property rights has consistently been rejected by the courts in upholding laws on zoning, collective bargaining, minimum wages, smoke control and countless other measures designed to make certain that the use of private property is consistent with the public interest. While the legal situations are not parallel, it is interesting to note that Abraham Lincoln, in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation citizens.

Some 30 states, the District of Columbia and numerous cities—covering some ⅔ of this country and well over ⅔ of its people—have already enacted laws of varying effectiveness against discrimination in places of public accommodation, many of them in response to the recommendation of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947. But while their efforts indicate that legislation in this area is not extraordinary, the failure of more states to take effective action makes it clear that federal legislation is necessary. The state and local approach has been tried. The voluntary approach has been tried. But these approaches are insufficient to prevent the free flow of commerce from being arbitrarily and inefficiently restrained and distorted by discrimination in such establishments.

(The states and cities to which the message referred were listed as: Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming. Cities with public accommodations ordinances which are outside the above states include Washington, D.C., Wilmington, Del., Louisville, Ky., El Paso, Texas, Kansas City, Mo. and St. Louis, Mo.)

U.S. Obligation

Clearly the federal government has both the power and the obligation to eliminate these discriminatory practices: First, because they adversely affect the national economy and the flow of interstate commerce; and secondly, because Congress has been specifically empowered under the Fourteenth Amendment to enact legislation making certain that no state law permits or sanctions the unequal protection or treatment of any of its citizens.

There have been increasing public demonstrations of resentment directed against this kind of discrimination — demonstrations which too often breed tension and violence. Only the federal government, it is clear, can make these demonstrations unnecessary by providing peaceful remedies for the grievances which set them off.

For these reasons, I am today proposing, as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1963, a provision to guarantee all citizens equal access to the services and facilities of hotels, restaurants, places of amusement and retail establishments.

This seems to me to be an elementary right. Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure. The proposal would give the persons aggrieved the right to obtain a court order against the offending establishment or persons. Upon receiving a complaint in a case sufficiently important to warrant his conclusion that a suit would materially further the purposes of the act, the attorney general—if he finds that the aggrieved party is unable to undertake or otherwise arrange for a suit of his own (for lack of financial means or effective representation, or for fear of economic or other injury)—will first refer the case for voluntary settlement to the community relations service described below, give the establishment involved time to correct its practices, permit state and local equal access laws (if any) to operate first, and then, and only then, initiate a suit for compliance. In short, to the extent that these unconscionable practices can be corrected by the individual owners, localities and states (and recent experience demonstrate how effectively and uneventfully this can be done), the federal government has no desire to intervene.

But an explosive national problem is created by those who persist in practices which have no place in a free and united nation, and thus help move this potentially dangerous problem from the streets to the courts.

II. Desegregation of schools.

In my message of Feb. 28, while commending the progress already made in achieving desegregation of education at all levels as required by the Constitution, I was compelled to point out the slowness of progress toward primary and secondary school desegregation. The Supreme Court has recently voiced the same opinion. Many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court decision in 1954 will enter segregated high schools this year, having suffered a loss which can never be regained. Indeed, discrimination in education is one basic cause of the other inequities and hardships inflicted upon our Negro citizens. The lack of equal educational opportunity deprives the individual of equal economic opportunity, restricts his contribution as a citizen and community leader, encourages him to drop out of school and imposes a heavy burden on the effort to eliminate discriminatory practices and prejudices from our national life.

Courage of Courts

The federal courts, pursuant to the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court and earlier decisions on institutions of higher learning, have shown both competence and courage in directing the desegregation of schools on the local level. It is appropriate to keep this responsibility largely within the judicial arena. But it is unfair and unrealistic to expect that the burden of initiating such cases can be wholly borne by private litigants. Too often those entitled to bring suit on behalf of their children lack the economic means for instituting and maintaining such cases or the ability to withstand the personal, physical and economic harassment which sometimes descend upon those who do institute them. The same is true of students wishing to attend the college of their choice but unable to assume the burden of litigation.

The difficulties are among the principal reasons for the delay in carrying out the 1954 decision; and this delay cannot be justified to those who have been hurt as a result. Rights such as these, as the Supreme Court recently said, are "present rights. They are not merely hopes to some future enjoyment of some formalistic constitutional promise. The basic guarantees of our Constitution are warrants for the here and now. . . .

Better Compliance

In order to achieve a more orderly and consistent compliance with the Supreme Court's school and college desegregation decisions, therefore, I recommend that the Congress assert its specific constitutional authority to implement the 14th Amendment by including in the Civil Rights Act of 1963 a new title providing the following:

(A) Authority would be given the attorney general to initiate in the federal district courts appropriate legal proceedings against local public school boards or public institutions of higher learning—or to intervene in existing cases—whenever:

(1) He has received a written complaint from students or from the parents of students who are being denied equal protection of the laws by a segregated public school or college; and

(2) He certifies that such persons are unable to undertake or otherwise arrange for the initiation and maintenance of such legal proceedings for lack of financial means or effective legal representation or for fear of economic or other injury; and

(3) He determines that his initiation of or intervention in such suit will materially further the orderly progress of desegregation in public education. For this purpose, of all one devoted to the truth and the improvement of all mankind.

III. Fair and full employment.

Unemployment falls with special cruelty on minority groups. The unemployment rate of Negro workers is more than twice as high as that of the working force as a whole. In many of our larger cities, both North and South, the number of jobless Negro youth—often 20 per cent or more—creates an atmosphere of frustration, resentment and unrest which does not bode well for the future. Delinquency, vandalism, gang warfare, disease, slums and the high cost of public welfare and crime are all directly related to unemployment among white and Negroes alike—and recent labor difficulties in Philadelphia may well be only the beginning if more jobs are not found in the larger Northern cities in particular.

Need Opportunity

Employment opportunities, moreover, play a major role in determining whether the rights described above are meaningful. There is little value in a Negro's obtaining the right to be admitted to hotels and restaurants if he has no cash in his pocket and no job.

Relief of Negro unemployment requires progress in three major areas:

(1) More jobs must be created through greater economic growth. The Negro—too often unskilled, too often the first to be fired and the last to be hired—is a primary victim of recessions, depressed areas and unused industrial capacity. Negro unemployment will not be noticeably diminished in this country until the total demand for labor is effectively increased and the whole economy is headed toward a level of full employment. When our economy operates below capacity, Negroes are more severely affected than other groups. Conversely, return to full employment yields particular benefits to the Negro. Recent studies have shown that for every one percentage point decline in the general unemployment rate there tends to be a two percentage point reduction in Negro unemployment.

Prompt and substantial tax reduction is a key to achieving the full employment we need. The promise of the area redevelopment program—which harnesses local initiative toward the solution of deep-seated economic distress—must not be stifled for want of sufficient authorization or adequate financing. The accelerated public works program is now gaining momentum; states, cities and local communities should press ahead with the projects financed by this measure. In addition, I have instructed the Departments of Labor, Commerce, and Health, Education, and Welfare to examine how their programs for the relief of unemployment and economic hardship can be still more intensively focused on those areas of hard-core, long-term unemployment, among both white and nonwhite workers. Our concern with civil rights must not cause any diversion or dilution of our efforts for economic progress—for without such progress the Negro's hopes will remain unfulfilled.

(2) More education and training to raise the level of skills.

A distressing number of unemployed Negroes are illiterate and unskilled, refugees from farm automation, unable to do simple computations or even to read a help-wanted advertisement. Too many are equipped to work only in those occupations where technology and other changes have reduced the need for manpower—as farm labor or manual labor, in mining or construction. Too many have attended segregated schools that were so lacking in adequate funds and faculty as to be unable to produce qualified job applicants. And too many who have attended nonsegregated schools dropped out for lack of incentive, guidance or progress. The unemployment rate for those adults with less than 5 years of tion to assist education at every level from grade school through graduate school.

I have also requested the enactment of several measures which provide, by various means and for various age and educational groups, expanded job training and job experience. Today, in the new and more urgent context of this message, I wish to renew my request for these measures, to expand their prospective operation and to supplement them with additional provisions. The additional $400 million which will be required beyond that contained in the January budget is more than offset by the various budget reductions which I have already sent to the Congress in the last four months. Studies show, moreover, that the loss of one year's income due to unemployment is more than the total cost of 12 years of education through high school; and, when welfare and other social costs are added, it is clear that failure to take these steps will cost us far more than their enactment. There is no more profitable investment than education, and no greater waste than ill-trained youth.

Detailed Proposals

Specifically, I now propose:

(A) That additional funds be provided to broaden the manpower development and training program, and that the act be amended, not only to increase the authorization ceiling and to postpone the effective date of state matching requirements, but also (in keeping with the recommendations of the President's Committee on Youth Employment) to lower the age for training allowances from 19 to 16, to allocate funds for literacy training, and to permit the payment of a higher proportion of the program's training allowances to out-of-school youths, with provisions to assure that no one drops out of school to take advantage of this program;

(B) That additional funds be provided to finance the pending youth employment bill, which is designed to channel the energies of out-of-school, out-of-work youth into the constructive outlet offered by home-town improvement projects and conservation work;

(C) That the pending vocational education amendments, which would greatly update and expand this program of teaching job skills to those in school, be strengthened by the appropriation of additional funds, with some of the added money earmarked for those areas with a high incidence of school dropouts and youth unemployment, and by the addition of a new program of demonstration youth training projects to be conducted in these areas;

(D) That the vocational education program be further amended to provide a work-study program for youth of high-school age, with federal funds helping their school or other local public agency employ them part time in order to enable and encourage them to complete their training;

(E) That the ceiling be raised on the adult basic education provisions in the pending education program, in order to help the states teach the fundamental tools of literacy and learning to culturally deprived adults. More than 22 million Americans in all parts of the country have less than eight years of schooling; and

State Legislation

(F) That this public welfare work-relief and training program, which the Congress added last year, be amended to provide federal financing of the supervision and equipment costs, and more federal demonstration and training projects, thus encouraging state and local welfare agencies to put employable but unemployed welfare recipients to work on local projects which do not displace other workers.

To make the above recommendations effective, I call upon more have no difficulty working side-by-side on an assembly line or construction project.

Therefore, to combat this evil in all parts of the country,

(A) The Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under the chairmanship of the vice president, should be given a permanent statutory basis, assuring it of adequate financing and enforcement procedures. That committtee is now stepping up its efforts to remove racial barriers in the hiring practices of federal departments, agencies and federal contractors, covering a total of some 20 million employes and the nation's major employers. I have requested a company-by-company, plant-by-plant, union-by-union report to assure the administration of this policy.

(B) I will shortly issue an executive order extending the authority of the Committee on Equal Employment to include the construction of buildings and other facilities undertaken wholly or in part as a result of federal grant-in-aid programs.

(C) I have directed that all federal construction programs be reviewed to prevent any racial discrimination in hiring practices, either directly in the rejection of presently available qualified Negro workers or indirectly by the exclusion of Negro applicants for apprenticeship training.

(D) I have directed the secretary of labor, in the conduct of his duties under the Federal Apprenticeship Act and Executive Order No. 10925, to require that the admission of young workers to apprenticeship programs be on a completely nondiscriminatory basis.

Job Counseling

(E) I have directed the secretary of labor to make certain that the job counseling and placement responsibilities of the Federal-State Employment Service are carried out on a nondiscriminatory basis, and to help assure that full and equal employment opportunity is provided all qualified Negro applicants. The selection and referral of applicants for employment and for training opportunities, and the administration of the employment offices' other services and facilities, must be carried on without regard to race or color. This will be of special importance to Negroes graduating from high school or college this month.

(F) The Department of Justice has intervened in a case now pending before the NLRB involving charges of racial discrimination on the part of certain locals.

(G) As part of its new policy on federal employes' organizations, this government will recognize only those that do not discriminate on grounds of race or color.

(H) I have called upon the leaders of organized labor to end discrimination in their membership policies; and some 118 unions, representing 35 percent of the AFL-CIO membership, have signed nondiscrimination agreements with the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. More are expected.

(I) Finally, I renew my support of pending federal fair employment practices legislation, applicable to both employers and unions. Approximately two-thirds of the nation's labor force is already covered by federal, state and local equal employment opportunity measures — including those employed in the 22 states and numerous cities which have enacted such laws as well as those paid directly or indirectly by federal funds. But, as the secretary of labor testified in January, 1962, federal legislation is desirable, for it would help set a standard for all the nation and close existing gaps.

This problem of unequal job opportunities must not be allowed to grow, as the result of either recession or discrimination. I enlist every employer, every labor union, and every agency of solve inter-racial disputes and to work quietly to improve relations in any community threatened or torn with strife. Such an effort is in no way a substitute for effective legislative guarantees of human rights. But conciliation and cooperation can facilitate the achievement of those rights, enabling legislation to operate more smoothly and more effectively.

The Department of Justice and its Civil Rights Division have already performed yeoman service of this nature, in Birmingham, in Jackson, and throughout the country. But the problem has grown beyond the time and energies which a few otherwise burdened officials can make available—and, in some areas, the confidence of all will be greater in an intermediary whose duties are completely separated from departmental functions of investigation or litigation.

It is my intention, therefore, to establish by executive order (until such time as it can be created by statute) an independent community relations service—to fulfill the functions described above, working through regional, state and local committees to the extent possible and offering its services in tension-torn communities either upon its own motion or upon the request of a local official or other party. Authority for such a service is included in the proposed omnibus bill. It will work without publicity and hold all information imparted to its officers in strict confidence. Its own resources can be preserved by its encouraging and assisting the creation of state and local committees, either on a continuing basis or in emergency situations.

Reason Together

Without powers of enforcement or subpoena, such a service is no substitute for other measures; and it cannot guarantee success. But dialogue and discussions are always better than violence—and this agency, by enabling all concerned to sit down and reason together, can play a major role in achieving peaceful progress in civil rights.

V. Federal programs.

Simple justice requires that public funds, to which all taxpayers of all races contribute, not be spent in any fashion which encourages, entrenches, subsidizes or results in racial discrimination. Direct discrimination by federal, state or local governments is prohibited by the Constitution. But indirect discrimination, through the use of federal funds, is just as invidious; and it should not be necessary to resort to the courts to prevent each individual violation. Congress and the executive have their responsibilities to uphold the Constitution also; and, in the 1960s, the executive branch has sought to fulfill its responsibilities by banning discrimination in federally financed housing, in federally affected employment, in the Army and Air Force Reserve, in the training of civilian defense workers and in all federally owned and leased facilities.

Many statutes providing federal financial assistance, however, define with such precision both the administrator's role and the conditions upon which specified amounts shall be given to designated recipients that the amount of administrative discretion remaining—which might be used to withhold funds if discrimination were not ended—is at best questionable. No administration has the unlimited authority to invoke the Constitution in opposition to the mandate of the Congress. Nor would it always be helpful to require unconditionally—as is often proposed—the withdrawal of all federal funds from programs urgently needed by Negroes as well as white; for this may only penalize those who least deserve it without ending discrimination.

Instead of permitting this issue to become a political device often exploited by those opposed to social or economic progress, it would be better at this time to

Continued on Page 22

Text of Kennedy's Rights Message

Continued from Page 20

pass a single comprehensive provision making it clear that the federal government is not required, under any statute, to furnish any kind of financial assistance—by way of grant, loan, contract, guaranty, insurance or otherwise—to any program or activity in which racial discrimination occurs. This would not permit means of punishing an area for the discrimination occurring therein—but it would clarify the authority of any administrator with respect to federal funds or financial assistance and discriminatory practices.

Conclusion

Many problems remain that cannot be ignored. The enactment of the legislation I have recommended will not solve all our problems of race relations. This bill must be supplemented by action in every branch of government at the federal, state and local level. It must be supplemented as well by enlightened private citizens, private businesses and private labor and civic organizations, by responsible educators and editors, and certainly by religious leaders who recognize the conflict between racial bigotry and the Holy Word.

This is not a sectional problem —it is nationwide. It is not a partisan problem. The proposals set forth above are based on a careful consideration of the views of leaders of both parties in both houses of Congress. In 1957 and 1960, members of both parties rallied behind the civil rights measures of my predecessor; and I am certain that this tradition can be continued, as it has in the case of world crises. A national domestic crisis also calls for bipartisan unity and solutions.

We will not solve these problems by blaming any group or section for the legacy which has been handed down by past generations. But neither will these problems be solved by clinging to the patterns of the past. Nor, finally, can they be solved in the streets, by lawless acts on either side, or by the physical actions or presence of any private group or public official, however appealing such melodramatic devices may seem to some.

During the weeks past, street demonstrations, mass picketing and parades have brought these matters to the nation's attention in dramatic fashion in many cities throughout the United States. This has happened because these racial injustices are real and no other remedy was in sight. But, as feelings have risen in recent days, these demonstrations have increasingly endangered lives and property, enflamed emotions and unnecessarily divided communities. They are not the way in which this country should rid itself of racial discrimination. Violence is never justified; and, while peaceful communication, deliberation and petitions of protest continue, I want to caution against demonstrations which can lead to violence.

This problem is now before the Congress. Unruly tactics or pressures will not help and may hinder the effective consideration of these measures. If they are enacted, there will be legal remedies available; and, therefore, while the Congress is completing its work, I urge all community leaders, Negro and white, to do their utmost to lessen tensions and to exercise self-restraint. The Congress should have an opportunity to freely work its will. Meanwhile, I strongly support action by local public officials and merchants to remedy these grievances on their own.

Rights of All

The legal remedies I have proposed are the embodiment of this nation's basic posture of common sense and common justice. They involve every American's right to vote, to go to school, to get a job and to be served in a public place without arbitrary discrimination — rights which most Americans take for granted.

In short, enactment of "The Civil Rights Act of 1963" at this session of the Congress—however long it may take and however troublesome it may be—is imperative. It will go far toward providing reasonable men with the reasonable means of meeting these problems; and it will thus help end the kind of racial strife which this nation can hardly afford. Rancor, violence, disunity and national shame can only hamper our national standing and security. To paraphrase the words of Lincoln; "in giving freedom to the Negro, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve."

I therefore ask every member of Congress to set aside sectional and political ties, and to look at this issue from the viewpoint of the nation. I ask you to look into your hearts—not in search of charity, for the Negro neither wants nor needs condescension—but for the one plain, proud and priceless quality that unites us all as Americans; a sense of justice. In this year of the emancipation centennial, justice requires us to insure the blessings of liberty for all Americans and their posterity —not merely for reasons of economic efficiency, world diplomacy and domestic tranquility — but, above all, because it is right.

John F. Kennedy
The White House,
June 19, 1963.

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Pres. Politics

court of inquiry and general court-martial rendered a verdict of fully acquitted.

He was awarded a letter of commendation by the Secretary of the Navy which included the following statement: "His coolness, intelligence and seamanlike ability shown after the vessel under his command stranded, was the outstanding feature of the disaster. Every member of the crew who reached the beach owed his life to Commander Calhoun."

In December 1923, following temporary duty on the U.S.S. *Melville*, he reported to the battleship U.S.S. *Maryland*, commissioned in 1921. He served as her navigator until June 1925, when he was detached at Honolulu, T.H., then returned to the United States for a second tour of duty as Naval Inspector of Ordnance in Charge, Naval Ammunition Depot, Mare Island. He next served as commander, Division 31, Destroyer Squadrons, Battle Fleet, his pennant on the U.S.S. *Farragut*. That division won the battle efficiency penant in 1928, and for continued battle efficiency attained while he was in command, June 1927 to June 1929, he received letters of commendation from President Calvin Coolidge and Secretary of the Navy Curtis D. Wilbur.

Completing the senior course at the Naval War College, Newport, R.I., in May 1930, he served from June of that year until February 1932 as head of the department of navigation at the Naval Academy. He then returned to sea as commanding officer of the U.S.S. *Rochester*, and from July 1933 until July 1934 served as chief of staff to Commander Base Force, U.S. Fleet, reporting to Headquarters, 11th Naval District, San Diego, Calif., for his next tour of duty. On June 5, 1937, he assumed command of the U.S.S. *California*, which he had assisted in fitting out in 1921. He remained in that command until January 1938, when he was designated chief of staff and aide to Commander Battleships, Battle Force. In November 1938 he was commissioned rear admiral.

He attended the advanced course at the Naval War College for 6 months, and on December 27, 1939, became Commander, Base Force, U.S. Fleet, redesignated Base Force, Pacific Fleet in February 1941. From August of that year until February 1942 he had additional duty as Commander, Train Squadron 2. On February 27, 1942, he became commander, Service Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet, with the accompanying rank of vice admiral, and served in that capacity until March 1945. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal and the Legion of Merit, with citations, in part, to follow:

Distinguished Service Medal: "For exceptionally meritorious service * * * as Commander Base Force and Commander Service Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet, in connection with operations against the enemy in the Pacific War Area from December 1939 to February 1945. Charged with logistic support or the Pacific Fleet and naval shore-based establishments in the Pacific Ocean Area, (he) applied keen intelligence and resourceful initiative to the complexities of his assignment and, working with tireless energy, planned and organized a greatly enlarged service of supply which enabled him to provide personnel provisions, fuel and ammunition for all fleet operations and thereby accommodate the vital needs of our constantly increasing naval forces in this strategic theater of war with remarkable expediency."

Legion of Merit: "For exceptionally meritorious conduct * * * while attached temporarily to the staff of Commander South Pacific, during the period 18 October to 7 December 1942 * * * (He) was instrumental in initiating and establishing the logistic supply system for the South Pacific Forces * * * in the face of most difficult transportation problems and concurrent combat reactions."

From March 6 to October 1945 he served as commander, South Pacific Force and Area, and was awarded a Gold Star in lieu of the second Legion of Merit for outstanding services and swill in the performance of his duties. The citation states that he was "instrumental in promptly initiating and administering efficient measures for moving personnel and supplies forward from the South Pacific Area into the more advanced combat areas * * * resulting in the acceleration of the campaign in the Central Pacific."

Returning to the United States in October 1945, he had temporary duty in the Office of the Inspector General, Navy Department, and in February 1946 reported to commander, Western Sea Frontier, for duty as general inspector for that area. In April 1946 he was ordered relieved of all active duty and, following a period of leave, was transferred to the retired list after 44 years of active naval service. On January 14, 1954, he was given the combat promotion to admiral, U.S. Navy, retired, his commission dated August 7, 1947. Fleet Adm. C. W. Nimitz flew from Berkeley to Coronado to make personal delivery of this commission at the Naval Air Station, San Diego.

In addition to the Distinguished Service Medal and the Legion of Merit with Gold Star in lieu of the second award, Admiral Calhoun has been designated to wear the Combat "V" and has the Nicaraguan Campaign Medal; the Victory Medal, Submarine Clasp (World War I); the Yangtze Service Medal; American Defense Service Medal, Fleet Clasp; the Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal; and the World War II Victory Medal.

Admiral Calhoun is a great grandson of Mr. John Caldwell Calhoun, Vice President of the United States, from South Carolina. He was married on February 10, 1946, to Miss Rosalie Oneschuk, of Milford, Mass., ex-first lieutenant, Army Nurse Corps. Mrs. Calhoun served from June 1943 to August 1945 in the South Pacific Force, at 8th Army General Hospital, Dumbea, New Caledonia. They reside at 1115 Alameda Boulevard, Coronado, Calif. They have two sons, Alexander Oneschuk Calhoun, and Patrick Noble Calhoun; and a daughter, Rosalie Julia Calhoun. He has two sons by a former marriage, William L. Calhoun, Jr., and John C. Calhoun.

United States Hires Unqualified Negroes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 27, 1963

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD another outstanding editorial from the Columbia Record, of Columbia, S.C. This editorial is entitled "United States Hires Unqualified Negroes," and was printed in the June 24, 1963, issue of the Columbia Record. It is the sequel to another excellent editorial from the Columbia Record which I placed in the RECORD on page A3945 on June 24, 1963.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES HIRES UNQUALIFIED NEGROES

(Denial of the right to work is unfair, regardless of its victim. It is doubly unfair to throw its burden on an individual because of his race or color.—President Kennedy.)

Nowhere in his civil rights message to Congress did President Kennedy note with righteous indignation a discrimination in employment that grows daily by leaps and bounds, all across the Nation. The discrimination, transcending the law, is directed from Washington.

The President ignored the discrimination "because of race or color" because the white citizen is its victim, the employer is the Federal Government, and the whole drive is the result of extraordinary pressures brought by Vice President JOHNSON'S Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

These things are happening in the United States:

1. The Civil Service Commission regulations are being reduced to a meaningless shamble;

2. Unqualified Negroes are being hired even though qualified whites are being rejected;

3. Federal agents are hunting Negro applicants in the boondocks, even though white applicants are being spurned;

4. Unrealistic and illogical "percentages" of Negro employees are being forced on local agencies;

5. And Federal supervisory officials are threatened with the loss of their own jobs if such discriminations are not made in favor of the Negro.

Last Thursday (June 20) the Record cataloged a series of such startling violations of any respectable concept of "fair employment." Since that time, we've not only corroborated the incidents but have received communications about similar ones and even more astonishing revelations.

Federal supervisory officials, we have now learned, have been instructed by their Washington directors to hire certain percentages of Negro employees or be fired. In several instances, the top personnel were given the choice of implementing the program, being transferred, or resigning Government employ.

The only qualification, in some agencies, an applicant needs in this weird June month of 1963 is "the right color." The color is not white.

It doesn't matter whether the new Negro employees are qualified or unqualified. Washington has directed that "unqualified Negroes be placed on temporary employment" for 800 hours, at the end of which time the employee is to be qualified. (Eight hundred hours adds up to about 5 months.)

If a Federal agency can scrounge around and find more than its "quota" of qualified Negroes, it has been given instructions to hire them. "Disregard the fact that there is no opening. Hire them. Forget about the money. Washington'll supply it."

The vital civil service register, at the heart and core of the Government's merit system, has gone by the boards. In one southern area, the register was simply abolished. Object: to hire and upgrade Negroes with a total disregard for civil service regulations.

In other areas, the Civil Service Commission has just been bypassed or ignored.

"Never before," said one Federal official, "has my agency been involved in politics. Never. Now, it's completely saturated."

With all the seriousness that the Record can muster, it appeals to Congress to immediately investigate such violations. We may have reached the point where, also, Congress must establish a counterpart to Vice President JOHNSON'S Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity for Federal jobs.

It might be called the Committee on Equal White Employment Opportunity.

felt wishes for the continued resurgence of the Italian Republic.

It was 471 years ago that Columbus and his three frail ships reached the Western Hemisphere. Throughout history, few men have had to fight so desperately for their ideas and few men have been forced to face unknowns of such proportion and consequence. The heritage of Columbus, the son of a wool merchant, is indeed the heritage of a true pioneer.

We are all familiar with the challenges encountered and the hardships endured in the preparation and conduct of his journey. The financial and physical problems, however, were not the most burdensome. The responsibility for the failure of the voyage would be entirely his. Columbus was gambling not only his future, but also his life and the lives of those accompanying him. Their fate depended upon the validity of a concept generally regarded as absurd—that one could reach the East by sailing west.

Today our country also faces a future that is both challenging and uncertain. As this pioneer, whose only chart was faith, dared to face the unknown in a superstition-ridden world, we too must summon all our courage and skill in order to extract the promises and avoid the perils of life in a nuclear world. In the tradition of Columbus, we must strive to bring to all mankind a higher civilization—one noble in purpose and humanitarian in practice. At the present time, the need for men of such dedication and faith is more urgent than ever. The question now is not whether a few will succeed or fail, but whether all will perish or prevail. On this day, it is appropriate that we not only pay honor to Columbus as a man and source of inspiration, but also that we recognize the debt owed to his native land. Many Italians have brought their energies and talents to Massachusetts and the entire Nation. Their economic, cultural, and political contributions have been of immense significance in the development and prosperity of my home State.

In the achievements of Columbus, there is a lesson for us all. This adventurous Italian was willing to sacrifice personal comfort and risk life itself in defense of a concept which he held to be true. Likewise, those who would enjoy the blessings of human liberty must be of equal courage and commitment.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, 471 years ago this week Christopher Columbus, the son of a Genoese weaver, navigated his 3 little ships and 120 men into the waters of the Western Hemisphere.

The great Italian explorer had to conquer more than the Atlantic Ocean in 1492. He fought poverty, ridicule, physical anguish, disappointment, treachery, and ingratitude in an effort to prove some scientific truths which we now accept without question.

His was a victory for all civilization. But today I want to call special attention to the fact that he was an Italian, the first of many who came to the New World in the next several centuries and made important contributions to benefit our society.

This week, as we pay tribute to the memory of this great Italian, the atmosphere in Washington is being poisoned by the testimony of a man who is a criminal and who happens to be of Italian descent.

I regret to have to raise this issue so bluntly, but it is a matter of deep concern to me because I believe that Joseph Valachi, because of his name and the names of some of those he is testifying about, is doing the saddest of injustices to millions of decent, hard-working Americans who also happen to be of Italian origin.

Mr. President, this is in no sense a criticism of the hearings or those who are conducting them. Organized crime in America is an ugly subject which must be investigated and must be exposed if we are to know how to legislate most effectively against crime.

My comments, however, are directed at Americans in general and some news writers in particular who are using these hearings as an excuse to defame a whole people.

I ask them to remember that some 12 million Americans of Italian descent are following these hearings with horror and disgust while Valachi talks about the very lowest elements of society. I suggest that any heavily publicized, heavily televised hearings about the worst elements of any race, religion, or national origin would be equally sordid and unfair to those groups.

But, above all, I ask all Americans this week to remember that after Christopher Columbus, Italy gave us a great number of outstanding persons who helped make America better and helped shape the American way of life into what it is today.

To name just a few:

Enrico Tonti came from Italy in the 17th century to join LaSalle in exploration of the Western Hemisphere. Among his other achievements was the exploration of the Mississippi to its mouth.

Francesco Vigo came to America from Piedmont in 1775 and became a successful merchant. When the expedition of George Rogers Clark in the Revolutionary War seemed about to fail for lack of supplies, Vigo put his fortune at the disposal of the Revolutionary cause and made possible the success of Clark's campaign against the British in the West.

Philip Mazzei, from Poggio-a-Caiano, settled in Virginia in 1773 and became a friend of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson translated some of Mazzei's patriotic American writings into English and was influenced by these writings in his own drafting of our Declaration of Independence.

Constantino Brumidi, the outstanding Roman painter, is known to all of us in the Congress. Beginning in 1855 he started work in the Capitol and introduced the art of fresco to this country. Every day we walk under his magnificent paintings in the corridors and in the rotunda, which was his great love. When he began his work on the rotunda frieze he was 70 years old, but he worked for 3 years from a belt that hung 100 feet from the floor. As the partial result of a fall, he died in January 1880, leaving behind some of the truly great works of art in America.

Charles Barsotti came here from the Pisa area in 1872, established the first Italian daily in the United States and was known as an outstanding civic leader and philanthropist.

Enrico Caruso, the grand opera tenor from Naples, spent the last 20 years of his life making the air of America beautiful with his singing—and also contributing great sums of money to the Allied cause in World War I.

Luigi Palma di Cesnola, of Rivarolo, came to the United States in 1860, founded a military school for officers and then enlisted and fought through the Civil War. As a naturalized American he became American consul to Cyprus, and later director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Louis Amateis of Turin came to America in 1883 and did outstanding work as university professor, architect and sculptor.

Nor can we omit such scientists as Enrico Fermi, who made possible the use of atomic power. Its ultimate use for peaceful purposes can and will open up a whole new world and a better life for all peoples.

Mr. President, I have named only a few of those Italians who have contributed substantially to our culture, and only those who are no longer alive.

But I urge my fellow Americans on Columbus Day to think of the 12 million Italians and persons of Italian origin who are living today in the United States, who make us proud by their incalculable enrichment of the wonderful land that is our America.

PULASKI DAY

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, October 11 marks the 184th anniversary of the death of Count Casimir Pulaski—a renowned soldier in the forces of freedom and a symbol of the European support which helped make American independence possible. I am pleased to join with those citizens of Polish birth or ancestry in observing the anniversary of the death of one of freedom's foremost defenders. Pulaski distinguished himself by his valor, his military genius, and his tireless zeal in the pursuit of liberty for his people. Unable to achieve this end in his homeland, he crossed the Atlantic and made the supreme sacrifice in an effort to bring liberty to America.

Pulaski fought for freedom on the battlefields of both the Old World and the New. For, in 1768 he joined with his father in active rebellion to combat the domination of Poland. The young nobleman's military exploits were temporarily successful and he ultimately became the commander in chief of the Polish patriots. However, his forces were finally crushed and scattered, his estates confiscated, and he was forced into exile in 1772.

While in exile in France, Pulaski met Benjamin Franklin and offered his services to the cause of independence. In 1777 he joined Washington's army as a volunteer. After distinguished service at the battle of Brandywine he was promoted by Congress to the rank of briga-

file Pres: Politics

dier general in the Continental Army. He shared the hardships and deprivations of Valley Forge and then received permission from Congress to organize an independent corps of cavalry. To that time, the cavalry had amounted to little or nothing in the revolutionary forces. Pulaski, who used the remnants of his personal fortune to help equip the men, is now considered to be the father of the U.S. cavalry. When he led the American and French cavalry at Savannah, Pulaski had already played heroic roles at the battles of Brandywine, Trenton, and Flemington. In the siege of Savannah, October 9, he gallantly charged the enemy lines at the head of his cavalry, was mortally wounded, and died 2 days later.

Thus, today we honor a man to whom freedom was a lifetime objective. Whether on the battlefields of Europe or America, Pulaski's cause was the same—the cause of freedom. Now, as we pay tribute to Pulaski's contributions to bringing liberty to this land, let us also express our fervent hope that the spirit which motivated him survives in his native country and may one day prevail.

WHERE DOES GOLDWATER STAND?

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Where Does GOLDWATER Stand?" published in the U.S. News & World Report of September 2, 1963.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHERE DOES GOLDWATER STAND?

Question. Senator GOLDWATER, when do you expect to announce your intentions for 1964?

Answer. I can't give you an exact date, because, as I have said, I'm playing this thing by ear day by day. I would much prefer to run for the Senate, but I realize that I am being put in a position more and more in which I have to make a decision.

Things may change between now and the time of decision, which I would say would come sometime around the closing date for filing in the New Hampshire primary. That will be in January, I think. And, if the tide still runs the way it is running now, I'm going to have to say yes or no. I wouldn't want to say yes or no now, because I think it's much too early.

Question. If you miss the nomination for President, would you still have ample time to run for reelection to the Senate?

Answer. Yes. I have to file as a candidate for the Senate, I think, the week before the national convention. Our primaries in Arizona aren't until the second week in September. If I happen to decide to seek the nomination for President, and not get it, my name will be in for the Senate, which is my real love, and I would run. If I decided to seek the nomination for President, and got it, I would not run for the Senate.

Question. You would not?

Answer. Absolutely not.

Question. Is this your own decision, or are the laws of Arizona such that you couldn't run for both President and Senator?

Answer. It's my own decision. Our State attorney general gave a ruling which indicates to me that no State could deny a man running for two Federal offices—that is, he could run for the Presidency or the Vice Presidency and a Senate or House seat. His ruling is that the State law does not deal with this case. But I wouldn't run, I don't think it's right.

Question. Is it necessary, Senator, to have your permission to file your name in the New Hampshire primary?

Answer. As I understand it, no.

Question. If you do decide to run for the presidential nomination, would it be your plan to enter most of the primaries?

Answer. It would certainly have to be any candidate's plan to enter enough primaries to convince Republicans across the country that he could get votes, and to discourage his opposition from continuing in the race.

Question. How can a Senator find time, in addition to his Senate duties, to go out and run in primaries around the country?

Answer. He would have to do as President Kennedy did—just ignore his senatorial duties. I think he missed over 200 votes in the Senate that last year.

But I do have an advantage here that other so-called "hopefuls"—if that's the word—do not have.

For most of the years between 1954 and this year, with the exception of the 2 years before my last election to the Senate, I've been traveling this country as chairman of the Republican senatorial campaign committee. I have a map stuck up on the wall, and you can see from the number of pins the thousands of speeches I've made. I have traveled over a million miles, and I don't think anyone in this party knows more Republicans than I do.

This accumulation of Republican friends wasn't done with the idea of using it for anything except getting Republicans elected to the Senate and the House. It came as a byproduct of just doing my job as a Republican. And now, of course, if I decide to seek the nomination, this becomes my most valuable asset. It's an asset that almost any other candidate would have to develop. And you don't develop a million miles and a thousand speeches just overnight.

Question. In connection with your possible candidacy, do you think it would be good for the country if a second term were denied to Kennedy in 1964?

Answer. I think it's absolutely essential.

Question. Why?

Answer. I think we have to have a change in 1964—not because of the individual, but because of the steady and increasing reach for power over the daily lives of Americans by the President and the men around him.

Question. Senator, some people have identified you with the John Birch Society. Are you a member of that society?

Answer. No. I have never been a member of it. In fact, when it was organized, the head of the society, Mr. Robert J. Welch, was asked if he would support Nixon or GOLDWATER for the Presidency. This was back, I think, in 1958 or 1959. He said no, GOLDWATER was too far to the left and Nixon was a Socialist.

Question. Is Mr. Welch now a supporter of yours?

Answer. No; He's not. In fact, I have a letter here that was written to a friend of mine, and Mr. Welch says:

"No matter how high my regard for Senator GOLDWATER might be, I could neither support him nor oppose him in the forthcoming campaign, because whatever I did would be construed as an official position of the John Birch Society."

That same letter from Welch said this:

"The John Birch Society takes absolutely no position in political campaigns, and, therefore, neither can I. Since about half of our members are Republicans, half Democrats, and with a sprinkling of independents, you can readily see why this policy is necessary."

Question. Then, so far as you know, the John Birch Society, as a society, is not supporting you?

Answer. No, I've never heard of them supporting any candidate, frankly, and I know they're not supporting me for anything, including running for the Senate in Arizona.

Question. Many people have said that you should either accept the support of the John Birch people or repudiate that support. What is your comment on that

Answer. Well, these people who have suggested that have never given me any good reason for doing it. If it's because the Birch Society takes an extreme position now and then, I can recall American Legion posts that have taken extreme positions. The Americans for Democratic Action, I believe, have some very extreme positions.

My answer is that the members of the Birch Society have a constitutional right to take the positions they choose, even though I might disagree with them. I don't agree, for example, that Earl Warren should be impeached. I might disagree with Earl Warren, but I don't go so far as to say impeach him. But anybody has a right to suggest impeachment of any public official in this country.

I don't agree with the idea of repealing the income tax, but they certainly have the right to suggest that. According to those who are trying to read something dangerous into this nebulous "far right" theory, all these people—not just the Birch Society, but all Americans who oppose, for example, the United Nations—and there are millions of them—should be denied this right to hold strong minority opinions.

So I can't bring myself to disavow a group that is exercising its constitutional rights, and I repeat my challenge to those who have asked me to do this: Point out what they're doing that is dangerous, name names and places that they occupy in the Republican Party, prove that these people in these places are tending to take over the Republican Party and destroy it. I know of no working members of the party above a few precinct-committee people in Arizona who are members of the Birch Society.

Question. Then you don't agree with those who say the John Birch Society is dangerous to the country?

Answer. A statement I saw in the paper puts the total membership of the Birch Society at around 12,000 to 15,000. Now, if 12,000 to 15,000 people—like the former Chief Justice of my Supreme Court in Arizona, a Democrat, or the president of our second-biggest bank, a Democrat—are dangerous to the United States, I shudder to think of the danger of the Americans for Democratic Action.

Question. Would you call yourself a disciple of the "radical right?"

Answer. I don't think I'm a radical in any position. I think there are some radicals in this country. We've always had them. Washington, Jefferson, and others have been plagued with these people. Lincoln was plagued with them.

But it's very difficult to put your finger on them. Just who are they? Some of these groups are very selfish in nature, very narrow in nature. Others are broad. But I still want somebody to spell out "far right."

Question. How would you define the "far right?"

Answer. I might try it. In my opinion, if you had a "radical right," it would be a fascist position—sort of like George Lincoln Rockwell and his Nazis—in no way associated with the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. On the "radical left" you'd have the Communist Party, in no way associated with the Democratic Party or the Republican Party.

So you get the spectrum down then to what, on the left, are called "liberals," but who are not "liberals" in the true or existing sense of the word; and on the Republican side, "conservatives."

Now, I imagine there can be extremes in those positions. The farthest to the left,

not being a Communist, would be an "extreme liberal." The farthest to the right, not being a Nazi, would be an "extreme rightist."

I think the "conservative" movement, which is neither of these, contains more people than any other movement in the country.

Question. Do you think there are more "conservatives" in this country than "liberals"?

Answer. I think so.

Question. Over the years, Senator, have you consistently supported the Republican nominee for President?

Answer. That's right.

Question. Would you expect the so-called "liberal" wing of the Republican Party to support a "conservative" nominee of the Republican Party in 1964?

Answer. If they're worthy of the name Republican, I would expect them to support the candidate. I couldn't see them voting for Kennedy without becoming Democrats.

Question. Would you support the Republican nominee in 1964, even though he turned out to be a "liberal" Republican?

Answer. I would support the Republican nominee in 1964 because I don't care who the Republican nominee is, he's going to be better for the United States than any New Frontiersman.

Question. Have you actively supported "liberal" Republicans in State elections?

Answer. Yes. I have supported men like Senators JAVITS, CASE, KUCHEL, and COOPER. I've raised considerable sums of money for them. I went into New York City to help raise money for Governor Rockefeller.

So, as I say, I believe in the two-party system. I believe we ought to have our little arguments within the system, but, when the time comes, we ought to argue with the opposition.

WHERE REPUBLICANS DIFFER

Question. Are you and Governor Rockefeller at odds on all issues?

Answer. Well, the Governor and I have met together here in Washington at least four times in the last 12 months. We've seen each other in New York, I think, at least twice. And I would say that our areas of disagreement are relatively small. Rockefeller and I are much closer together than Hubert Humphrey and Harry Byrd—we're both Republicans and they're both Democrats.

I think the field of public welfare, the welfare state, is where you find the Republican Party at odds. When you get into fiscal responsibility, taxation, foreign policy, the rest of the domestic policy, I don't think there's a great deal of difference.

Question. In that case, why is Governor Rockefeller so critical of you?

Answer. I don't know, frankly. I'm at a loss on that. Up until the time I read his recent statement, if you had asked me that question, I'd have said, "We're friends. I trust him, I like him, and so on."

It doesn't mean that I don't still like him, but I had no advance warning of his change in attitude until he issued that statement. I had assumed the situation was one of Rockefeller and Goldwater working for unity in the Republican Party.

THE SOUTH HAS BEEN GOING MORE AND MORE REPUBLICAN

Question. Has there been any contact since that statement?

Answer. No. I haven't seen hide nor hair of him since, and I don't expect to.

Question. Senator, have you advocated that the Republicans simply cross off the big industrial States of the East in 1964?

Answer. No. I don't know where that ever started. I'm a very practical politician. I don't cross anybody off anyplace, anytime. I have said that I think the large cities in the East are going to be very tough for Republicans for the very simple reason that the Democrats control the city machinery.

Now, you give me a mayor and city council of New York as Republicans and I'm going to take New York City for a presidential candidate. It's as simple as that. He probably has 500,000 votes before the polls open in the morning—not crooked, they're just machine votes.

I think we have to be practical and recognize that the large eastern cities are not likely to go for Republicans at the presidential level. But we can sure as heck work in them, and we can work for better organization.

And I've never said forget the Negro vote or the Italian vote or any minority vote. Go after them. I say we should do our strong hunting where the ducks are flying.

Question. Do you think a Republican nominee in 1964 will have a good chance of carrying New York State?

Answer. My honest opinion is "no," because New York City is controlled by a Democratic machine.

Now, by the same token—and that's what makes this answer a little hard—the State is controlled by a Republican administration. If northern New York would vote with the same intensity as downstate New York, then my answer would be the other way. But, in looking at it in a very practical manner, and looking at history, I would expect that New York City would again do a better job of getting the vote out than would the more conservative elements up north.

SOUTH'S DRAMATIC TREND

Question. Can a Republican nominee win the South?

Answer. The South, since 1948, has been going more and more Republican. This has nothing to do with the race issue, because it was going on before the Supreme Court decision. Its tempo hasn't increased appreciably, percentagewise, since the Supreme Court decision, but we trebled our vote for congressional candidates from 1958 to 1962, and my guess is that we'll at least double it or even treble it again in 1964. You could have a pretty dramatic change in the South in Republican House Members.

I think 10 or 12 more Republican seats out of the South could be expected in 1964. But if we get the switch we've been having, it's going to be better than that. The Republican strength in the South in presidential elections has been in the big cities—42 out of the 53 went for Nixon.

You find the violent, die-hard segregationist living out in the rural areas, where you find the violent, die-hard Democratic Party. But, in the cities, it's becoming more and more Republican-oriented.

Question. Where else can you see a combination of States that could elect a Republican as President?

Answer. I think the Middle West—and when I say "Middle West," I go all the way from the Pennsylvania line on out to the Rocky Mountains—the Rocky Mountain States, the Southwest. I think the Republicans' chief problem will be in the larger boss-ruled cities—not because of the candidate, not because of the party, but because the Republicans don't control the machinery.

Question. Is the problem in the cities related also to the large labor vote and the large Negro vote?

Answer. The Negro vote, I think, will go about as it has gone in the past—some 80 percent in the large cities for the Democrat. We can't tell what the Negro vote is out in the West. We treat it as a vote, not as a separate entity.

The union man, I've always believed, votes as he feels he should. There are some exceptions. I would say where the UAW (United Auto Workers) is strong in Detroit, they pretty much vote the union line. But some studies show about 25 percent of even Walter Reuther's union to be Republican. In my State, in the most heavily organized county in the State, where the largest mines in the world are and 85 percent of the working force belongs to the union, I carried that county last time, which was a great switch from the time before.

The studies that I have seen show that about 42 percent of the union members consider themselves Republican. This was back in the 1950's. There are no up-to-date studies that I know of.

Eisenhower got the majority of the union vote in both of his elections. So I don't write that vote off. But I don't think we have made the approach to them. I think we should visit more freely with the union people, convince them that our interests are their interests, that under the Republican Party they are going to earn more and earn it longer and more of it than they've been able to do under the Democrats. After all, if there are more jobs created, there will be more people employed.

TROUBLES IN CALIFORNIA

Question. What about California? How do you assess that, Senator?

Answer. Right now, Republicanwise—I hate to use the word—it's a mess. The party is disorganized. There are no immediate signs of its coming back together, although there are a lot of darn good people working on it. I have a feeling that they will achieve unity out there well in advance of the time it is needed.

It will be a tough State for either the Democrats or Republicans to say, "It's in the bag."

Question. Could you win without both California and New York?

Answer. Theoretically, yes, you can—but it's assuming a lot of strength in a lot of areas. You'd have to have Texas, you'd have to have Illinois, you'd have to take Ohio, Indiana, seven of the Southern States, the Mountain States——

Question. And some of New England?

Answer. I always look on New England as a strong Republican place, and I think we'll see it stronger this time.

Question. How about Massachusetts?

Answer. Well, Massachusetts will naturally go to Kennedy—and Connecticut, Rhode Island. But I think in New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, we will win.

Question. You spoke of the Democrats' having gained successes in the North by controlling the big-city machines. Has that also been true of the South?

Answer. No, because it wasn't necessary. The Democrats have never bothered much about the South. The South has been treated like a little stepchild.

Name me a man of the stature of RICHARD RUSSELL, Senator from Georgia, for example, who occupies a place high in Democratic Party councils. I don't think he even knows where the Democratic national headquarters are located. And the South is beginning to resent this. This philosophy may come back to haunt the Democrats, because, if they can't take the South and they can't take the Middle West and the Rocky Mountain West, then we may be approaching a day when we can say, "We might win without New York and California."

California is a little different horse. Her big cities are not boss-controlled cities, as the eastern cities are. City politics out there are just big-city politics without the gangster-boss element that we find in virtually every large eastern city. When I say "large," I mean a million and above.

Question. Senator, what do you think will be the dominant issues, to be decided in 1964?

Answer. Oh, it's kind of hard to say now. It will be a year from now before the campaign will be getting underway. I think foreign policy will certainly be one issue—Cuba,

Laos, Vietnam as it now stands, although Vietnam could change—and the general growth of communism and our seemingly inability to stop it; certainly the outflow of gold; the slowness of our economy—although this could change—and fiscal irresponsibility.

I think this fiscal thing has a great potential, because more and more people are understanding what you mean by taxes and the deprivation of private property.

Question. Senator, speaking of national issues, what is your own record on integration of the races?

Answer. My record, of course, was made in my own State. I don't think you can make other than a legislative record in Washington, and I'll stand on my legislative record here.

In Arizona, my retail company has always hired Negroes. It's only been recently that any Negroes have been interested in saleswomen's jobs, although we have two Negro beauty operators, and have had them for some time. Out of about 500 employees, I think we have about 25 Negroes, and some of them in very responsible positions.

When I became adjutant general for the Air National Guard, I integrated that organization, and it ultimately resulted in the whole Guard movement being integrated.

The first official act that I was able to get accomplished as a member of the city council in Phoenix was the desegregation of the restaurant at the local airport. Earlier, when I got back from World War II, I found that we had acquired segregated high schools, which we didn't have when I went to high school there. I made, for that time and that town, a sizable contribution to the court fight to end segregation.

I'll stand on my record, what I've done in this field in my own State and elsewhere.

Question. What do you say in the South about civil rights?

Answer. When people in the South ask me my stand, I say I'm opposed completely to discrimination. I think that this is the problem—not segregation. But I hesitate as an Arizonian to go into some other State and try to tell them to do things. I discuss it with them, but using only moral persuasion.

Question. Do you mean that segregation laws or integration laws ought to be a State and local matter?

Answer. As far as everything goes, except the Supreme Court decision on schools.

The last civil rights bill—the one in 1957, which caused the long filibuster—was too broad. It would have allowed the Attorney General to use this pretense to go into any area of our lives in our States. I think today, if a tight and limited law were written aimed at correcting specific situations in school districts or schools, even the South might buy this. But nobody is going to stand by for a bill that is a blunderbuss and allows the Attorney General to ride off in all directions, abusing the daily lives of people.

Question. What about the civil rights bill now before Congress?

Answer. I would oppose completely the povision on public accommodations—hotels, motels, restaurants, etc.—and accept no compromise on it. It's entirely unconstitutional. I think if we enact that we can kiss goodbye to our concept of limited Government, our concept of constitutional guarantee of rights, and I'll have no part of it.

Question. Do you mean that it gives the Federal Government too much power over the daily lives of people?

Answer. It does. I feel very strongly that, when a man invests his property in a business, he has the legal right to conduct that business any way he wants to, just so it doesn't do damage to other businesses. I think he has a moral obligation, in his advertising, to say that he will not cater to this group or that group or any group he chooses. I think this is an inherent right of property, and, if we destroy this concept of control of property, then we're giving acquiescence to the idea that property can be taken from us without the due processes of the law.

DANGER OF POLICE STATE

Question. Could that provision be enforced without a vast Federal police force?

Answer. I don't see how it could, and this in another reason that I think this administration has to go. I think we're getting closer and closer and closer to situations that require a police state. And this is the reason I don't think some of these people really understand what they're asking for when they support the public-accommodations proposal.

Question. How do you feel about the proposed power to withhold Federal assistance in instances where discrimination is practiced?

Answer. The Republican Party was going to take a position that such withholding should be mandatory. However, we were warned by Senator HRUSKA of Nebraska to take another look at it, because this is much broader than anybody has realized. It gets into small business loans, for example.

Let's say that a small store in California has a small business loan, and the charge is made that segregation exists. Then every Federal project in that State, conceivably—but certainly in that political subdivision—would have to be stopped.

So the Republicans are taking another look at this. We don't want it to be discretionary, because this gives the President too much power.

I FAVOR WITHDRAWING RECOGNITION FROM RUSSIA

Question. As you see it, Senator, where does this trend toward concentration of power lead?

Answer. The trend, for at least 30 years, has been to a completely centralized Government.

Today we're seeing small business in trouble because of the oppressive size of Government, which requires taxation to the point where small businessmen can't retain profits.

The big man can get along today, but how long is it going to be before even big business can't withstand the combined pressures of big labor and big Government? Then how long will it be before big labor can't withstand the total power of big Government? Then you have one thing left—you have Government, period—Government running business, the labor unions, the daily lives of the people. These are my fears.

Question. Could this come about without the consent of the people, as expressed in the congressional elections?

Answer. Yes, it has been coming about mainly because too many of the people in this country have not voted.

Question. In other words, people are not alert to the danger—

Answer. They don't understand it. I think they're beginning to understand it.

I think businessmen are beginning to see that the present trend can only lead to Government takeover. I think some of the labor leaders are beginning to be fearful of this, because of the way Kennedy has had to handle the railroad strike. He was suggesting compulsory arbitration, which means the end of striking, and that, in my opinion, is the only weapon the workingman has. It does away with collective bargaining, and this is just another natural step toward wholesale Government control of both business and labor.

Not that the Kennedys necessarily are going this route with a purpose, but I think they just inherited this 30-year philosophy that the Federal Government has to have more power, that it has to be able to control business, labor and the lives of individual people in order to govern the United States properly.

GETTING A CLEAR-CUT VOTE

Question. Do we need a clear test at the polls in a national election—to find out what the majority of the people think?

Answer. I'm beginning to think that it would not be a bad idea. That doesn't necessarily mean that I am the only conservative. As I say, Republicans are conservative. Some Republicans would give the people more of a choice than others. But, regardless of who the Republican might be, there would be a basic difference between that person and Kennedy, because they would represent fundamentally different principles of government.

Question. You support right to work laws, do you not?

Answer. As a State matter, yes; I would not propose a national right to work law, although I have an amendment in now to the Taft-Hartley Act that would give the States the right to determine whether they would have the union shop or not. In other words, in the absence of State legislation calling for the union shop there would be an open shop. But this is not the same as national "right to work"; nor would I support a national right to work amendment.

Question. Would you favor withdrawing recognition from Soviet Russia and other Communist States?

Answer. I have always favored withdrawing recognition from Russia. I never favored recognition from the start. I remember when it was first done. I think we lent dignity to a movement that doesn't deserve the respect that goes with formal recognition. I don't like to lend dignity and respect to an outfit that says they're out to bury us.

Question. Do you think we can coexist with a Castro-type Cuba?

Answer. This word "coexistence" is a misunderstood one. Can we coexist with the Cubans, the Russians, the East Germans? We have to, as people. But do we have to coexist with the philosophy of communism? No. I don't see how we can do it without the almost-certain knowledge that sooner or later one of us won't be around to coexist either with or together. The philosophy is the point that I disagree on.

Now, coexistence has ben recognized by the leaders of the Communist movement as the greatest weapon they have. This goes clear back to Engels and Marx, Lenin, Stalin—and I have many quotes on that that I've dug up, pointing out the desire of the Communists to establish coexistence and then find that our leaders mistake what coexistence is.

I know Senator FULBRIGHT has a fit every time I speak against coexistence. He misunderstands it. He thinks that I want to have war—to annihilate people. You can't annihilate ideas. You replace bad ideas with better ideas, and that's what we ought to be getting along with.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT CUBA

Question. What course would you advocate on Cuba?

Answer. The course that I've advocated constantly, I've never changed on, would be a blockade—as Kennedy imposed—the training of Cuban exiles, the equipping of Cuban exiles. All of this should be done in conjunction with the Organization of American States.

I would advocate the establishment of a single Cuban government-in-exile. This would be the first "must."

Then we should support from the air, with supplies and equipment, any movement they might undertake to overthrow the Castro regime.

Question. Could we do that without getting the United States involved in a war?

Answer. I'm absolutely convinced we can, and I think most of the American states are convinced that we can, too.

Question. As time goes on, is it getting more and more difficult to overthrow the Castro regime?

Answer. Yes, yes. At the Bay of Pigs, that very limited number of men, if we had carried through with supplying them, would probably have succeeded and would have made the difference now in Cuba. But now Castro has the second-best army in this hemisphere.

Question. What is your view on foreign aid?

Answer. If we have to live with foreign aid—and I don't think we do have to live with foreign economic aid—I think it should be used as a "rifle," aimed at specific areas where we can gain an advantage over the Russians. And I don't think we're gaining it by giving foreign aid to the 90-odd countries that we give it to. We might find a project in some country that Russia would be willing to try to outbid us on. Let her do it. She can't afford an economic race with us at the present time, and I think it will be a good number of years away until she can.

I would rather see this foreign-economic-aid money channeled into technical assistance and the Peace Corps concept, because I think this is going to prove desirable. I've always had faith in it. I'd like to see us encourage more private investment around the world, although we have a whale of a lot of it at the present time.

Question. Would you channel more of this money into loans and less into grants?

Answer. I certainly would. And I would expect the country receiving a loan to demonstrate that it could provide collateral or some sensible basis for a loan. And then again, I'd look pretty carefully at whom I was lending it to.

Question. What kind of countries should be getting aid?

Answer. The countries that needed it right after the war no longer need it. I think that a country like Greece could certainly be interested in loans, because they need development. Turkey, if she needs it. Countries that are with us or can be brought with us. Pakistan, by all means. I would put a question mark around India, because you never know where she is.

In the Latin countries, I think our whole program there needs reorienting. The idea is good, but we're not getting the job done, because we're assuming that the Latins are going to make changes in their social patterns that they're not ready to make or willing to make.

Question. You have spoken of the danger of $100 billion budgets. How much do you think this Government ought to be spending?

Answer. Well, let's not start with the 100 billions. My objection is not to any one figure. It's just to excessive spending, where we're spending more than we're taking in. I don't think any country can do that, any more than a business can.

They can do it during wartime. But if you just recall what happened in 1929 to Austria, from precisely the same things we're doing in this country today, then you have a better understanding of my fear of deficit spending. Now, Austria was engaged in housing projects, rural and urban redevelopment, and the expenditure of funds over and above what they were taking in, and, in spite of all warnings, they continued to do it, and when the collapse came, it started a world depression.

There's nothing to prevent the United States from starting a world depression if our credit and our currency and our economic were to collapse.

Our gold-outflow situation, some will argue, is offset by the some $70 to $75 billion that's owed us by foreign countries. What assurance have we that they'll pay off when we get in trouble?

So my objection to budgets is not $100 billions; it would be $90 or $80 or $70 or $200, if the amount is more than we take in.

I think we can effect reductions in the nature of $7 billions, maybe $10, but I won't go as far as some people who say $15. I think the agricultural program presents the best opportunity. And I think health, education, and welfare is another area, where we had 7 million people on relief in 1936 and we have 7 million people on relief in 1963, and it's costing us many times as much to handle these people.

Question. Would you, over a period of years, phase out various welfare programs?

Answer. Oh, I don't think you can do that. Take social security, for example. I think it could be made flexible and voluntary—flexible by allowing a man to choose a higher salary on which to pay, say, up to $10,000, and voluntary in that, if a man didn't want to go under it, he wouldn't have to. He might decide that he could provide a better retirement for himself.

I think that, around 1970, employees and employers are going to start looking at the 10-percent tax, as it will be then, and say, "I can get a much better policy through private sources than I'm getting out of the Government." Then I'd expect to hear some push for a change in social security.

Question. To make it voluntary?

Answer. Or to rewrite it completely and bring it up to date, make it conform with modern times, and make it more actuarially sound than it is today.

Question. What about the general field of welfare?

Answer. Such programs have become established in people's minds. I would merely stop the introduction of new programs, because I think we're in every conceivable field that we can get into. And then I would start trying to convince the Governors of the States that, if they took these things back, they could do them with less money.

Then the Federal Government would be able to reduce spending by similar amounts and not be required to tax so high.

HOW TO CUT TAXES

Question. As matters stand now, do you oppose the tax cut of 1963?

Answer. I haven't seen it in its entirety. I fundamentally oppose any tax cut without a cut in expenditures.

Question. And you don't see any prospect of a cut in expenditures?

Answer. No, and just a quick look at the proposed tax cuts: While they have made a gesture toward the area that's needed, where it's needed, I don't think it's enough.

Question. What area do you mean?

Answer. This is the area of encouraging capital investments. When you think that our rate of capital investment in the last quarter of last year, for the first time since 1957, equaled 1957, and that this year its only a little bit above the 1957 figure, you begin to see, in my opinion, what's wrong with the economy, why it's sluggish. We are not replacing antiquated factories, antiquated stores, warehouses, and so forth, and we're trying to get along with machinery that is far outpaced by European factories.

And the plain fact of the matter is today: Where can you find a good investment? I mean, you're actually as well off, in most cases, putting money in Federal or municipal bonds as you are going into corporate stocks.

I remember in my own business when a 10-percent profit was not impossible. I don't argue that that was a proper rate. But a 2½-percent profit today is very high. And the probability of withstanding any prolonged dip in sales in my business just doesn't exist today. In the 1929 depression, I went 5 years with the dropoff in sales and managed to live. I couldn't do it today.

I think it's well and good to talk about cutting the lower bracket income taxes, but when you give a man $12 to $20 more a month, I can't see him going crazy in spending. And you give the high income man $100 more a month—that isn't going to mean much to him. But if you give a corporation a real break, so that they can turn around and invest, say, 10 percent more next year than they invested this year, I can see the economy running into a manpower shortage in a relatively short time.

Question. Would you say that the proposed 48-percent rate for corporations is still too high?

Answer. I think it is.

Question. And would you say that a 70-percent rate—that's the proposed top rate—for individuals is too high?

Answer. That's confiscatory.

Question. You've been quoted as saying that a graduated tax is a confiscatory tax. Is that your view?

Answer. I don't think I'd put it that way. But I think it has been destructive of initiative—and when you destroy American initiative, you destroy the possibility of more earnings.

I found that in my own business, even before I got out of it some 10 or 12 years ago. You'd ask a young executive if he'd like to take a higher job; he would say, "Well, let me take a look at it." And he'd come back and say, "No, Mary and I have decided that I had better stay where I am because if I take that higher job, Im going to have to work harder and I'm not really going to make enough more to make it worth while—so no, thank you."

NEEDED: A NEW TAX CODE

Question. Then you don't believe in any graduation at all in the income tax?

Answer. I won't go that far, but I'm opposed to the theory. I'd like to see some other suggestions made in the whole field.

In fact, if I had anything to say about this tax picture, what I would do would be to assemble some knowledgeable legislators, some knowledgeable academic people, some knowledgeable business people, some knowledgeable labor people, and say, "Get off in the corner and write us a new tax code that's going to produce sufficient revenue in a fair way for our Government."

Then, when this has been accomplished, you proceed to sell it to the Congress, and when you're convinced you have it sold, throw the old tax code out of the window and enact a new one—start all over again.

This thing we're working on is a mess.

Question. Are you concerned about the complications in the present tax law and the new complications that are being written in by the new tax bill?

Answer. You cannot write new additions to this tax code without giving jobs to about 2,000 new tax attorneys a year. I have no objection to tax attorneys, but you can't write something to correct an evil here without producing an evil over here. And this to me, frankly, is one of the major sources of immorality in this country—the fact that the father will go home and say, "Well, I beat Uncle Sam out of 200 bucks today," and the kid says, "Gee, how did you do that, Dad?" "Well, real smart—here's how I did it." Perfectly legal, but is it moral? So the kid say, "Well, the old man stole 200 bucks from Uncle Sam. I'll steal a dollar from somebody."

I did a little piece on this once—it never got into print—on what the Volstead Act and the income tax amendment have done to the morals of our people.

Question. Do you agree that a tax cut is essential to the economy?

Answer. In 1954 we cut taxes by 7.4 billion, but the economy was running at a pretty vigorous rate and the money was reinvested.

I think it was only 2 years before we were collecting twice as much as we cut. Now, if the economy were moving at a faster clip today and there wasn't this antibusiness attitude, anti-stockmarket attitude, anti-investor attitude on the part of the administration, I think I'd be wholeheartedly for a tax cut.

Question. At the risk of another, larger deficit?

Answer. Even at the risk of a larger deficit, because I think the expenditures and increased sources of taxation would offset the deficit. But I don't think that will happen now. I hope I'm wrong, because a tax cut—even this one—would be good if it didn't mean offsetting this by more inflation—increased costs all along the line.

CONCERN OVER A TEST BAN

Question. Will you tell us, Senator, whether you are for or against the ratification of the nuclear test ban treaty?

Answer. I have some very, very serious reservations about it. I am not convinced yet that the political advantages outweigh the military disadvantages, and I would say that it's in this general area that the administration has been most lax in selling its bill.

They're very general. They don't spell out what they mean by political advantages, where the military have spelled out very precisely the military disadvantages. And I have to agree with Dr. Edward Teller, with Gen. Curtis LeMay, with General Power, General Schriever. I think the Russians are ahead of us—not just in weapon size, because I don't think that's too important—but in nuclear know-how, which I think is very important.

I'm worried about whether our missiles will get there, whether or not the Russians have an antiballistic missile system that will keep them from getting there.

The fact is that we don't know enough about nuclear environment or electromagnetic pulse or fireball blackout. We know there are problems, and I know that some of them can be solved underground and in laboratories, but we can never be sure unless we continue atmospheric testing.

I have to hear some pretty sound political arguments given to me in the next 2 or 3 weeks before I can decide that politics offsets the military disadvantage, and, if I were the administration, I would be coming up to the Senate with more and more argument on the political end.

All they talk about is a "next step." What is it? Nonaggression? I don't think they have a chance of getting a nonaggression pact through this Senate, or even approved by the military.

So where are the political advantages? Frankly, I can't see them today.

FBI INVESTIGATION OF BOMBINGS OF NEGRO HOMES AND CHURCHES IN ALABAMA

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks a letter dated October 8, 1963, addressed to me, from Harvey H. Hewitt, colonel, U.S. Air Force, retired, of Falls Church, Va., regarding the FBI investigation of bombings of Negro homes and churches in Alabama.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OCTOBER 8, 1963.

Hon. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR ROBERTSON: On September 13, 1963, there was broadcast over Washington television station WTOP a portion of a press conference held by Gov. George Wallace regarding FBI investigation of bombings of Negro homes and churches in Alabama.

From Governor Wallace's statements I got the impression that he believed certain evidence concerning the bombings which the FBI had uncovered was being withheld from the public because of some embarrassment such evidence might bring to the Department of Justice.

I wrote to you on September 14, saying I felt Governor Wallace's charges were serious ones that bring into question the integrity of our system of justice on the Federal level. I asked that the charges be looked into to determine their truth or falsity. I expressed no opinion of my own either one way or the other.

You referred my letter to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover whose reply was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for September 25, 1963—pages 17046 and 17047. Unfortunately for me, your prefacing remarks to Mr. Hoover's letter as published in the RECORD implied that I, personally, had claimed that on the basis of the number of bombings in Alabama, the FBI had been either inefficient, negligent, or both. My letter had contained no such claim or suggestion.

I have the highest personal confidence in Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and in the important work being done by the FBI. I would never without just cause suggest inefficiency or negligence. I respectfully request that this letter be published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so as to correct any erroneous impression that might have been created as to my position in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

HARVEY H. HEWITT.

ROYALTIES FROM MINERAL PRODUCTION ON FEDERAL LANDS IN WYOMING

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, one of the potentials for economic growth in the State of Wyoming is our vast storehouse of mineral deposits. Even now these minerals are being utilized to provide a thriving industrial base in many parts of the State.

Since about 50 percent of Wyoming is in Federal ownership and an even greater share of the mineral rights belong to the Federal Government a sizable sum is contributed to the Treasury each year for the right to mine these minerals.

Mr. President, I am the sponsor of a bill to provide that 90 percent of these royalties are returned to the State of origin. To me this would provide for a more equitable distribution of this money and would be a positive step in providing State governments with additional revenue to meet their steadily rising expenses.

The benefits of this action are outlined in an editorial published recently by the Kemmerer Gazette. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BIG PAYDAY

For many years, Wyoming's Senators and Congressmen in Washington have beat the drums loudly in an effort to get for their State 90 percent of the royalties from mineral production on Federal lands within Wyoming.

You may have wondered what all the shouting is about.

The thing that generates all the excitement over 90 percent return is potentially the biggest payday in Wyoming's history. The situation is this:

More than half of the lands within Wyoming's borders are owned by the Federal Government. The Federal Government collects a royalty on all natural resources produced on these public lands.

The Federal Government retains 10 percent of all these royalties to administer the collection of the royalties. Federal statute earmarks an additional 52½ percent of all the royalties to the reclamation fund which helps finance new reclamation projects in the West.

The remaining 37½ percent is given to Wyoming State government to spend in any way that it sees fit. The way we choose to spend our 37½ percent of the royalty is to give half of it to the Wyoming Highway Department for construction of new highways and half of it to subsidize education in the State. The portion that goes to education is shared equally between the State school foundation fund and the University of Wyoming.

How much money does this 37½ percent amount to?

The amount varies each year as the mineral production on public lands varies. A conservative average of Wyoming's annual receipts from the mineral royalty is about $12 million.

The question has long been argued of why should Wyoming and other Western States get only 37½ percent. Why shouldn't they collect the full 90 percent?

The remaining 52½ percent that goes into the reclamation fund represents only a very miniscule part of the total amount of money that is spent on reclamation projects. If this money were taken away from reclamation, the loss would hardly be noticed. Moreover, some other States (Texas is one) receive reclamation projects without contributing a dime to the reclamation fund.

Another argument is that when Alaska was admitted to the Union, its State constitution specifically required that 90 percent of the public land mineral royalty be returned to the State. If Alaska gets a 90-percent return, why shouldn't Wyoming?

If Wyoming did get a 90-percent return, that average paycheck of about $12 million each year would all of a sudden skyrocket to about $30 million each year.

To give an idea of just how great an impact this $30 million would make in Wyoming, we point out that Wyoming's general fund is expected to collect and pay out in the neighborhood of $36 million in the current 2-year period.

The benefits derived by Wyoming citizens from this added revenue would be tremendous. The added school foundation payments would usher in a new era of highest quality education in the local school districts. The construction debt at the University of Wyoming would be paid off very quickly and the university, too, would enjoy a lucrative financial future.

And let us not forget that the mineral royalty is derived from depletable resources. Part of the royalty receipts, therefore, ought to be used to aid in the establishment of nondepletable industry (this was the theory of the reclamation fund).

Anyway you look at it, a 90-percent royalty return would be the "Original big payday" in Wyoming. And it would cause a virtual fiscal revolution in our State government.

THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, every day the postman delivers to my office a

10-11-63
file Pres. Politics

YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, OC

Washington

Why Kennedy Is Worried About Goldwater

By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, Oct. 10—After indicating that Senator Goldwater may be his opponent in next year's election, President Kennedy said this week that he expected "a hard, close fight."

This, of course, is standard procedure. Presidents are like football coaches: they are always cautious early in the season. But in Kennedy's case the caution is genuine, and for several interesting reasons.

First, he studies the election returns and is impressed by a single fact. This is that Franklin Roosevelt is the only Democratic President in over a hundred years who managed to get a majority of the popular vote.

F.D.R. got 57.41 per cent in 1932; 60.80 in 1936; 54.69 in 1940, and 53.39 in 1944, but the other five Democratic Presidents since 1856 got less than a majority.

Woodrow Wilson, for example, won in 1912 with 41.85 per cent of the vote and squeaked in again in 1916 with 49.26 per cent of the vote, while 13 of the 16 Republican Presidents since 1856 have been majority Presidents.

Civil Rights Timetable

These figures do not impress most political observers, who are more interested in the electoral vote, but President Kennedy himself won by only 118,550 votes in 1960, got less than a majority of the popular vote, and shakes every time he looks at his narrow margin of victory in Illinois, New Jersey, Missouri, Minnesota and several other states of the Union.

In addition to this preoccupation with the Democratic cliff-hangers of the past, the Kennedy camp is worried about taxes and civil rights, particularly the latter.

As they see it now, their main hope of saving even part of the normally Democratic South next year is to get the civil rights debate over this year and pray for a comparatively quiet truce in the racial war in 1964.

A big tax cut is important to their election plans and they have counted on it to spur the economy and reduce unemployment next year, but they see the racial turmoil as such a threat to re-election that if they had to choose between passing the tax bill or the civil rights bill this year they would probably choose civil rights.

Threat to Re-election

This is a factor in their strategy for the North as well as the South. For while Kennedy's political aides are counting on a larger percentage of the Negro vote than ever before, they believe continued racial disorder next year will cost them votes in the North as well as major losses in the South.

These are the major elements of concern to the President now, rather than the personal problem of campaigning against Goldwater. The Kennedy strategists see some advantages in running against the Arizona Senator rather than against a more liberal opponent.

Their reasoning on this is as fol-

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Their reasoning on this is as follows. At the end of four years in office, a President is usually on the defensive. He has been in just long enough to have made mistakes and enemies. The contrast between his promises and his performance is usually embarrassing in the second campaign.

Elements of Concern

Thus, former Vice President Nixon, for example, could argue that he was just barely defeated in 1960 by a series of charges on the so-called missile gap that proved to be false, and by a series of promises that were never redeemed. And there is clearly some sentiment in the Republican party for letting Nixon have another chance to mount precisely such an attack.

But Goldwater has a different problem. He can attack Kennedy from the right but the Kennedys feel that it is easier to take the offensive against Goldwater's economic, social and foreign policies than it would be to attack the more moderate policies of Nixon, Scranton, Romney or some last-minute Republican progressive like Milton Eisenhower.

The Usual Nightmares

Nevertheless, the President is said to be concerned about Goldwater's capacity to put together a winning coalition of the South, the Middle West, the mountain states and one or two large economically depressed states such as Pennsylvania.

The early Democratic soundings indicate not only a pro-Goldwater revolt in the South, but an anti-high taxation, anti-integrated housing, and anti-job equality movement in the North, even among pro-Democratic labor union members.

Peace and Prosperity, of course, will be the Democratic cry, as usual, but this is the time when the element of accident is high and an incumbent President worries about imagined disasters.

What if something went wrong in Cuba again or Vietnam? How could the thin margin of victory in 1960 stand the loss of the South? Outwardly, the President was lighthearted about the prospect of meeting Goldwater, but privately his associates are not so sure.

Attention! VEP! Clip this and file in Pres. Politics — JM might be interested in seeing this paper

GREENWOOD COMMONWEALTH

"The Latest News In The Delta"

VOLUME 48—NUMBER 43 | GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY, MISS., MONDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 21, 1963 | FIVE CENTS

Ross, Paul Assure RFK Of Cooperation, Alleged Recorded Conversation Shows

EDITOR'S NOTE: Charges of "deal" and denials equally fiery from both camps have filled the air as newly blossoming Republicans and old line Democrats square off for Mississippi's first serious general election campaign. Various national publications and wire services have carried stories purporting to be excerpts from recorded telephphone conversations between Governor Ross Barnett, Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson and U. S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy at the time of the Ole Miss integration crisis last fall. The Commonwealth has secured the full manuscript from which these excerpts apparently were taken. It is one of the manuscripts which has been passed hand to hand in Jackson for some months. It purports to be recordings of the conversations on only one day, September 27, 1962, but each of the speakers alludes to previous conversations. Diligent inquiry turned up no concrete evidence as to where the manuscript originated. Shortly after the Ole Miss intergration riots, in which two men were killed and dozens injured, nationally syndicated columnists writing the conservative Allen-Scott report, claimed that Barnett had taped conversations between himself and Kennedy so that he would be able to prove in Federal Court later that he had "cooperated" with the Justice Department in the Meredith situation and hence purge himself of contempt of court charges. Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, democratic nominee for governor, whose part in the conversations the manuscript purports to record, charged during the democratic primary last summer that if tapes of conversations between him and Kennedy existed, they would have been released by Washington. A new possibility came to light over the weekend when the Clarion Ledger reported that Mississippi's AFL-CIO organization was claiming to have transcripts of the entire conversations. The Commonwealth, frankly, cannot say where the manuscript reproduced below originated. However, since much of it has been published, and more of it left out of public spring, creating questions, it is carried in full for whatever light it might shed on the current controversy.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN RFK AND GOV. BARNETT THURS. SEPT. 27. 1962 at 2:50

RFK: Hello.

how are you?

BARNETT: Hello General

RFK: Fine, Gov. How are you?

BARNETT: I need a little sleep.

RFK: I just talked to Mr. Watkins and we were going to make this effort at 5 o'clock this afternoon your time.

BARNETT: They will be here about 5 o'clock our time?

RFK: Is that satisfactory?

BARNETT: Yes, sir. That's all right.

RFK: I will send the Marshals that I have available up there in Memphis and I expect there will be about 25 or 30 of them and they will come with Mr. Meredith and they will arrive wherever the gate is and I will have the head Marshal pull a gun and I will have the rest of them have their hands on their guns and their holsters. And then as I understand it he will go through and get in and you will make sure that law and order is preserved and that no harm will be done to Mr. McShane and Mr. Meredith.

BARNETT: Oh, yes.

RFK: And then I think you will see that's accomplished?

BARNETT: Yes - (inaudible) -Hold just a minute, will you? Hello, General, I was under the impression that they were all going to pull their guns. This could be very embarrassing. We got a big crowd here and if one pulls his gun and we all turn it would be very embarrassing. Isn't it possible to have them all pull their guns?

RFK: I hate to have them all draw their guns as I think it could create harsh feelings. Isn't it sufficient if I have one man draw his gun and the others keep their hands on their holsters?

BARNETT: They must all draw their guns. Then they should point their guns at us and then we could step aside. This could be very embarrassing down here for us. It is necessary...

RFK: If they all pull their guns is that all?

BARNETT: (Inaudible)-I will have them put their sticks down before that happens. (Inaudible) There will be no shooting.

RFK: There will be no problems?

BARNETT: (Inaudible). Everyone pull your guns and point them and we will stand aside and you will go right through.

RFK: You will make sure not the Marshals but the State Police will preserve law and order?

BARNETT: There won't be any violence.

RFK: Then we can get the other people out as soon as possible.

BARNETT: One second. General, we expect them all to draw their guns. Lt. Governor Johnson is sitting here with me. (inaudible). Will you talk to him?

JOHNSON: General--

RFK: How are you?

JOHNSON: It is absolutely necessary that they all draw their guns. There won't be any shooting.

RFK: Can you speak a little louder?

JOHNSON: We are telling them to lay their clubs aside and to leave their guns in their automobiles. But it is necessary to have all your people draw their guns, not just one. (Inaudible) and anyone who shoots at all to leave. We appreciate what they have done so far and go back home and that there would be no shooting under any circumstance.

RFK: The one problem--when we come down there representing the Federal Government and draw guns it's going to disturb your people, understandably--

JOHNSON: As much as it would bother them if they just drew one gun and 350 highway partrolmen--

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JOHNSON: We are going to attempt to preserve it.

RFK: They won't leave, will they? What I want to be sure is that it won't be left up to our people.

JOHNSON: We can possibly leave many people up here today. We will do that.

RFK: As I understand from Mr. Watkins and from the Governor, law and order will be preserved by the local people. I don't anticipate a great problem but don't want an angry crowd descending on Oxford this evening. You'll be sure?

JOHNSON: Yes.

RFK: I don't care how you do it just as long as you take that responsibility.

JOHNSON:: (Inaudible) All be on this campus.

RFK: So I've got assurances from the Governor that no harm will come to Mr. Meredith and the Marshals.

JOHNSON: Not as far as we are concerned.

RFK: We will do anything to preserve law and order.

JOHNSON: We will do everything to preserve law and order at all times.

RFK: As long as I have the Governor's assurance and yours.

JOHNSON: To the best of our ability. I believe that we have sufficient men to take care of it.

RFK: Let me talk to the Gov.- again.

BARNETT: General?

RFK: Governor, that's all I wanted. That's the best thing in the long run.

BARNETT: (Inaudible) There won't be any violence. We will control them if there are a few there. The other day there were several thousand at the state office building and we didn't have a bit of trouble.

RFK: Just as long as it is left at the local level. They will be there at 5 o'clock and draw their guns.

BARNETT: We are going to step aside if they do that.

RFK: If there is any problem you will call me?

BARNETT: I will General.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN RFK and GOV. BARNETT THURSDAY, SEPT. 27, 1962, at 3:35 P. M.

RFK: Governor, now he is on his way and should be there about 5:30.

BARNETT: About 5:30.

RFK: He left around--your time--2:30, and I think it takes almost three hours.

BARNETT: Flying from Washington?

RFK: No, he is in Memphis but he is on the other side of Memphis. They are driving down.

BARNETT: About 5:30. I have about 22 minutes to four now. All right.

RFK: The thing is we just received a report from the FBI regarding instructions to state police down there and that they have been told these Marshals are coming and told that you want to preserve law and order and there is not to be any disorder, and that once this fellow gets into the University it is the responsibility of the Marshals to preserve law and order. I didn't want a misunderstanding--

BARNETT: After he gets in you certainly don't expect us to guard him all the time.

RFK: I just want to make sure--

BARNETT: We will do our best, of course. The local law enforcement--

RFK: From our understanding and my agreement with you law and order would be preserved by the State of Mississippi.

BARNETT: You mean after he gets in--well, as far as we can.

RFK: I understand. I don't want to do anything but wanted to be sure--

BARNETT: You mean local authorities?

RFK: Whatever is necessary, Governor. Whatever is necessary to preserve law and order.

BARNETT: But general, I declare I don't think I could agree to guarantee the man after he gets in. When he gets in he is one boy--

RFK: I had better call it off, Governor.

BARNETT: You want me to call the National Guard or anything like that?

RFK: I want to make sure law and order is preserved. From conversations with you the other times you said law and order would be preserved.

BARNETT: As far as it can.

RFK: That's all I ask.

BARNETT: As far as we can with reasonable diligence.

RFK: Governor, all I want from you is the same assurance that you will do what is necessary to preserve law and order.

BARNETT: General, wait a minute here. The Lt. Governor has an idea here.

JOHNSON: General, our local officers are here on the campus and in the county and in the city. They are the ones who would be responsible here.

RFK: My agreement and understanding, Lt. Governor, is with the Governor and you. I don't know them and from the conversations with you, I have to look to you. I don't care what arrangements you make with the other people but I have to be sure order is preserved by the local officials or by whom I don't care. But I want to be sure with you.

JOHNSON: That is nothing we can afford to do. When I talked with you before I told you local law enforcement officials would be on hand to keep the peace if it goes out of hand. Then, of course, we would come it.

RFK: We had over a period of the last four or five days in conversations with the Governor, he always assured me law and order will be preserved. Can I have the same assurance?

JOHNSON: We do that everywhere in our state.

RFK: I don't say there's a problem. If you can give me your assurance I don't care how it's done.

JOHNSON: All right. We couldn't assure you that students will be friendly. You see what I mean.

RFK: I don't mind that but I want to be sure someone will preserve law and order.

JOHNSON: We can't leave our offices here on the campus for the protection of the boy. The local officers will take over. If it looks like a riot or something of course our--will be immediately on the spot.

RFK: Are the local authori ties willing to take that responsibility?

JOHNSON: Oh, yes.

RFK: That's all I want to make sure. I don't care who is doing it. All I want to do

(Continued on Page Four)

High Court Hears Ross' Jury Plea

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WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court hears arguments today on whether Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett is entitled to a jury trial on charges of criminal contempt.

Involved in the same case, and also asking for a jury trial, is Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson.

Both were cited for contempt by the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans on grounds they refused to obey orders not to interfere with admission of James H. Meredith to the University of Mississippi.

Meredith, a Negro, eventually was enrolled and has graduated, a fact leading Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson of Mississippi to file a brief asking the high tribunal to toss out the contempt charges "since there is no longer a case or a controversy."

The Supreme Court, however, is expected to act on only the jury trial question. The circuit court, after citing Barnett and Johnson, was unable to resolve the question, dividing 4 to 4. It then took the unusual step of asking the Supreme Court to decide the issue.

If the trial is not before a jury, it would be before a judge or judges of the circuit court. If the governor and lieutenant governor are convicted, they could ask the Supreme Court to hear their case once again. Convictions could bring prison sentences. That, said Patterson, "would be nothing short of a disaster."

Solicitor General Archibald Cox, scheduled to argue in favor of a jury trial, in a preliminary brief said that "for good reasons, congress chose to exempt the United States from the hazards of trial by jury when injunctive orders it had secured were wilfully disobeyed."

Cox related that the order Barnett and Johnson were ac- Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices Hugo L. Black and William O. Douglas. These dissents, the state officials urged, should now be adopted by the high court as a controlling rule.

The brief added:

"Our civilization has decided, and justly so, that determining the guilt or innocense of men is a thing too important to be trusted to trained men. It wishes for light upon that awful matter. It takes its inquiry to men who do not know the law, but who must rely on their feel of things germane to the experiences of man collectively . . . it collects 12 ordinary men going about their usual avocations the same as was done by the founder of christianity."

Supporting the right of the state officials to a jury trial, the American Civil Liberties Union in a "friend of the court" brief said:

"The right to jury trial is one of the most crucial safeguards against tyranny and oppression contained in the Constitution.

To dispense with that right and to permit a summary trial in cases of criminal contempt is justified neither by necessity nor by history. Indeed, the historical basis for the power to punish contempt summarily is a fiction which this (Supreme) Court should disavow."

Hurricane Plane Spots Ship Lost In

NEW YORK (AP) — A heavy hurricane hunter aircraft sighted a decommissioned destroyer

Petty Thieves

The Latest News In The Delta

VOLUME 48—NUMBER 43 GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY, MISS., MONDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 21, 1963 FIVE CENTS

Ross, Paul Assure RFK Of Cooperation, Alleged Recorded Conversation Shows

EDITOR'S NOTE: Charges of "deal" and denials equally fiery from both camps have filled the air as newly blossoming Republicans and old line Democrats square off for Mississippi's first serious general election campaign. Various national publications and wire services have carried stories purporting to be excerpts from recorded telephphone conversations between Governor Ross Barnett, Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson and U. S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy at the time of the Ole Miss integration crisis last fall. The Commonwealth has secured the full manuscript from which these excerpts apparently were taken. It is one of the manuscripts which has been passed hand to hand in Jackson for some months. It purports to be recordings of the conversations on only one day, September 27, 1962, but each of the speakers alludes to previous conversations. Diligent inquiry turned up no concrete evidence as to where the manuscript originated. Shortly after the Ole Miss intergration riots, in which two men were killed and dozens injured, nationally syndicated columnists writing the conservative Allen-Scott report, claimed that Barnett had taped conversations between himself and Kennedy so that he would be able to prove in Federal Court later that he had "cooperated" with the Justice Department in the Meredith situation and hence purge himself of contempt of court charges. Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, democratic nominee for governor, whose part in the conversations the manuscript purports to record, charged during the democratic primary last summer that if tapes of conversations between him and Kennedy existed, they would have been released by Washington. A new possibility came to light over the weekend when the Clarion Ledger reported that Mississippi's AFL-CIO organization was claiming to have transcripts of the entire conversations. The Commonwealth, frankly, cannot say where the manuscript reproduced below originated. However, since much of it has been published, and more of it left out of public spring, creating questions, it is carried in full for whatever light it might shed on the current controversy.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN RFK AND GOV. BARNETT THURS. SEPT. 27. 1962 at 2:50

RFK: Hello.

how are you?

BARNETT: Hello General

RFK: Fine, Gov. How are you?

BARNETT: I need a little sleep.

RFK: I just talked to Mr. Watkins and we were going to make this effort at 5 o'clock this afternoon your time.

BARNETT: They will be here about 5 o'clock our time?

RFK: Is that satisfactory?

BARNETT: Yes, sir. That's all right.

RFK: I will send the Marshals that I have available up there in Memphis and I expect there will be about 25 or 30 of them and they will come with Mr. Meredith and they will arrive wherever the gate is and I will have the head Marshal pull a gun and I will have the rest of them have their hands on their guns and their holsters. And then as I understand it he will go through and get in and you will make sure that law and order is preserved and that no harm will be done to Mr. McShane and Mr. Meredith.

BARNETT: Oh, yes.

RFK: And then I think you will see that's accomplished?

BARNETT: Yes - (inaudible) -Hold just a minute, will you? Hello, General, I was under the impression that they were all going to pull their guns. This could be very embarrassing. We got a big crowd here and if one pulls his gun and we all turn it would be very embarrassing. Isn't it possible to have them all pull their guns?

RFK: I hate to have them all draw their guns as I think it could create harsh feelings. Isn't it sufficient if I have one man draw his gun and the others keep their hands on their holsters?

BARNETT: They must all draw their guns. Then they should point their guns at us and then we could step aside. This could be very embarrassing down here for us. It is necessary...

RFK: If they all pull their guns is that all?

BARNETT: (Inaudible)-I will have them put their sticks down before that happens. (Inaudible) There will be no shooting.

RFK: There will be no problems?

BARNETT: (Inaudible). Everyone pull your guns and point them and we will stand aside and you will go right through.

RFK: You will make sure not the Marshals but the State Police will preserve law and order?

BARNETT: There won't be any violence.

RFK: Then we can get the other people out as soon as possible.

BARNETT: One second. General, we expect them all to draw their guns. Lt. Governor Johnson is sitting here with me. (inaudible). Will you talk to him?

JOHNSON: General--

RFK: How are you?

JOHNSON: It is absolutely necessary that they all draw their guns. There won't be any shooting.

RFK: Can you speak a little louder?

JOHNSON: We are telling them to lay their clubs aside and to leave their guns in their automobiles. But it is necessary to have all your people draw their guns, not just one. (Inaudible) and anyone who shoots at all to leave. We appreciate what they have done so far and go back home and that there would be no shooting under any circumstance.

RFK: The one problem--when we come down there representing the Federal Government and draw guns it's going to disturb your people, understandably--

JOHNSON: As much as it would bother them if they just drew one gun and 350 highway partrolmen--

RFK: If they all draw their guns and they go into the university, thereafter, law and order will be preserved by your people?

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JOHNSON: Yes.

RFK: I don't care how you do it just as long as you take that responsibility.

JOHNSON:: (Inaudible) All be on this campus.

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(Continued on Page Four)

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A preliminary brief submitted by Barnett and Johnson referred to a 1958 decision by the Supreme Court that there is no constitutional right to a jury trial.

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The brief added:

"Our civilization has decided, and justly so, that determining the guilt or innocense of men is a thing too important to be trusted to trained men. It wishes for light upon that awful matter. It takes its inquiry to men who do not know the law, but who must rely on their feel of things germane to the experiences of man collectively . . . it collects 12 ordinary men going about their usual avocations the same as was done by the founder of christianity."

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Hurricane Plane Spots Ship Lost In

NEW YORK (AP) — A heavy hurricane hunter aircraft sighted a decommissioned destroyer escort missing since Saturday night in 50-foot hurricane whipped seas, the Navy announced.

A spokesman said the Fogg was sighted by the WV2 aircraft 150 miles east of Cape Fear, N.C. The spokesman said the ship was upright but he said nothing about the 10 men aboard.

The ship broke loose from the tug towing it about 11:30 p.m. Saturday en route to Mayport, Fla. from Norfolk, Va., to join the reserve fleet.

At flet hadquarters the Navy said there was no new word from the tug Salish which was towing the Fogg when the towline parted Saturday night. A spokesman said the Salish is equipped with radio which has a range of only five or six miles.

When last heard from the heavy tug was having difficulty steering in th high seas and fierce wind.

Hurricane Ginny, with peak winds of 90 miles an hour, was pushing in a northeasterly direction and was centered about 100 statute miles southeast of Cape Hatteras, N.C.

The Fogg was based in Boston but had not seen active service since 1947.

Ships in the vicinity headed toward the helpless destroyer after the aircraft sighting.

However, we won't be able to tie on to her until the weather abates," a Navy spokesman said. Its too rough now."

The Navy spokesman said there had been nothing to indicate any mishaps to the men aboard the destroyer, but that they had probably have been pitched about a lot and may be sick."

Petty Thieves

Barnett, Paul –

(Continued From Page One)

is to have assurances from you two gentlemen whose word I have confidence in and whose word I staked on--

JOHNSON: We are going to do the ultimate.

RFK: Can I talk to the Governor again?

BARNETT: General? You all understand one another?

RFK: Governor, I want to get it from you -- and I have confidence in your word, Governor.

BARNETT: We always say we don't have any violence in this city. It's a seldom thing. We will do whatever a reasonable and prudent officer would do. The Lt. Governor -- we can't guarantee they won't have some trouble. I don't know if we will or not.

RFK: I am not asking that. I just want to make sure that you are going to do what is necessary to preserve law and order.

BARNETT: We do that all over the state.

RFK: That's all I want from you.

BARNETT: We'll give the same protection as anyone else.

RFK: This is a difficult situation and you understand you have to watch it more carefully. But you have given me now your word as an individual and as Governor of the State of Mississippi as far as humanly possible-not superhuman-that law and order will be preserved.

BARNETT: Yes, sir. This thing here - I don't propose to do anything out of the ordinary.

RFK: If it looks like you are going to have some difficulty there you are going to have to take some steps.

BARNETT: We always do that.

RFK: Governor, I don't know whether you are trying to tell me something without saying it. I am relying a good deal on your word and I don't want to be misled.

BARNETT: General, we will do what every reasonable and prudent official would do. Try to keep peace and order all over the State of Mississippi.

RFK: But you have a particularly difficult situation in this area and so it's got to be watched particularly carefully.

BARNETT: I don't think so--not day after day.

RFK: I am not asking that--I have been through this and I don't think I will get any further.

BARNETT: General, I won't treat him like everyone else, you know.

RFK: He gets on campus and indications are there will be trouble-

BARNETT: The local officials here will handle it.

RFK: If it looks like they can't handle it, they will watch and your state officials will-

BARNETT: I certainly will do everything that I think is proper under the particular circumstances to protect the lives and health and persons of everyone. We always do that.

RFK: If it's getting out of hand you would not have any reluctance to use state officials if it appears--

BARNETT: Well, that's been our policy all the time.

RFK: Thanks a lot, Governor.

Conversations between RFK and Governor Barnett Thurs., Sept. 27, 1962, at 3:50 p. m.

BARNETT: General, I felt like I ought to call you back. What we talked about General, it is something that I think this thing ought to wait until you send him back here. Why can't you wait until Saturday morning? Here's the thing about it. We want the people to subside a little bit.

RFK: I think the problem for you, Governor, you will have that court case tomorrow and that's why your lawyers wanted it done today.

BARNETT: Can't you pass that case for awhile?

RFK: They won't do that. You can't do that now.

BARNETT: I think this case ought to be put off. I am honest with you.

RFK: I will call them back and we won't do it.

BARNETT: We better postpone this thing and some of the others will be in touch with you about this thing. Let's not have any misunderstanding. We can't afford to have that. At 5 o'clock it's getting pretty dark down here.

RFK: I think you are making a mistake on it. I think the problem on Saturday is going to be much much more difficult. I think it is going to be much more difficult and your situation before the courts will be mor edifficult. I think it is a great advantage to do it today as your lawyers--

BARNETT: The people probably will find it out.

RFK: There's not going to be any mention of it from here.

BARNETT: Certainly not here. Our conversations weren't taken down here.

RFK: You never had anything that's come out of this office and I never said I talked to you and I have never made one statement about you or anything to do with Mississippi so I think--

BARNETT: One man said, you will all compromise in this thing?'

RFK: You are not compromising-you are standing right up there. Your lawyers advised you on this-your lawyer and everybody else in order to remedy the situation for yourself and get through this case in the best possible fashion. Tomorrow by the time the case starts the situation changes completely. We're not going to make any statement on this. I am happy it gets resolved.

BARNETT: One man said to me, "you're compromising this thing?

RFK: Governor, we're coming in a 5 o'clock and sending 25 marshals bringing their guns and third, I am asking you whether you will take the responsibility for law and order. You said you would.

BARNETT: That's right. General, the Lt. Governor wants to speak to you.

RFK: Governor, as far as you're concerned, there is not going to be any statement out of here and for your own sake and the sake of your state, get it resolved today. I am happy to have all the Marshals pull their guns and force their way in. It's better that way than troopers running around.

BARNETT: Of course, you and I are in agreement. They are going to point their guns--

RFK: I'm asking from you law and order be preserved in Mississippi and you have no choice then.

BARNETT: The Lt. Governor wants to say something.

JOHNSON: General Kennedy, we are trying to be completely honest about this thing. We got a few intense citizens here got a lot of men who are not directly under us who are involved to hold the fort such as sheriffs and deputies. We cannot assure anybody that those people or someone maybe hot headed and start shooting and didn't want to assure you of anything unless we know it could be carried out.

RFK: If you are going to tell me now in contradiction what you told me a half-hour ago that there won't be any shooting. I won't send in any Marshals there that they might be shot-

JOHNSON: That's what we are asking you for time. W've got to have time in order to discreetly move these sheriffs out of here--

RFK: Lt. Governor, let me explain something to you. It's a quarter of two here and your difficulty is that tomorrow you have got this court case and by then it's too late. If you and the Governor don't go to court they will issue a bench warrant and then they will have troopers arrest you and come in and also keep the university open and that situation will be worse. You've got a couple of hours to tell the sheriffs and others to go home and suddenly I will call at 4 o'clock your time and tell them he is coming in.

JOHNSON: I can't move these people out of there, General. Some won't leave.

RFK: Lt. Governor, it's completely up to you. If you say there might be shooting I will call it off.

JOHNSON: I am not telling you there will be any at all as far as we can control.

RFK: I can't take the chance.

JOHNSON: And we couldn't here. That's the reason why we called you. There are 300, 400 or 500 people and we can't shake these people in this length of time and get rid of people whom we don't have complete control over.

RFK: That's up to you. We will face it in court tomorrow.

JOHNSON: That's what I wanted to get over to you we don't want anything to happen. We don't shoot Americans. We've got some hotheaded people in this state who are in this group and we've got to have sufficient time to move them.

RFK: You can't get this done today?

JOHNSON: No, certainly not.

RFK: May I speak to the

been kind. I have legislature in session right now and it's rough on me. I'm driving 170 miles--it's rough. You think it best this Meredith matter---

RFK I don't know. You're going to court tomorrow.

BARNETT: That's contempt aginst me. General, I am not committing wrong-doing here. I wish you'd tell them to pass for 30 days.

RFK: I can't do that now, Governor. They said I should have used force against you. They're mad at me and mad at you. I have seen in the papers that they think we should have answered the force you used. They are not very pleased with either one of us and are not going to comprisise in my judgement. We're going to have a great problem tomorrow evening by this time and that's why I wanted to resolve it today.

BARNETT: Just a minute, General. You think this case is going out the window if this matter is not settled?

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RFK: Can't he come in a gate and I call and say this conversation has not taken place and he is coming through such and such a gate?

BARNETT: Yes--

RFK: Again there is a question of law enforcement but I would have to rely on you that law enforcement would be preserved. I can't do that with 25 men. I would have to rely on you.

BARNETT. General, this thing could be handled a lot better if we wait a few more days on the Meredith case. He is not suffering. Just a few days until the case is settled.

RFK: As your lawyer would tell you, they brought all these judges from all over the country. The whole circuit is coming to hear the case. That's the difficulty.

BARNETT: All 9 judges.

RFK: They are there tonight in New Orleans. I can't tell them to go home. I have no control over this. This is the court. They're mad at me but they're madder at you.

BARNETT: Will they get an idea we compromised this thing? Will the judges think we settled

worried about. We know them so well we will get them straightened out.

RFK: Can you move the people from the place they are coming in?

BARNETT: I think it would be bad psychologically to do that, I think you ought to come on as arranged. I think it would be much better.

RFK: Can you assurance feforehand to everybody that they are coming and would absolutely want no violence? Is it going to be a surprise to these people when we pull our guns?

BARNETT: No I will tell them under any circumstances will we have no violence. Not any of them will be armed.

RFK: Can I rely on you that there won't be any violence?

BARNETT: Yes, sir.

RFK: I am taking a hehlluva chance. I am relying on you.

BARNETT: There won't be any violence.

RFK: The Lt. Governor agress on this too?

BARNETT: He agrees there won't be any violence. Of course, we can't guarantee everything.

RFK: I understand that. Your people--

BARNETT: Our people are going to be law abiding.

RFK: O. K. Governor. They will--

BARNETT: They will be there at 5 o'clock.

RFK: It will be a little later than that.

BARNETT: You understand we have had no agreement

RFK: That's correct.

BARNETT: I am just telling you---Everybody thinks we're compromising.

RFK: I am just telling you that we are arriving and we are arriving with force.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN RFK AND GOVERNOR BARNETT Thursday, Sept. 27, 1962, at 6:35 p. m.

BARNETT: General, I'm worried -- I'm nervous, I tell you. You don't realize what's going on. There are several thousand people in here in cars, trucks. Several hundred are lined up on the streets where they are supposed to land. We don't know these people.

RFK: I had better send them back.

BARNETT: There is liable to be a hundred people killed here. It would ruin all of us. Please believe me. Talk to the Lt. Governor, he'll tell you.

RFK: I just have to hear from you, Governor.

BARNETT: There are dozens and dozens of trucks loaded with people. We can't control people like that. A lot of people are going to get killed. It would be embarrassing to me.

RFK: I don't know if it would be embarrassing--that would not be the feeling.

BARNETT: It would be bad all over the nation.

RFK: I'll send them back.

BARNETT: General, do that please. I just have to take the consequences tomorrow.

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BARNETT: You will let me

DOES GETTING UP NIGHTS MAKE YOU FEEL OLD

After 35, common Kidney or Bladder Irritations often occur and may make you tense and nervous from too frequent passages both day and night. Secondarily, you may lose sleep and suffer from Headaches, Backache and feel old, tired, depressed. In such irritation, CYSTEX usually brings fast, relaxing comfort by curbing irritating germs in strong, acid urine and by analgesic pain relief. Get CYSTEX at druggists. Feel better fast.

ible-not superhuman-that law and order will be preserved.

BARNETT: Yes, sir. This thing here - I don't propose to do anything out of the ordinary.

RFK: If it looks like you are going to have some difficulty there you are going to have to take some steps.

BARNETT: We always do that.

RFK: Governor, I don't know whether you are trying to tell me something without saying it. I am relying a good deal on your word and I don't want to be misled.

BARNETT: General, we will do what every reasonable and prudent official would do. Try to keep peace and order all over the State of Mississippi.

RFK: But you have a particularly difficult situation in this area and so it's got to be watched particularly carefully.

BARNETT: I don't think so--not day after day.

RFK: I am not asking that--I have been through this and I don't think I will get any further.

BARNETT: General, I won't treat him like everyone else, you know.

RFK: He gets on campus and indications are there will be trouble-

BARNETT: The local officials here will handle it.

RFK: If it looks like they can't handle it, they will watch and your state officials will-

BARNETT: I certainly will do everything that I think is proper under the particular circumstances to protect the lives and health and persons of everyone. We always do that.

RFK: If it's getting out of hand you would not have any reluctance to use state officials if it appears--

BARNETT: Well, that's been our policy all the time.

RFK: Thanks a lot, Governor.

Conversation between RFK and Governor Barnett Thurs., Sept. 27, 1962, at 3:50 p. m.

BARNETT: General, I felt like I ought to call you back. What we talked about General, it is something that I think this thing ought to wait until you send him back here. Why can't you wait until Saturday morning? Here's the thing about

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BARNETT: Can't you pass that case for awhile?

RFK: They won't do that. You can't do that now.

BARNETT: I think this case ought to be put off. I am honest with you.

RFK: I will call them back and we won't do it.

BARNETT: We better postpone this thing and some of the others will be in touch with you about this thing. Let's not have any misunderstanding. We can't afford to have that. At 5 o'clock it's getting pretty dark down here.

RFK: I think you are making a mistake on it. I think the problem on Saturday is going to be much much more difficult. I think it is going to be much more difficult and your situation before the courts will be mor edifficult. I think it is a great advantage to do it today as your lawyers--

BARNETT: The people probably will find it out.

RFK: There's not going to be any mention of it from here.

BARNETT: Certainly not here. Our conversations weren't taken down here.

RFK: You never had anything that's come out of this office and I never said I talked to you and I have never made one statement about you or anything to do with Mississippi so I think--

BARNETT: One man said, you will all compromise in this thing?'

RFK: You are not compromising-you are standing right up there. Your lawyers advised you on this-your lawyer and everybody else in order to remedy the situation for yourself and get through this case in the best possible fashion. Tomorrow by the time the case starts the situation changes completely. We're not going to make any statement on this. I am happy it gets resolved.

BARNETT: One man said to me, "you're compromising this thing?

RFK: Governor, we're coming in a 5 o'clock and sending 25 marshals bringing their guns and third, I am asking you whether you will take the responsibility for law and order. You said you would.

BARNETT: That's right. General, the Lt. Governor wants to speak to you.

RFK: Governor, as far as you're concerned, there is not going to be any statement out of here and for your own sake and the sake of your state, get it resolved today. I am happy to have all the Marshals pull their guns and force their way

law and order be preserved in Mississippi and you have no choice then.

BARNETT: The Lt. Governor wants to say something.

JOHNSON: General Kennedy, we are trying to be completely honest about this thing. We got a few intense citizens here got a lot of men who are not directly under us who are involved to hold the fort such as sheriffs and deputies. We cannot assure anybody that those people or someone maybe hot headed and start shooting and didn't want to assure you of anything unless we know it could be carried out.

RFK: If you are going to tell me now in contradiction what you told me a half-hour ago that there won't be any shooting. I won't send in any Marshals there that they might be shot-

JOHNSON: That's what we are asking you for time. W've got to have time in order to discreetly move these sheriffs out of here--

RFK: Lt. Governor, let me explain something to you. It's a quarter of two here and your difficulty is that tomorrow you have got this court case and by then it's too late. If you and the Governor don't go to court they will issue a bench warrant and then they will have troopers arrest you and come in and also keep the university open and that situation will be worse. You've got a couple of hours to tell the sheriffs and others to go home and suddenly I will call at 4 o'clock your time and tell them he is coming in.

JOHNSON: I can't move these people out of there, General. Some won't leave.

RFK: Lt. Governor, it's completely up to you. If you sav there might be shooting I will call it off.

JOHNSON: I am not telling you there will be any at all as far as we can control.

RFK: I can't take the chance.

JOHNSON: And we couldn't here. That's the reason why we called you. There are 300, 400 or 500 people and we can't shake these people in this length of time and get rid of people whom we don't have complete control over.

RFK: That's up to you. We will face it in court tomorrow.

JOHNSON: That's what I wanted to get over to you we don't want anything to happen. We don't shoot Americans. We've got some hotheaded people in this state who are in this group and we've got to have sufficient time to move them.

RFK: You can't get this done today?

JOHNSON: No, certainly not.

RFK: May I speak to the Governor again?

BARNETT: General? Let me say this. One man had a gun and I said, how many times soes it shoot? and he said 6 times and if that doesn't get the job done I got a little one here for number 7. That's what we want to control. I am the last man in the world to want any trouble. We can't have it, you know. If half a dozen people got killed would hurt me, you the Lt. Governor, all of us. Why can't you do this-

RFK: I can't do that, Governor. I don't have any control over it-

BARNETT: I am talking about this afternoon. Pass it over for a few days. Let us know that these folks are cool headed and no trouble. I will go all the way out. It might be General that they might make a statement to the press that you are going to have to use force and we could tell our men just walk back and do nothing. You need to think this thing out, General.

RFK: I was relying on what Mr. Watkins said and what others said but I think neither one of us want to do it unless there is assurance there won't be any violence.

BARNETT: The Lt. Governor is thoroughly convinced we might be acting foolish here to do it this afternoon.

RFK: O. K. Governor. He won't come.

BARNETT: You have not broken your word to me. I told a lot of people--you have

BARNETT: That's contempt aginst me. General, I am not committing wrong-doing here. I wish you'd tell them to pass for 30 days.

RFK: I can't do that now, Governor. They said I should have used force against you. They're mad at me and mad at you. I have seen in the papers that they think we should have answered the force you used. They are not very pleased with either one of us and are not going to comprisise in my judgement. We're going to have a great problem tomorrow evening by this time and that's why I wanted to resolve it today.

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BARNETT: Will they get an idea we compromised this thing? Will the judges think we settled this thing? They won't be thinking we compromised this case?

RFK: You mean--if he gets in, that's what they are primarily interested in.

BARNETT: General, hold just a second here.

General. I am sorry to have to keep you so long but we will get busy here and do our dead-level best to keep people--there are two or three I'm worried about and I'll see them personally.

RFK: I will have our people call--(pause). Governor, how long would it take before you check with these people?

BARNETT: About, I would say 40 minutes.

RFK: Call me then. I will hold these people from leaving. That will push it up to about 5:30.

BARNETT: That will be all right. I will call you right back in 30 or 40 minutes.

RFK: All right, Governor.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN RFK AND GOVERNOR BARNETT Thursday, Sept. 27, 1962, at 4:20 p.m.

BARNETT: General, we will be here at 5 o'clock and I hope they get here by that time. We are going to put forth every effort and I don't think there will be any violence whatever.

RFK: Do you think we should take the chance? I don't think we should take the chance if there is any question about it.

BARNETT: I don't think there is any question about it. There were a couple of fellows I was

ple from the place they are coming in?

BARNETT: I think it would be bad psychologically to do that, I think you ought to come on as arranged. I think it would be much better.

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RFK: I don't know if it would be embarrassing--that would not be the feeling.

BARNETT: It would be bad all over the nation.

RFK: I'll send them back.

BARNETT: General, do that please. I just have to take the consequences tomorrow.

RFK: I will send them back.

BARNETT: You will let me know?

RFK: They won't arrive there.

BARNETT: I will announce that the man will not present himself this afternoon, can I do that?

RFK: What else would you say?

BARNETT: Maybe I had better not tell them anything.

RFK: We will put an annoucement out from here.

BARNETT: You think that would be better?

RFK: Don't make a statement now.

BARNETT: Maybe I had better not make a statement at all. Just announce it but don't give a reason for it.'

RFK: O. K. Governor. Thank you.

'To Preserve the Two-Party System'

file
Pres. Politics

The rise of the radical right, says a Republican Senator, threatens changes in the character of his party which could alter American politics as a whole.

NYT Magazine 10-27-63

By JACOB K. JAVITS

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER said the other day that those who would suppress differences of opinion in the name of party unity "mistake conformity for unity." His sound advice to fellow Republicans was that unity is best achieved through a lively debate that would define for Republicans the broad areas where they agree and the specific points where they disagree. Indeed, a consensus formed in this way would lead straight to the choice of candidates who, at the head of the 1964 national ticket, could wage the election campaign with a united party behind them.

As a Republican, I feel that the kind of debate Mr. Eisenhower has called for should go beyond the implied question of whether the consensus aimed at will reflect a "progressive," "moderate" or "conservative" outlook. It goes beyond a related question—also implied — about which of the candidates can best embody whatever the consensus proves to be. These decisions have an importance of their own, and they must be faced in due time. At present, however, another question ought to form the heart of the great debate all Republicans must engage in.

THAT question, as I see it, turns on the choice between two lines of action Republicans can adopt as we position ourselves for the 1964 campaign. One line would follow our tradition dating from 1940 of accommodating the whole spectrum of Republican thought from both progressive and conservative wings of the party. The second line would polarize the party as down-the-line conservative—or ultraconservative—and, would also make foreign policy a partisan issue, contrary to the tradition established by Willkie, Vandenberg and Eisenhower.

By choosing the first line, we can be certain that, regardless of how the election itself turns out, the century-old two-party system that accounts for much of the strength and resiliency of American politics will be preserved intact. At the same time, by choosing this course, we can be certain that the Republican party will retain its historic institutional character, and thus its force as an agent of creative partisanship. It will continue to be a party that is national in scope, broadly representative in membership, sensitive to the pulse of American life, temperate in instinct and practical in its work habits.

By choosing the second line, we can change our party in ways that will radically alter the two-party system as we have known it — and alter the whole of American politics as well. More specifically, in changing the Republican party we recast American party politics along ideological lines — and invite the rise of one-interest splinter parties like those which paralyzed Germany's Weimar Republic and France's Fourth Republic.

There is no doubt in my own mind about the imperative necessity to choose the first line of action. I want to preserve the two-party system and the traditional character of the Republican party. I can see only the gravest kind of trouble ahead if the Republican party commits itself to the second line of action. Yet that is what some forces within the Republican party — contrary to their own conscious intentions, and contrary to their own highest interests — would have the party do.

I HAVE in mind those Republicans who, in their legitimate desire to make the party the chosen agent of "conservatism," have come to think that the radical right—epitomized by such groups as the John Birch Society—is the essence of what "conservatism" means. Their *(Continued on Page 105)*

JACOB K. JAVITS is senior U.S. Senator (R.) from New York, first elected in 1956.

'The Two-Party System'

(Continued from Page 15)

thinking, in consequence, would result in the Republican party embracing the views and tactics of the radical right. What these Republicans fail to see clearly is the extent to which the radical right is the deadly enemy of the very conservatism they themselves desire.

An authentic conservative would wish to bring to the nation a sense of calm confidence in itself, and to ease its social tensions. He would insist on the decencies in human relationships, and would spring to the defense of the Constitution and each part of the hallowed Bill of Rights. He would make himself the guardian of orderly growth, and check those who would abrupt-

ly overturn all policies in being. He would resist the howling extremist, set the example of respect for all lawful authority, and would be the first to honor men who had spent their lives in distinguished service to the Republic. Above all, he would lead in explaining why the complexities of existence stand in the way of utopian solutions to all problems, and why in so many hard cases, the best we can hope for is to learn how to live with fair compromises and reasonable timing.

BUT the radical right is against all of this. It has no confidence in the inner strength of America, since it has no courage of its own. It divides one American from his neighbor, since itself it stands outside American society. It preaches a doctrine of hate, since it is shot through by its own fears. Since it does not understand that freedom means freedom under the law, it seeks to jettison constitutional processes, and to suppress liberties, and to use methods identified with the Communists to fight Communism. And to buttress this tactic, it insists that the greatest threat to America does not come externally from the military and political might of the Soviet Union —or Communist China—but comes internally from the "left-wing" elements.

MEANWHILE, the radical right makes common cause with anarchy in our society by hurling wild charges of Communism at our most distinguished Americans, like Dwight D. Eisenhower and Chief Justice Earl Warren. It would abruptly dismantle the whole apparatus of the modern American state and society, and force us back to the conditions of life of the mid-19th century. Above all, since it views everything in absolute terms — and can't believe that "direct action" won't solve every problem — it accounts for every imperfection by tracing it to a "left-wing" conspiracy in government. Thus, through its nihilism, masquerading as conservatism, it works to destroy the faith Americans have in constitutional government and in responsible leaders of both political parties.

Yet some well-intentioned Republican conservatives not only fail to see the deadly enemy in the radical right but, through their faulty perception, would have the Republican party open its gates to the Trojan horse the radical right represents for the party.

Senator Barry Goldwater, for example, as late as October 2, reaffirmed his narrow view of the radical right by saying that if "you had a radical right, it would be the fascist position—sort of like Lincoln Rockwell and his Nazis." And regarding the John Birch Society: "All of the members of the society I know are good people. Sometimes you can argue with their methods just as you might argue with the members of an American Legion post. But that doesn't mean you have to condemn them."

WE have a duty to ask Senator Goldwater for more discernment as to the radical right's dangers than he has yet shown. What the country has a right to hear from so prominent a Republican as Senator Goldwater is something he has not yet said in clear-cut terms. He has not yet said that he sees in the radical right a movement dangerous to our nation and that he means to do all in his power to keep it out of the Republican party. Governor Rockefeller has said just that! Unless such a statement is made, the danger is that

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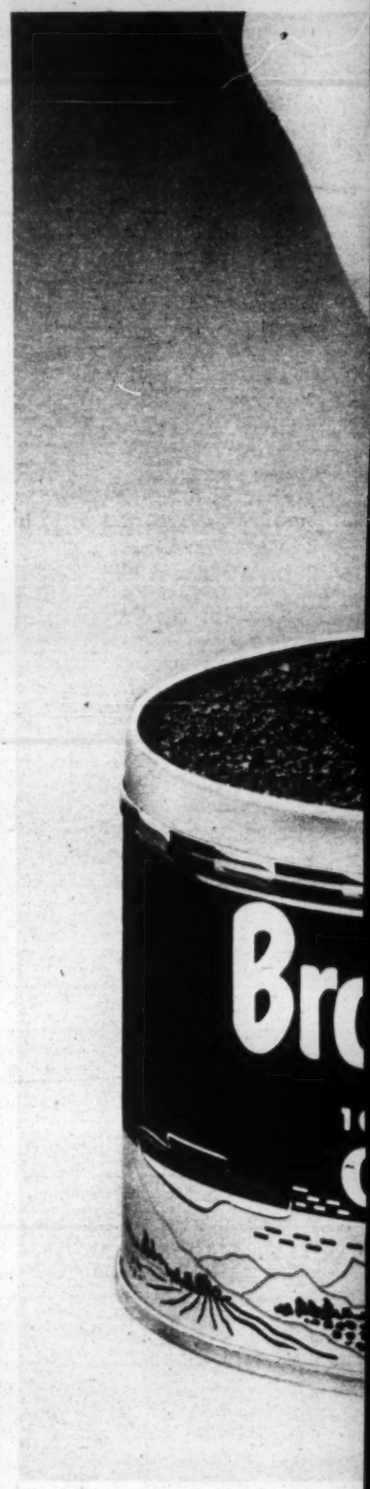

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Palisades Park, N.
BROWN GOLD

(Continued from Preceding Page)
registration drive is maintained for the next 13 months, the result during this time span alone could be 325,000 new Negro voters. This figure, itself, could be the rock on which the "Southern strategy" would founder.

IT is also assumed by implication that a "Southern strategy" would not make it necessary to carry states that have traditionally decided the outcome of Presidential elections—namely, the great industrial states of the Eastern seaboard, the Great Lakes region and the Pacific Coast. It is said that we can safely risk losing them by adopting a states'-rights approach to civil rights, by promising to dismantle much of the 30-year-old structure of social legislation, and by what amounts to a go-it-alone foreign policy based on the threatened use of the bomb, come what may.

The fact remains that the real key to the 1964 election will be the industrial states of

the northerly regions. The "Southern strategy" by its own arithmetic would have to win Ohio and Illinois. Both are swing states. Yet the likelihood that this "conservative" strategy would consolidate rather than drain off President Kennedy's strength in them is underlined by what happened in Ohio in the 1958 contest. When the Republican party went into that contest pledged to a right-to-work program—incidentally, against the advice of a conservative, Senator John Bricker—labor came out in force to vote and we Republicans took a historic drubbing.

* * *

FINALLY, there persists in the prenomination debate a recurring notion that it would be a good thing if the candidacy of a conservative at least produced a fundamental realignment of political parties into a clear-cut "liberal" and a clear-cut "conservative" party. The experience of Europe with strictly ideological parties says that nothing, in fact, could be worse for the United States.

As each party dropped all dissenters, each, now free of internal restraints, might fly to an extreme position, carrying millions of Americans with it. With our parties and the nation in this polarized condition, the whole of our democracy could be imperiled. A government by coercion instead of by consent could arise if points of difference among the splintered parties appeared impossible to reconcile. Upon gaining control of the apparatus of government, and pile-driving their extremist views through it, such parties could wrench the whole social order out of its socket—when the purpose of conservatism is to keep the social order on an even keel.

I HOPE that, through a full and frank debate, Republicans of all persuasions can come to see their real interests. I hope that they will see that the Republicans have made decisive inroads into the South in recent years by adhering to the moderate views of former President Eisenhower and former Vice President Nixon—and without trying to make the Republican party over to the requirements of the "Southern strategy." Republican moderates and progressives have been equally successful in the North wherever they have provided a rational alternative to the Democrats in dealing with problems the people felt government had to deal with, consistent with the great Republican principles of a vigorous private enterprise system operated in the public interest and of equal opportunity for the individual.

To win the 1964 election, we don't have to fill the air with bluster. We must sanely detail the many failures of the Kennedy Administration at home and abroad. We must show where and why the Administration went astray in Cuba, Latin America and Vietnam; and why and where it has failed on civil rights, health care for the aging, education, the international balance of payments, endemic unemployment and in giving the people a feeling of confidence in our economic future. We must advance Republican alternatives which are internally consistent and politically feasible and which can be attained within the four corners of a Federal Government that plays its own proper part in promoting individual and private enterprise. In short, we can win by remaining in the mainstream of American life as a party of responsible power, seeking constantly to refine and apply our successive new insights into the meaning of Liberty and Union.

bile.

NYT 11-1-63

7 Q. Mr. President, on the basis of your experience in Philadelphia yesterday and last night, will you regard next Tuesday's mayoral elections as a test of how civil rights will affect the voting? A. In Philadelphia, or—

Q. Yes, as well as in other large Northern cities? A. Well, I'm sure that it will—may be a factor in the elections, though I'm not sure that the two candidates have taken different positions. But I suppose this is a matter of major concern in the country today and it may be reflected in the voting. I'm not, as I say, aware—though I—it may be that the candidates have taken different positions on it. My guess would be that they've taken relatively the same position on the question.

Q. The question is, Mr. President, whether or not there will be some backlash from white minority voters against the Democrats because of their pushing of civil rights?

A. Well, it's possible. We'll have to wait and see, though, as I've said from the beginning, it seems to me both parties have taken a clear position historically and at present on civil rights. But there may be—we'll have to wait and see Tuesday, and I'm sure that a good many things will be written into it, when the results are in.

Georgia Congressmen Voted Against Civil Rights For Negroes

Atl. World 2-12-64

WASHINGTON — Negroes lost again in the vital struggle for civil rights here Monday when Georgia Congressmen voted heavily against such legislation in the House of Representatives.

On the other hand, when an amendment to include an Indian rights bill in the broader one was introduced, seven of them voted in favor of the bill.

Representatives that voted (yes) for the civil rights legislation for Indians were: Phil Landrum, Elliott Hagan, J. J. Flynt, Jr., Robert Stephens, Carl Vinson, Russell Tuten and John Davis.

Charles Weltner, 5th District Congressman, was the only representative who voted (no) against the bill.

Final tabulation reveals that the amendment lost by a 145-95 verdict.

Civil Rights

Pres Politics

President Orders Negro Hiring in U.S. Construction

By TOM WICKER

(Copyright 1963 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—President John F. Kennedy ordered federal construction programs reviewed Tuesday in an effort to prevent discriminatory hiring practices.

He also ordered Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz to require that young workers be admitted to apprenticeship programs on a non-discriminatory basis.

In a statement issued Tuesday afternoon Kennedy also said he would "shortly issue an executive order" which would have the effect of insuring non-discrimination in hiring on construction projects resulting wholly or in part from federal grant-in-aid programs.

CALLED UNFAIR

"Denial of the right to work is unfair, regardless of its victim," Kennedy said. "It is doubly unfair to throw its burden most heavily on someone because of his race or color."

Administration sources said the statement was partially in response to violence in Philadelphia last week. Negro workers demonstrated there for a larger share of jobs on a school construction project.

Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said planned demonstrations at federal construction projects would be withheld on the basis of Kennedy's order and the affirmation and assurances given to him by Wirtz.

WAIT AND SEE

"We're going to wait and see," Hill said in reply to questions about demonstrations. He has just conferred with Wirtz and seemed encouraged.

Wirtz announced that his department will review immediately every federal construction project in the country and will act promptly against evidence of discrimination against qualified Negro job applicants on these projects.

He said he expected full cooperation from contractors and unions because "there is a new appreciation of this problem."

Where cooperation is not forthcoming, the secretary said, "the contracts will be canceled, or they will not be let. The pledges will be enforced. Union discrimination will not be used as an excuse to keep them (Negroes) out." He said the government also will urge prime contractors to use Negro subcontractors wherever possible.

In a related development, the Civil Service Commission announced it is sending five-man teams into Southern communities this week "to assure that full opportunity is given to all citizens to compete for federal positions."

The commission said the teams, working out of its Atlanta regional office, will start by visiting Jackson, Miss., Montgomery, Ala., and Nashville, Tenn., all scenes of recent mass demonstrations by Negroes.

About the middle of June similar teams will visit Albany, Ga., Savannah, Ga., Raleigh-Durham, N.C., and Greensboro, N.C. The commission said "further visits may be scheduled for mid-July to additional cities."

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or see your Travel Agent

file Pres Politics

88TH CONGRESS 1st Session } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { DOCUMENT No. 124

CIVIL RIGHTS

MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

RELATIVE TO

CIVIL RIGHTS, AND A DRAFT OF A BILL TO ENFORCE THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO VOTE, TO CONFER JURISDICTION UPON THE DISTRICT COURTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO PROVIDE INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, TO AUTHORIZE THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO INSTITUTE SUITS TO PROTECT CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IN EDUCATION, TO ESTABLISH A COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE, TO EXTEND FOR FOUR YEARS THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, TO PREVENT DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS, TO ESTABLISH A COMMISSION ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

JUNE 19, 1963.—Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed

To the Congress of the United States:

Last week I addressed to the American people an appeal to conscience—a request for their cooperation in meeting the growing moral crisis in American race relations. I warned of "a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety" in many parts of the country. I emphasized that "the events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or State or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them." "It is a time to act," I said, "in the Congress, in State and local legislative bodies and, above all, in all of our daily lives."

In the days that have followed, the predictions of increased violence have been tragically borne out. The "fires of frustration and discord" have burned hotter than ever.

85011—63——1

FOR RELEASE AT NOON
SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1963

March 30, 1963

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

The President today signed an Executive Order establishing the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation.

The purpose of the Commission is to study the causes for the failure of many Americans to exercise their right to vote. The Commission has been asked to give particular attention to

-- laws which restrict registration and voting on the basis of residence, economic status, and for other reasons

-- procedures for registration of voters

-- absentee voting provisions

-- causes of nonvoting by persons who are otherwise qualified to vote.

The Executive Order specifically directs the Commission to avoid consideration of problems involving the denial of registration and voting on the basis of racial or other discriminatory grounds which are within the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights.

In signing the Order the President indicated his concern over the fact that less than sixty-five percent of the United States population of voting age cast ballots for Presidential electors in 1960, and made the following statement:

"Responsible Americans are increasingly concerned with the wide-spread failure of our citizens to exercise their right to vote and restrictions which prevent many Americans from voting. I have recommended legislation to protect voting rights against discrimination on the basis of race and color in my Message to Congress on Civil Rights of last month. However, the problems are by no means limited to this type of discrimination.

"It has been estimated that some eight million Americans were unable to vote in the election of 1960 because they were unable to comply with State and local residence requirements, which penalize the nation's mobile population. Additional millions of Americans are precluded from exercising their franchise because of limitations on absentee registration and voting -- a problem especially important in the case of military and civil-service personnel whose work require them to be located outside of the State in which they vote. Other Americans are prevented from voting by registration procedures which make voting unnecessarily difficult.

"I have, therefore, today established the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation to study the reasons for the failure of many citizens to register and vote in elections for Members of Congress, the President and Vice President, including laws which restrict registration and voting on the basis of residence, economic status, registration procedures, absentee voting provisions and other reasons for non-voting."

Appointed to the Commission are Richard M. Scammon, Director of the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.; Bert Bennett, Chairman, North Carolina State Democratic Executive Committee, Winston Salem, N. C.; Brendan Byrne, Executive Director, American Heritage Foundation, New York, New York; Robert A. Forsythe, State Chairman, Republican Party of Minnesota, Edwina, Minnesota; Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Executive Director, American Political Science Association, Bethesda, Maryland; and James Bradshaw Mintener, attorney and civic worker, Washington, D. C.

Also John Perkins, President of University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware; Mrs. Ruth Schertz Phillips, President, League of Women Voters (national), St. Charles, Illinois; Roy Reuther, Director, United Auto Workers' Citizenship-Legislative Department, Detroit, Michigan; Victoria Schuck, Professor of Political

MORE

Science, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, and Leon H. Washington, Jr., Publisher, Los Angeles Sentinel, Los Angeles, California.

Mr. Scammon will serve as chairman and the Commission is to report its recommendations to the President by November 30, 1963.

# # # #

EXECUTIVE ORDER

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION
ON REGISTRATION AND VOTING PARTICIPATION

WHEREAS less than sixty-five percent of the United States population of voting age cast ballots for Presidential electors in 1960; and

WHEREAS popular participation in Government through elections is essential to a democratic form of Government; and

WHEREAS the causes of nonvoting are not fully understood and more effective corrective action will be possible on the basis of a better understanding of the causes of the failure of many citizens to register and vote:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

Section 1. (a) There is hereby established the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation (hereinafter referred to as the Commission).

(b) The Commission shall be composed of not more than eleven members, each of whom shall be appointed by the President. One of the members of the Commission shall be designated by the President as the Chairman thereof.

Sec. 2. The Commission shall:

(a) Study the reasons for the failure of many citizens to register and vote in elections for selection of Members of Congress, the President, and Vice President including:

(1) Laws which restrict registration and voting on the basis of residence, economic status, or other reasons,

(2) Procedures for registration of voters,

(3) Absentee voting provisions, and

(4) Causes of nonvoting by persons who are otherwise qualified to vote.

(b) Prepare and present to the President recommendations for increasing citizen participation in Government through the exercise of the right to vote.

Sec. 3. The Commission shall not consider matters placed under the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights by the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 634), as amended.

Sec. 4 All who may be in a position to do so are requested to furnish the Commission information pertinent to its work and otherwise to facilitate the Commission's work.

Sec. 5. Each member of the Commission shall receive compensation of $75 for each day such member is engaged upon the work of the Commission, except that any member who then receives other compensation from the United States shall serve as such member without compensation under this order. The Commission is authorized to appoint such personnel as may be necessary to assist the Commission in connection with the performance of its functions without regard to the civil service and classification laws, but no such personnel shall receive compensation at a rate in excess of $17,500 per annum. The Commission is authorized to obtain services in accordance with the provisions of Section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a), at rates not in excess of $75 per diem for individuals.

Sec. 6. The compensation of the members and personnel of the Commission, lawful allowances therefor, and any other necessary expenses arising in connection with the work of the Commission shall be paid from the appropriation appearing under the heading "Special Projects" in title III of the Treasury-Post Office Departments and Executive Office Appropriation Act, 1963, 76 Stat. 310, and such appropriation as may be provided for the same purposes for the

fiscal year 1964. Such payments shall be made without regard to the provisions of Section 3681 of the Revised Statutes and Section 9 of the Act of March 4, 1909, 35 Stat. 1027 (31 U.S.C. 672 and 673).

Sec. 7. The General Services Administration is hereby designated as the agency which shall provide administrative services for the Commission on a reimbursable basis.

Sec. 8. The Commission in its discretion may transmit to the President such preliminary or interim report or reports as it may deem appropriate. It shall transmit its principal study and recommendations to the President not later than November 30, 1963, together with such supporting materials as it deems appropriate. The Commission shall terminate not later than sixty days after the submission of its principal report to the President.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

THE WHITE HOUSE

March 30, 1963

# # # #

GSA-WASH DC 63-14025

WB ✓
JM ✓

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON REGISTRATION AND VOTING PARTICIPATION

ROOM 1904 - 7TH AND D STREETS, S.W.
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.
WORTH 2-1696

J. M.
Any suggestions?

April 25, 1963

APR 29 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Mr. Scammon has asked me to reply to your letter of April 18 in which you request that the Voter Education Project be added to the mailing list for the interim and final reports of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation. We are, of course, delighted to do this and appreciate your interest in our work.

By the same token, we would be grateful to you for making available to us copies of any studies you may now have on hand dealing with such subjects as the motivations of non-voters, legal impediments erected by state legislatures to discourage registration, etc. Such documents will be helpful to the staff, and to the Commission in its preliminary deliberations on the subject.

I am enclosing a copy of the Executive Order by which the President created the Commission, so you may be aware of the scope and nature of our study.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Donald G. Herzberg

Donald G. Herzberg
Acting Staff Director

Enclosure

Memo from **JACK MINNIS**

Wiley:

I don't know what we could offer these birds that they would be likely to use. There is a lot of good theory hanging around about why people don't ~~tex~~ vote but it all leads to some pretty radical conclusions about what needs to be done, and I can't imagine their being interested in it.

I'm sure they are aware of the standard works on voting behavior and they're bound to have more than we do on state laws other than those of civil rights interest.

Thus I just don't see any way we could be of much help to them.

April 18, 1963

Mr. Richard Scammon, Chairman
President's Commission on Registration
and Voter Participation
Bureau of the Census
Suitland, Maryland

Dear Mr. Scammon:

I note from press releases that you have been named Chairman of the President's Commission on Registration and Voter Participation. The Voter Education Project would be pleased to receive such interim reports and information as this new commission may have available from time to time.

I would appreciate it if you would place our name with the persons responsible for releasing any such reports.

Kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

Memo from **JACK MINNIS**

~~Wxit~~ ~~Sxx~~ 4-1-63

Wiley:

Yesterday's Constitution carried a story about a new commission appointed by the President to study registration laws and their effect in disfranchising Americans (with specific exclusions of racial matters). I think we should be kept informed of what this commission does. Its chairman is Scammon of the Census Bureau. Since you know him, I thought it would bemore appropriate if you, rather than I, wrote Scammon asking that we be put on the mailing list of the commission and advised of what it's doing and offering any assistance we may be able to provide.

Jean: Please make a file for this outfit
Jack

JFK Forms New Committee To Encourage More Voting

N.Y. Times Sat. 3-31-63

By WARREN WEAVER

(Copyright 1963 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, March 30. President Kennedy established Saturday a 10-member commission to encourage more people to vote in national and congressional elections.

He signed an executive order setting up the President's commission on Registration and Voter Participation and named Richard M. Scammon, director of The Bureau of the Census, to head it.

Scammon, a political scientist specializing in election research and analysis, has been the administration's chief advisor on voting patterns and performance since his appointment as census director two years ago.

The new commission was specifically instructed not to deal with aspects of the voting problem that involve racial discrimination, such as the various laws in Southern states that make it difficult, if not impossible, for Negroes to register and vote.

Solutions to such problems, the president's order noted, fall in the jurisdiction of the commission on civil rights.

MR. KENNEDY asked the commission to study state laws that:

—Limit registration and voting to citizens with a specific length of residency and, in some cases, a certain economic status, such as ownership of property worth more than a set figure.

—Make registration for voting unduly inaccessible or cumbersome.

—Make it difficult for residents of a state to cast absentee ballots when they are away from home on election day.

The commission was also directed to try to determine any other factors that result in qualified voters not showing up at the polls on election day.

"RESPONSIBLE Americans are increasingly concerned with the widespread failure of our citizens to exercise their right to vote and restrictions which prevent many Americans from voting," the President declared.

"It has been estimated that some 8,000,000 Americans were unable to vote in the election of 1960 because they were unable to comply with state and local residence requirements, which penalize the nation's mobile population," Kennedy continued.

"Additional millions of Americans are precluded from exercising their franchise because of limitations on absentee registration and voting—a problem especially important in the case of military and civil-service personnel whose work requires them to be located outside of the state in which they vote."

ALTHOUGH Kennedy's description of the commission's duties and aims was non-political, it has been widely accepted for years among political leaders in the larger states that a substantial majority of non-voters—as many as 3 out of 4—would vote Democratic if they could be registered and gotten to the polls.

The belief is that most non-voters are members of minority groups or down near the bottom of the economic ladder or both; as such, right or wrong, they tend to identify themselves with the Democratic party.

THE SCAMMON commission was directed to report its findings to the President by Nov. 30. This would presumably give states ample time to adjust their voting laws to the group's recommendations before the 1964 presidential election, except in cases where constitutional amendment might be required.

The commission will be automatically abolished 60 days after the submission of its final report. Its members will receive $75 a day while on commission work, except for those already receiving federal compensation. They will work for nothing.

The executive order empowers the commission to hire a staff with salaries up to $17,500 a year.

COMMISSION members named by the President in addition to Scammon are: Bert Bennett of Winston-Salem, N.C., Robert A. Forsythe of Edwina, Minn., Evron M. Kirkpatrick of Bethesda, Md., James Bradshaw Mintener of Washington, D.C., John Perkins of Newark, Del., Mrs. Ruth Schertz Phillips of St. Charles, Ill., Roy Reuther of Detroit, Mich., Victoria Schuck of South Hadley, Mass., and Leon W. Washington Jr. of Los Angeles.

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1954.

PRESIDENT APPOINTS PANEL TO SPUR VOTE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 31 — President Kennedy has established a ten-member commission to encourage more people to vote in national and Congressional elections.

He signed an Executive order yesterday setting up the President's Commission on Registration and Voter Participation. He named Richard M. Scammon, director of the Census Bureau, to head it.

Mr. Kennedy asked the commission to study state laws that:

Limited registration and voting to citizens with a specific length of residency and, in some cases, a certain economic status, such as ownership of property worth more than a set figure.

Made registration for voting unduly inaccessible or cumbersome.

Made it difficult for residents of a state to cast absentee ballots.

The commission was also directed to try to determine any other factors that resulted in qualified voters not showing up at the polls on election day.

The members of the commission are:

Bert Bennett of Winston Salem, N.C., chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee in that state.

Robert A. Forsythe of Edwina, Minn., Republican state chairman.

Evron M. Kirkpatrick of Bethesda, Md., executive director of the American Political Science Association.

James B. Mintener of Washington, D.C., attorney and civic worker.

John Perkins of Newark, Del., president of the University of Delaware.

Mrs. Ruth Schertz Phillips of St. Charles, Ill., national president of the League of Women Voters.

Roy Reuther of Detroit, Mich., director of the citizenship-legislative department of the United Automobile Workers.

Victoria Schuck of South Hadley, Mass., professor of political science at Mount Holyoke College.

Leon W. Washington Jr. of Los Angeles, publisher of The Los Angeles Sentinel.

White House Adds a Name To Commission on Voting

WASHINGTON, April 1 (AP)—The White House corrected an error today and added member to the Presidential comission investigating reasons why so many Americans fail to vote.

Press Secretary Pierre Salinger said the name of Brendan Byrne, executive director of the American Heritage Foundation, New York, had been inadvertently omitted from the list of commission members announced Saturday. This brings the membership of the commission to 12.

The commission is headed by Richard M. Scammon, director of the Census Bureau.

ment rates where public-owned land is involved are as follows:

"The rate of payment under the program with respect to land which is leased or rented on a cash rent basis and which is owned by the Federal Government or by a State, a political subdivision or any agency thereof and which is otherwise eligible for participation in the program shall not exceed a fair payment rate as determined by the county committee. Such payment rate shall be the actual cash rent per acre of the land adjusted to take into account the quality of the acres which the producer designates as diverted when compared with the total acres rented, and the services performed and improvements made at the lessee's expense which are in addition to rent. A payment in excess of the cash rent may only be made if approved by a representative of the State committee."

If we can be of further service in this matter, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

H. D. GODFREY,
Administrator.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
STATE HOUSE,
Phoenix, Ariz., December 13, 1962.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In response to your letter of December 5, I have been informed by the State land department that the Farmers Investment Co. paid, in 1951, for land in Pinal County $4.50 per acre for cultivated acres, and that averaged in with the uncleared land made payment of $3.60 per acre overall on the acreage under lease from the State.

The State land department further informs that the overall charge of the State to the Farmers Investment Co. for land in Maricopa County was $3 per acre. This is the average of cleared and uncleared land.

I was informed that there was no breakdown as to the acreage cleared and uncleared.

I hope this information will prove of assistance to you.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

JOHN M. MCGOWAN,
Administrative Assistant.

WHAT KIND OF VICTORY?

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, 2 weeks ago our brilliant chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] journeyed to the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Medford, Mass., to deliver a series of significant lectures.

Since their inception 6 years ago, these speeches, known as the William L. Clayton lectures, have been delivered by some of the leading thinkers and statesmen of the Western World. I must add that this year's speaker is certainly no exception.

In his first talk, our distinguished colleague discussed the concept of "total victory" and what it means as an objective of our national policy, stating that—

Two total victories won by the West in the two total wars of the 20th century have generated many more problems than they have solved. The price of these victories was the loss of the worldwide hegemony of the Western nations. The price of a third such total victory would be the probable destruction of Western civilization as we know it.

I was delighted to see a thought-provoking editorial on this subject in the May 6 edition of the New York Times, and would like to call it to the attention of the Senate. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, May 6, 1963]

WHAT KIND OF VICTORY?

In a thoughful as well as courageous speech, Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has publicly challenged the advocates of total victory against communism. He points out that the total victories actually won in World Wars I and II raised more problems than they solved and certainly did not create perfect worlds. Now, he adds, an effort to win such a triumph by nuclear war would create evils outweighing any possible benefits of "victory." Instead of the chimera of "total victory," the Senator urges the West to follow the dual policy of using its strength to convince the Kremlin that its dream of world domination is unattainable, while also assuring Moscow's leaders "they can have a secure and untroubled national existence under institutions of their choice."

One major flaw in the reasoning of the advocates of "total victory" is the assumption that the only alternative to total victory is total defeat. This is simply untrue. We have managed to live on the same plane with a Communist-ruled Russia for almost a half century, and there is no necessary reason that we cannot continue to do so in freedom for the indefinite future. The Soviet Union is not all-powerful—but neither are we.

Another major fallacy is the implicit assumption that communism is something fixed and unchanging, that the Communist system must remain as evil and horrible tomorrow as it has been yesterday and today. In his recent encyclical, Pope John pointed out that the original ideas of a political movement may remain constant, but the movements themselves, "working on historical situations in constant evolution, cannot but be influenced by these latter and cannot avoid, therefore, being subject to changes, even of a profound nature."

Such leaders as Senator FULBRIGHT and the Pope speak out of the confidence that the true worth of Western traditions and ideas will be evident in the long run, as the people of all countries have the opportunity to compare and contrast the alternatives before them. We need not fear the prospect of long-term competition in peace.

RUSSIA'S FIVE FATAL MISTAKES IN AFRICA

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, in the April 28 issue of This Week magazine section of the Washington Sunday Star there appeared a fine article by William Atwood, U.S. Ambassador to Guinea. The article is entitled "Russia's Five Fatal Mistakes in Africa." As the title to the article suggests, Mr. Atwood points out how the Russians have failed in their efforts to make any significant advances among the newly independent nations of Africa.

When I toured Africa in 1959, I visited Conakry, Guinea. The Russians were very much in evidence at that time, and there was every reason to fear that Guinea might well become another Communist satellite.

It is reassuring to read Ambassador Atwood's account of what has happened in Guinea since 1959, due, in the main, to the bungling of the "Ugly Russian."

I ask unanimous consent that Ambassador Atwood's article be reprinted at length in the RECORD following these remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUSSIA'S FIVE FATAL MISTAKES IN AFRICA

(By William Attwood)

CONAKRY, GUINEA.—Most Americans have a distorted picture of Africa. It's nobody's fault. It's just because bad news always makes bigger headlines than good news.

We read about turmoil in the Congo, race riots in South Africa and Communist infiltration almost everywhere. And we wonder if there's any hope for freedom and progress on a continent that has been called an "angry young giant."

What we overlook is that in 7 short years 27 countries of 150 million people achieved independence with less bloodshed than occurs on U.S. highways in 1 year.

More important, the Soviet Union, which assumed that Africa would be wide open to Communist penetration, has so far failed to take over a single one of these young governments.

THE GLITTERING SHORTCUT

The cards seemed to be stacked in Moscow's favor: The new nations of Africa were anticolonialist—and therefore presumably anti-Western. Many of their leaders were Marxist trained. Their people were largely illiterate—and supposedly gullible. And to a continent impatient to move into the 20th century, the Soviets could offer a glittering shortcut on the Communist bandwagon.

Frustrated by the U.N. in the Congo, the Soviets concentrated even more on key sub-Saharan African nations—Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Somalia, and Sudan—to which they have by now extended $619 million mostly in credits. Other Communist states were prodded by Moscow to provide additional financial aid. Technicians from the Soviet bloc poured in and were welcomed as new-found friends in need.

Today none of these states can be counted as a real Soviet ally. And Soviet equipment, aid plans and technicians are increasingly disparaged and suspected.

Where did the Soviets go wrong?

You can find most of the answers in one African country—Guinea. This small former French colony on the west coast of Equatorial Africa is the place Moscow counted on getting a secure beachhead for spreading the Soviet gospel throughout west Africa.

Guinea was wide open to Soviet penetration when the French pulled out in 1958 after the Guineans voted for independence. Friendless and broke, the Guineans welcomed these strangers who echoed their anticolonialism and promised "disinterested" economic aid.

Just 3 years later the Guineans bluntly accused the Soviet bloc embassies of meddling in internal affairs and sent the Soviet Ambassador home; then they turned to the West for technical assistance and sought private investment as a way out of economic stagnation.

With the Africans, the Soviets and their satellites made five major mistakes:

First, they underestimated African nationalism and political sophistication. While the Russians pretend to support neutralism and national independence, their system in fact cannot tolerate deviation from the gospel according to Lenin. Sooner or later they start the hard sell for allout communism.

But the Africans are in no mood to trade one form of colonialism for another. When they realized what the Communists were up to they reacted vigorously. In Guinea, police cracked down on pro-Communist

file Presidential Voting Commission

union leaders and teachers who had been working in collusion with the Soviet Embassy, and jailed their leaders.

Second, Soviet economic aid often neglects a nation's basic needs in favor of showy, politically motivated projects. Among the biggest Soviet bloc projects in Guinea are a radio transmitter, a printing plant, a sports stadium, a hotel, an outdoor theater and a citywide loudspeaker system. But the things that countries like Guinea really need are education, vocational training, agricultural development, good roads and small industries. The Soviets helped neither the country's economy nor their own popularity with the Guineans.

Third, the Soviets tried to control the economies of these young countries by means of attractive-sounding barters. It didn't take the Guineans long to find out the the Czechs and others were sending them overpriced and often shoddy equipment in exchange for Guinean products, which were then resold in the West for hard cash. And there's no better way of antagonizing an African than to appear to be taking advantage of him.

Fourth, the Soviet and other Eastern European technicians sent to Africa have had little or no experience in dealing with Africans. They don't understand their ways, they get annoyed with them—and friction follows. Their attitude—a mixture of grumbling and indifference—is resented by Africans, who like strangers to be friendly and relaxed. Word gets around that the Soviets are racists (because they don't mingle), uncultured (because they speak only Russian and their clothes are often dowdy or incompetent (because much of their equipment is inferior in quality to what the Guineans, for example, knew under the French). And when word gets around in Africa, it really gets around.

Finally, the Soviet effort to win over young Africans by giving them scholarships in Communist states has misfired. Africans in Eastern Europe have experienced racial discrimination—where they expected none; they complain about being subjected to long hours of political indoctrination. Back home, they compare notes with students who have gone to the United States, France, or Britain—and wish they had gone West.

So it's more than likely the Soviets are engaged in their own agonizing reappraisal about Africa. Here in Guinea, after 3 years and $125 million in Soviet bloc credits and grants, their record is nothing to brag about: a cluster of half-finished public buildings, a radio station and loud-speaker system that don't work, a stagnant economy, a disillusioned people, an Ambassador expelled and a government turning to the West and to private enterprise for development.

It isn't hard to imagine the uproar in Congress and the press if the United States had expended all this money and effort with similar results.

Knowing the Communists' capacity for taking the long view of history, we can't expect them to give up in Africa. The Chinese are quietly cultivating African leaders and avoiding Soviet mistakes. And the Soviets will never again take the Africans for granted.

But we should not gloat over Soviet failures, nor should we expect that the Africans will necessarily go pro-West. They are and will remain primarily concerned with independence, dignity, progress, and noninvolvement in the struggle of the major powers.

Our task now is to intensify our efforts to help Africans develop their countries in practical, useful ways. We have made a good start, but we need to remember that this is an impatient continent that wants to catch up with the rest of the world. Speed is a more important factor than size in African development programs; if the younger generations can't see signs of progress in cooperation with the West, they may yet be enticed down the Soviet path.

OUR BEST APPROACH

For the moment our best approach to Africa can be summed up in four words—we should try to be firm, friendly, frank, and fast.

We must be firm in our commitment to freedom in Africa; friendly and frank in our dealings with Africa's leaders, and fast in carrying out our promises to give desperately needed help.

Frankness has already paid off. Today most African leaders have overcome their suspicions of the United States and are beginning to realize that what we want for them is what they want for themselves: political independence and economic progress in freedom.

What the Communists want is very different—as the Africans are finding out.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S VOTING COMMISSION

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, democracy cannot exist without the voluntary participation of free citizens in the process of government. In our representative democracy, the will of the public is expressed through voting at the polls for those who are to make and carry out our laws and policies. All over the country on election day, in the smallest hamlets and the largest cities, millions of voters flock to the polls to exercise their right as a free people to select their representatives by secret ballot.

It is with great pride that I point out that Idaho has led the Nation in the last two presidential elections—1956 and 1960—in the percentage of civilians of voting age who actually cast ballots. In 1956, 77.3 percent of Idaho's eligible voters went to the polls and voted. And in 1960, this percentage rose to 80.8. I am confident that one of the major reasons for this extremely high turnout of voters in my State is the liberality of the voter-registration laws. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point tables which rank the States according to their respective voting percentages in the 1956 and 1960 general elections.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

How the States ranked in percentage of civilians of voting age who cast ballots in the 1956 presidential election

Rank	State	Percentage	Rank	State	Percentage	Rank	State	Percentage	Rank	State	Percentage
1	Idaho	77.3	14	Washington	71.4	27	New York	65.5	39	North Carolina	47.7
2	Connecticut	76.6	15	New Jersey	70.1	28	Pennsylvania	65.0	40	Tennessee	46.0
3	Utah	76.1	16	Colorado	69.6	29	California	65.0	41	Arkansas	39.9
4	Massachusetts	75.3	17	Wyoming	68.9	30	Ohio	64.9	42	Texas	38.1
5	New Hampshire	75.2	18	Vermont	68.6	31	Nevada	64.7	43	Louisiana	37.3
6	Rhode Island	74.6	19	Oregon	68.5	32	Maine	64.6	44	Virginia	34.2
7	Iowa	74.1	20	Minnesota	67.8	33	Oklahoma	64.0	45	Georgia	30.4
8	Illinois	72.5	21	Kansas	67.7	34	New Mexico	62.1	46	Alabama	28.5
9	Indiana	72.4	22	Missouri	67.5	35	Kentucky	56.7	47	South Carolina	24.6
10	West Virginia	72.4	23	Michigan	67.1	36	Maryland	54.8	48	Mississippi	22.1
11	Montana	72.3	24	North Dakota	67.0	37	Arizona	49.7			
12	South Dakota	72.2	25	Wisconsin	66.6	38	Florida	48.3		National average	60.4
13	Delaware	71.5	26	Nebraska	65.9						

1960 ELECTION SCOREBOARD

Percentage of civilians of voting age who voted in the 1960 presidential election

Rank	State	Civilian population of voting age	Total vote	Percent	Rank	State	Civilian population of voting age	Total vote	Percent
1	Idaho	372,000	300,451	80.766	26	Nebraska	857,000	613,095	71.539
2	New Hampshire	367,000	295,761	80.588	27	Ohio	5,833,000	4,161,859	71.349
3	Utah	469,000	374,981	79.953	28	Oregon	1,089,000	775,462	71.208
4	North Dakota	350,000	278,431	79.551	29	Kansas	1,315,000	928,825	70.633
5	South Dakota	388,000	306,087	78.831	30	California	9,219,000	6,507,082	70.583
6	West Virginia	1,085,000	837,781	77.214	31	Pennsylvania	7,102,000	5,006,541	70.494
7	Minnesota	2,003,000	1,541,887	76.978	32	New York	10,788,000	7,291,079	67.584
8	Connecticut	1,590,000	1,222,883	76.910	33	Oklahoma	1,399,000	903,150	64.556
9	Indiana	2,784,000	2,135,360	76,701	34	New Mexico	491,000	311,118	63.364
10	Massachusetts	3,230,000	2,469,480	76.454	35	Nevada	174,000	107,267	61,647
11	Iowa	1,669,000	1,273,820	76.321	36	Kentucky	1,876,000	1,124,462	59,939
12	Illinois	6,244,000	4,757,394	76.191	37	Arizona	680,000	398,491	58.601
13	Rhode Island	533,000	405,534	76.085	38	Maryland	1,819,000	1,055,349	58.017
14	Wyoming	186,000	140,892	75.748	39	Hawaii	321,000	184,745	57.552
15	Delaware	264,000	196,683	74.501	40	North Carolina	2,521,000	1,368,966	54.302
16	Maine	574,000	421,767	73.478	41	Tennessee	2,079,000	1,051,792	50.591
17	Michigan	4,519,000	3,318,097	73.425	42	Florida	3,099,000	1,544,180	49.828
18	Alaska	83,000	60,762	73.207	43	Louisiana	1,770,000	807,891	45.604
19	Colorado	1,007,000	736,246	73.112	44	Texas	5,329,000	2,311,670	43.379
20	Missouri	2,651,000	1,934,422	72.969	45	Arkansas	1,029,000	428,509	41.643
21	Washington	1,703,000	1,241,572	72.905	46	Virginia	2,244,000	771,449	34.378
22	Wisconsin	2,373,000	1,729,082	72.864	47	South Carolina	1,227,000	386,687	31.514
23	Vermont	230,000	167,324	72.749	48	Georgia	2,342,000	733,349	31.312
24	New Jersey	3,827,000	2,773,111	72.461	49	Alabama	1,825,000	564,242	30.917
25	Montana	387,000	277,579	71.725	50	Mississippi	1,163,000	298,171	25.638

Sources: State election officials, U.S. Census Bureau.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, as indicated by the charts, every election day there is a substantial number of citizens who do not exercise their franchise. In the last presidential election, only 63.9 percent of the potential voters—less than two-thirds—actually went to the polls. In 1952 and 1956 the comparable figures were 62.7 percent and 60.4 percent. This demonstrates that there is a bloc of potential voters, making up practically 40 percent of the electorate, who do not vote. The percentage of nonvoters in State and local elections is even greater.

The existence of this large group of voters should be a source of concern to all of us who want a vital democracy. It has led President Kennedy to recently establish the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation. The purpose of the Commission is to study the causes for the failure of many Americans to exercise their right to vote. The Commission has been asked to give particular attention to laws which restrict registration on the basis of residence, economic status and for other reasons; procedures for registration of voters; absentee voting provisions; causes of nonvoting by persons otherwise qualified to vote.

The Executive order establishing the Commission specifically directs it to avoid consideration of problems involving the denial of registration and voting on the basis of racial or other discriminatory grounds which are within the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights. The President, in a statement issued at the formation of the Commission, said that "responsible Americans are increasingly concerned with the widespread failure of our citizens to exercise their right to vote and restrictions which prevent many Americans from voting."

The Chairman of the Commission is Richard M. Scammon, Director of the Bureau of the Census. The other members include Bert Bennett, chairman, North Carolina State Democratic Executive Committee, Winston Salem, N.C.; Robert A. Forsythe, State chairman, Republican Party of Minnesota, Edwina, Minn.; Evron M. Kirkpatrick, executive director, American Political Science Association, Bethesda, Md.; James Bradshaw Mintener, attorney and civic worker, Washington, D.C.; Brendan Byrne, executive director, American Heritage Foundation, New York City.

The Commission also includes John Perkins, president of the University of Delaware, Newark, Del.; Mrs. Ruth Schertz Phillips, president, League of Women Voters (national), St. Charles, Ill.; Roy Reuther, director, United Auto Workers' Citizenship-Legislative Department, Detroit, Mich.; Victoria Schuck, professor of political science, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.; and Leon H. Washington, Jr., publisher, Los Angeles Sentinel, Los Angeles, Calif. The Commission is to report its recommendations to the President by November 30, 1963.

This bipartisan assemblage of responsible and knowledgeable citizens have an important task, which I am sure they will fulfill admirably. Their recommendations should be carefully studied by all those concerned with establishing an effective democracy. Let us look at some of the problems confronting them. The respected American Heritage Foundation, whose director is a member of the Commission, estimates that in 1956 more than 6 million citizens were disenfranchised because of moving and thereby failing to meet the residential requirement for registration. Many States make no provision for absentee ballots by the hospitalized and physically disabled. Some 5 million Americans were thus kept from the polls in 1956. It is also estimated that approximately 2,600,000 travelers were prevented from voting because they had no way of obtaining absentee ballots.

Registration requirements, one of the main areas of concern to the Commission, vary widely across the country. It is interesting to note that the 12 States which require only 6 months' residence in the State had an average of 73.5 percent of their potential voting population go to the polls in 1960. The three States, all southern, which required a 2-year residency averaged only 29.2 percent of potential, and the remainder of the States, having a 1-year requirement, averaged 63.3 percent of potential voters casting ballots.

In the 12 States with 6-month residency requirements, 85.8 percent of the potential voters are actually registered to vote. In the 2-year States and in the 1-year States, the comparable figures are 48 and 73.8 percent. There are many factors involved in the motivation of citizens to register and vote, but the above figures indicate that liberalized residency requirements are associated with greater participation in registration and voting.

One of the most difficult areas to study in voting is that of motivation. What impels a citizen to go to the polls or to stay away, aside from legal and procedural impediments? Part of the answer may be tradition and education. England and Canada, for example, have consistently higher turnouts at the polls than we do in America. In the last national election in each country, 8 out of every 10 voters went and cast ballots. Part of the answer, I think, can be found in giving a better education in the responsibilities of the democratic process to our young people. It should spur us to action to discover that Americans between the ages of 21 and 29 have the poorest voting record. I would think that the Commission would

recommend programs designed to correct this problem.

Each of us has a stake in making democracy work. I think that the public-spirited citizens who have agreed to serve on the Commission on Registration and Voting Participation should be applauded for their role in formulating recommendations to make democracy work better. In summing up this discussion, I would like to append an editorial from the Washington Post entitled "Why Don't They Vote?" which outlines the necessity for a study such as that being undertaken by the Commission. An article by the well-known public opinion researcher Elmo Roper is also appended as a factual look at the state of registration and voting procedures and deficiencies. I ask unanimous consent that both of these articles be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY DON'T THEY VOTE?

President Kennedy is quite properly concerned about the 37,500,000 Americans of voting age who do not go to the polls. In the congressional elections the number of stay-at-homes is much larger. Last year only 49 percent of the potential voters actually cast ballots. What kept the majority away? Fortunately, the President's concern has prompted him to name a commission under the chairmanship of Richard M. Scammon, Director of the Census Bureau, to find out why so many avoid the polls and to recommend what should be done about it.

Many millions of Americans lose their votes each year because of changes in their places of residence. Some of this loss is unavoidable in a society on wheels, but an enormous amount of it is a direct result of voting laws carried over from the horse-and-buggy days. In many States the residence requirement for voting is unreasonably long. Others offer inadequate opportunity for registration. So much has been said in recent years about racial bars to voting (which are a special concern of the Civil Rights Commission) that other major impediments have been much neglected.

Another serious weakness is the system for absentee voting as it operates in many of the States. Why should not absentee ballots be made available to all qualified voters who are hospitalized or ill at home and to those who are away from home for any purpose as well as to the personnel of the armed services? Wider use of absentee voters' ballots could add many millions to the list of voters in a general election.

Some allowance always will have to be made for the few who "take a walk" on election day because of irritation with both parties and for those who have not sufficient interest in public affairs to go to the polls. A free country where voting is solely a matter of individual choice can never expect to equal the turnout of a totalitarian country where voting is in fact or in effect compulsory. But a vast improvement in the American voting record could be made by simply modernizing the laws so as to encourage participation instead of making it unnecessarily burdensome.

HOW TO LOSE YOUR VOTE

(By Elmo Roper)

Most people are indignant about the denial of voting rights to Negroes. Such disfranchisement is a glaring evil, an obvious contradiction of the Nation's moral principles, and as such it is easy to react against it passionately. Yet other forms of disfranchisement affecting much larger numbers of Americans arouse merely a public yawn.

There are between 2,500,000 and 4 million victims of poll tax and prejudice disfranchisement; but there are also 3 million Americans who can't vote because they are traveling in or out of the country or living abroad; 5 million who can't get to the polls because of illness or disability; and the largest group of all, 8 million otherwise eligible citizens who have moved too recently to be allowed to vote under our laws.

These victims of what might be called "accidental prejudice" lack partisans and pamphleteers; their cases are undramatic and their plight is taken for granted. But when one tries to formulate the rationale behind denying the vote to people who happen to be away from home, or who are ill, when one asks the relevance of State or local residence to voting in a presidential election, one is quickly forced to conclude that these are clear cases of "discrimination by law."

We pollsters have been complaining for years that only two-thirds of the electorate bother to vote—and that's in good years. This not only limits the democratic process but also inconveniences us by making election prediction more difficult.

Actually, we have been a bit unfair to the electorate, for a large proportion of those berated nonvoters are in that category through no fault of their own. In the 1960 presidential elections, 66 percent of voting-age citizens voted.

But of those citizens who actually met all State voting requirements, a larger 82 percent voted. Clearly, changes in those voting requirements would do more to "get out the vote" than any amount of preaching about the virtues of voting by public opinion pollsters or citizens' groups.

The proof lies in the actual voting records of the various States. In Idaho, where there is permanent tax-free registration and voters are allowed to register up to 3 days before the election, where only 6 months' residence in the State and 30 days in the county are required, where there is a liberal absentee voting law, 81 percent of the voting population voted in 1960.

In contrast, Mississippi, which requires 2 years' residence in the State and 1 year in the election district, which (except for the military) has a poll tax and no absentee voting, and which requires voters "to read, write, and interpret reasonably any section of the State constitution," had a 1960 turnout of 26 percent.

The eight States at the top of the turnout list—Idaho, New Hampshire, Utah, the Dakotas, West Virginia, Minnesota, and Connecticut—all have laws that facilitate voting.

The eight States at the bottom of the list—Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Virgina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and, finally, Mississippi—have laws that raise formidable barriers to voting. In the case of Negroes, these barriers are no doubt raised intentionally, but their effects extend farther than intended.

Around the period of any presidential election a certain amount of public feeling is aroused about such potential sources of voting injustice as the presidential primary and the electoral college.

Even the President recently wrote off any hope of doing anything about the imbedded electoral college, but perhaps enough public concern remains to provide the impetus to change some outmoded State election laws. Here are some changes suggested by experts and supported by the American Heritage Foundation, which might well be passed on to interested groups and legislators:

1. To facilitate the voting of movers in a nation increasingly on the move (a generally well-educated and thus highly qualified voting group), state residence requirements for local, State, and congressional elections should be reduced to 6 months and county requirements to 30 days. Residence requirements for voting in presidential elections should be pared to a minimum (Ohio now requires 40 days' residence), and people who move just before election day should be allowed to vote either in person or by absentee ballot—in the place they moved from.

2. All eligible voters physically unable to get to the polls should be allowed to vote—and register—by mail. Liberalization of the absentee balloting system—a measure supported by a heavy majority of the public—would solve most of the problems of travelers, people living abroad, as well as the sick, disabled and hospitalized.

3. Primaries should be held in late May or early June, instead of the summer, when many people are away on vacation.

4. Ballots should be shortened so that voters are not required to pass judgment on candidates they have never heard of for offices that logically belong under civil service or some other merit system.

5. Uncommunicative legal jargon used to describe propositions and amendments should be replaced by simple, descriptive language.

6. Registration should be permanent and registration lists should be checked annually to avoid fraud.

7. Paper ballots should be eliminated as fast as possible; voting machines or some better device should be substituted.

8. Literacy tests should be prepared by educators and should be objective and discrimination-proof.

If we can get some of the States to make some of these changes, we shall be on our way to that age-old democratic dream: universal suffrage.

FATHER DAMIEN AND THE KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, 90 years ago this month a young priest arrived at a forlorn settlement in the Hawaiian Islands to dedicate his life to the care of a colony of lepers. For 16 years, Father Joseph Damien de Veuster labored among the lepers until finally he himself became afflicted with the same disease and died a martyr's death.

The poignant story of the "Martyr of Molokai"—his life of self-sacrifice, his indomitable courage in rendering succor and solace to the outcasts in the leper colony—is related in an article which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin last week, under the byline of an able reporter, Chuck Frankel.

Father Damien's memory is held in such high esteem and affection and his work among the lepers regarded as so heroic that his many admirers have suggested a statue of the "Martyr of Molokai" be placed in Statuary Hall in this Capitol.

It is significant that the religious order of which he was a member—the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, more popularly known as the Picpus Fathers—is promoting the cause for Father Damien's beatification so that eventually he may be elevated to the rank of sainthood in the Catholic Church.

In noting the anniversary of the beginning of Father Damien's ministrations on Molokai, where a modern, efficient Hansen's disease settlement stands today, I should like to pay tribute to the

file Pres. Commission on voting + registration

Suff. Gen

SERS Library E

JM

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p. 2B

Date: MAY 25 1963

A Physical Check-Up For Voters

2B

We have often heard that Americans are less interested in the voting process than any democratic citizenry in the world. As each election rolls around, "get out the vote" campaigns are cranked up and we are told endlessly what a shame it is that only about six out of ten Americans bother to vote in presidential campaigns, and are exhorted to do something about it.

Frankly, The Observer has not been given to this sort of thing. We feel that while it would be eminently desirable if the American people all felt motivated to express their political choices at the polls, the quality of the choice is not greatly enhanced by shaming those who are neither interested nor informed into voting merely for the sake of voting.

Actually, the American voter is a lot more diligent than he is given credit for being. He is often unfavorably compared with Englishmen and Canadians, who regularly turn out to vote in a ratio of eight out of ten. Yet when we subtract all the Americans who are prevented from voting in presidential elections by registration laws and other handicaps, we find that in this country, too, eight of ten adults of voting age actually do vote.

By next December, the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation, which included North Carolina's Bert Bennett, will come up with detailed findings about the things that keep 37.5 million Americans of voting age away from the polls. Hopefully, this added publicity to the problem will induce more states to improve their records.

Some reasonable generalizations and factual observations can be made on the problem in advance of the commission's report.

In the 1960 presidential election, the 11 states with the poorest turnout of civilians of voting age were the states of the old Confederacy. North Carolina led the group with 54.3 per cent and Mississippi trailed with an abysmally low 25.6 per cent.

It is obvious that to some extent, citizens in one-party states are less involved in politics. In recent southern elections where Republicans have put up strong opposition, the vote turnout has increased markedly. At the same time, this generalization can be stretched too far. The Dakotas, Maine and Vermont rank relatively high in the percentage of adults voting.

Wealth seems to have little direct bearing. While the relatively poor southern states are at the bottom, only two of the top ten voting states have per capita incomes that are higher than the national average.

It is notable that more than six million persons were disenfranchised in 1960 because they moved. The three states which have two-year residence requirements have an average adult voting participation of around 30 per cent. Fortunately, North Carolina recently corrected the situation here with a constitutional amendment.

The systematic ban against Negroes in some southern states, the poll tax (now on its way out), and lack of absentee ballot provisions have disenfranchised several millions more.

The correction of all these flaws and massive, regular participation will not guarantee good government. The fact that Massachusetts ranked 10th in voting participation and North Carolina 40th is proof enough.

But when 80 per cent of the citizenry turn out, the odds certainly go up in the public's favor.

Memo from WILEY A. BRANTON

file
Pres. committee on reg + voting

8/9/63

JM ✓
RTB ✓

This was included in my 1963 tax notice and I assume that they put it in all tax envelopes as a matter of routine.

WAB:jl

DON'T DELAY!

REGISTER AND VOTE

FULTON COUNTY REGISTRATION DEPT.
LEON G. HAY, CHIEF REGISTRAR

106 ADMINSTRATION BUILDING
165 CENTRAL AVENUE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SEE REVERSE SIDE

REGISTER TO VOTE

ROOM 106 ADM. BLDG., 165 CENTRAL AVE.

OR

ALPHARETTA, _____ CITY HALL,
EAST POINT, _____ CITY HALL,
FAIRBURN, _____ CITY HALL,
HAPEVILLE, _____ CITY HALL,
PALMETTO, _____ CITY HALL,
ROSWELL, _____ CITY HALL,
UNION CITY, _____ CITY HALL,

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reaction to the way that President Johnson has taken on the duties of the Presidency.

I am happy to report that Minnesotans responded with their usual intelligence and basic commonsense, with a vote of 93 percent favorable.

Only 2 percent of those polled in the State of Minnesota were unfavorably impressed.

Mr. President, this is so nearly unanimous that one can say for all practical purposes that the people of Minnesota have absolute confidence in our new President, and that when he runs for reelection this year, he will be accorded another tremendous vote of confidence at the polls.

While the Minnesota poll is perhaps the most outstanding record of the American public's confidence in our new President, I am also pleased to report, following a meeting with the political leadership of the Democratic Party from the 14 States of the Midwest Conference of the Democratic Party, that President Johnson is accorded extremely high support from all the polls taken in those 14 States. It is the considered judgment of these experienced political officers that President Johnson will carry the Midwest against any Republican candidate by a margin only comparable to that enjoyed by President Roosevelt in his first reelection in 1936.

Over and over again, the reports from the Midwest are that here is a President who is strong, who is confident, who is a leader, who has a heart. Midwesterners were deeply impressed by the way in which the President took over the reins of office after the assassination of our beloved President Kennedy with not a falter, without a tremor. From labor, from business, from the farmers, from the housewives, and from young people and old, I have received countless expressions of gratification that President Johnson is proving to be the kind of President that President Kennedy would have wished him to be.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article published in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of December 22, 1963, entitled "Ninety-three Percent Like Way Johnson Took Over." It is good reading for everyone who is interested in the affairs of our Nation.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NINETY-THREE PERCENT LIKE WAY JOHNSON TOOK OVER

Minnesotans are in overwhelming agreement about President Johnson on these two points:

They like the way Mr. Johnson has taken on the duties of the Presidency since the death of John F. Kennedy.

They expect he will be nominated by the Democratic Party for President in 1964.

In a statewide survey by the Minneapolis Tribune's Minnesota poll, those two points of view are expressed by Minnesota men and women, regardless of place of residence in the State, age, education, or political affiliation.

A question which poll field reporters put to a balanced sampling of voting-age residents in December was:

"When it comes to the way Lyndon B. Johnson has taken on the duties of the Presidency, are you favorable or unfavorably impressed?"

Ninety-three percent of the people say they are favorably impressed by the manner in which Mr. Johnson assumed his Presidential responsibilities. Two percent have unfavorable reactions, and 5 percent are noncommittal.

When people with favorable reactions were asked what his impressed them most about President Johnson, they answered in these ways:

	Percent
L.B.J. is decisive, efficient, kept Government operating	38
Like his decision to continue Kennedy administration policies and personnel, provides continuity	27
L.B.J. well prepared for Presidency, experienced in politics	20
L.B.J. personal qualities: Friendly, honest,, sincere, patient, aggressive, courageous	11
Other answers	20
Don't know	6
Total	122

(The column totals more than 100 percent because many Minnesotans cited several things about President Johnson that impressed them.)

People also mention that President Johnson is trying to do his best for the whole Nation, approve of his speeches and manner of speaking, feel that he is determined to cut Government spending, and give a variety of other favorable reactions.

State residents also were asked:

"President Johnson has asked all members of the Kennedy cabinet to stay in office. In the next few months, do you expect there will be quite a few changes in the cabinet, or not very many?"

	Percent
Quite a few changes will take place in Cabinet	12
Not very many	62
None	21
No opinion	5
Total	100

When asked what changes might take place in the President's cabinet, only 28 percent of the entire sample suggested any specific cabinet posts. Singled out most frequently were Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, the late President's brother, and Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

Another question in the survey was:

"Do you think Lyndon B. Johnson will be the Democratic Party's 1964 candidate in the Presidential race, or do you think someone else is more apt to be nominated?"

	Percent
L.B.J. will be nominated	91
Someone else will be nominated	5
No opinion	4
Total	100

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON REGISTRATION AND VOTING PARTICIPATION

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on March 30, 1963, the late President Kennedy established by Executive order the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation. The Commission, under the chairmanship of the distinguished political scientist, Richard M. Scammon, Director, Bureau of the Census, was charged with a most critical task: to determine the reasons for low voter turnout in America and to recommend solutions for this condition.

The Commission entered upon a detailed study and analysis of the election laws and practices of the 50 States. A wide variety of expert opinion was sought and considered. The voting practices in other democracies were studied and compared with those prevalent in America. In November the Commission filed its report with President Johnson.

I have recently read this outstanding document. The Commission enumerates 21 specific standards relating to registration and voting which should serve as guides for equitable procedures in the several States. These are recommendations which every Member of Congress and every American should read carefully; moreover, the Congress and the State legislatures should be prepared to act promptly on these recommendations.

Why do I say this? I quote from the Commission's report:

> Voting in the United States is the fundamental act of self-government. It provides the citizen in our free society the right to make a judgment, to state a choice, to participate in the running of his government—in the community, the State, and the Nation. The ballot box is the medium for the expression of the consent of the governed.

Surely no citizen of America can disagree with this description of voting as the fundamental act of self-government. If this assumption is accepted, the fact that one-third of our adults do not vote in presidential elections and one-half do not vote in congressional elections is indeed deeply disturbing. The Commission has attributed this poor record of voting participation to psychological and legal factors and has outlined various procedures for attacking both these sources of nonregistration and nonvoting.

I would like to compliment the distinguished membership of the Commission and the able staff, under the direction of my good friend, Prof. Donald G. Herzberg, of the Eagleton Institute and Douglass College. It is my great privilege to know personally a number of the Commissioners; this fact only heightens my admiration for the distinct service they have rendered this Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON REGISTRATION AND VOTING PARTICIPATION, NOVEMBER 1963

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON REGISTRATION AND VOTING PARTICIPATION,
Washington, D.C., November 26, 1963.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Your Executive order of March 30 creating this Commission charged it with the responsibility of studying the reasons for low voter turnout in America and of recommending solutions for this condition.

During the past 8 months, the Commission has made a detailed analysis of the election laws and practices of the 50 States and has studied the electoral systems of other democracies. It has solicited the opinions of many hundreds of citizens in the fields of National, State, and local government, politics, civic and social work and political science. Staff members of the Commission have interviewed a number of officials directly concerned with election administration at the State, county, and municipal levels.

The Commission has met regularly to discuss the implications of the information which has been compiled, and to draw up the report which we now have the honor to submit.

We are most grateful, Mr. President, both for the opportunity you have given us to make a comprehensive study of this subject, and for your continuing interest in our work.

Respectfully,

Richard M. Scammon, Chairman; Bert L. Bennett, Jr., Brendan Byrne, Robert A. Forsythe, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, J. Bradshaw Mintener, John A. Perkins, Ruth Schertz Phillips, Roy L. Reuther, Victoria Schuck, and Leon H. Washington, Jr.

SUMMARY

One-third of our adults do not vote in presidential elections, and more than half do not vote in congressional elections. The reasons for America's low voter participation are both psychological and legal.

Psychological causes of low turnout must be attacked by education and educational programs. Every citizen and group has a responsibility to join in this effort.

The Commission endorses the practice of comprehensive register-and-vote campaigns to encourage and inform potential voters. We specifically call for a new effort by our schools in the teaching of citizenship, and we underscore the great responsibility of parents in citizenship education.

The Commission strongly believes that effective two-party competition in all areas of the Nation will build and maintain interest in public affairs and lead to greater voter participation. We commend the two-party system and all efforts to strengthen that system.

Restrictive legal and administrative procedures in registration and voting disfranchise millions. To overcome such restrictions, taking into account the disparity in law and practice among the States, we recommend the following specific standards:

Standard I: Each State should create a commission on registration and voting participation, or utilize some other existing State machinery to survey in detail its election law and practices.

Standard II: Voter registration should be easily accessible to all citizens.

Standard III: State residence requirements should not exceed 6 months.

Standard IV: Local residence requirements should not exceed 30 days.

Standard V: New State residents should be allowed to vote for President.

Standard VI: Voter registration should extend as close to election day as possible, and should not end more than 3 or 4 weeks before election day.

Standard VII: Voter lists should be kept current.

Standard VIII: No citizen's registration should be canceled for failure to vote in any period less than 4 years.

Standard IX: Voter registration lists should be used only for electoral purposes.

Standard X: States should provide absentee registration for voters who cannot register in person.

Standard XI: Literacy tests should not be a requisite for voting.

Standard XII: Election day should be proclaimed a national day of dedication to our American democracy.

Standard XIII: Polling places should be so equipped as to eliminate long waiting periods.

Standard XIV: Polling places should be open throughout the day and remain open until at least 9 p.m.

Standard XV: The States should provide every possible protection against election fraud.

Standard XVI: Voting by persons 18 years of age should be considered by the States.

Standard XVII: Candidacy should be open to all.

Standard XVIII: The right to vote should be extended to those living on Federal reservations.

Standard XIX: Absentee voting by mail should be allowed for all who are absent from home on primary or general election day.

Standard XX: The poll tax as a qualification for voting should be eliminated.

Standard XXI: Each State should keep informed on other States practices, and innovations in election administration.

The implementation of these standards will guarantee the right to vote to every citizen, assuring in fact what we proclaim in theory—the supremacy of the individual in American political life.

CHAPTER 1. THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

Voting in the United States is the fundamental act of self-government. It provides the citizen in our free society the right to make a judgment, to state a choice, to participate in the running of his government—in the community, the State, and the Nation. The ballot box is the medium for the expression of the consent of the governed.

Those who vote do so for many reasons. To some, voting may be a patriotic duty. To others it may be the culmination of work and effort in behalf of a candidate or a political party. Still others may regard it as a serious responsibility to insure the continuation of freedoms which the right to vote protects. The citizen who does not vote relinquishes the opportunity to govern.

It is a tribute to the vitality of our Republic that since the founding of our Nation, we have never canceled or postponed an election scheduled by the Federal or State Constitutions or by statute. No civil war, world war, epidemic, or depression has halted our electoral machinery.

It is also significant that throughout our history of unhindered elections, we have maintained a system of voluntary voting. Nothing in this country makes voting mandatory—unless it is the conscience of the voter himself. The American people have always rejected, and the Commission rejects now, any system of compulsory voting.

The voluntary nature of voting is a strength in our election system. As one of the oldest democracies in the world, with a tradition of free elections and voluntary balloting, we should have one of the world's best voting records. Though our ideal is universal suffrage, a substantial number of our people cannot or do not choose to vote.

U.S. turnout has fluctuated

American elections have not always been characterized by low voter participation. Turnout was consistently high in the later 1800's, with a peak of 85.8 percent of adult enfranchised males voting in 1876. Yet in the early 1900's, voter participation declined steadily, dwindling to 44.2 percent in 1920. It never reached 60 percent in the era of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and has only slightly exceeded that percentage in the past decade.

Still fewer people vote in congressional elections. Since 1920, the national turnout in nonpresidential election years has never touched 50 percent, ranging from a low of 30.1 percent in 1926 to a high of 48.9 percent in 1962. Voter participation in congressional elections is significantly greater in years when a President is chosen.

Election systems and electoral participation vary from State to State. In the 1960 presidental election, voter participation was highest in Idaho, where 80.7 percent of the adult population went to the polls. (See app. 3 for turnout percentages for all States.) Consistently, the Southern States send the lowest proportion of their citizens to the polls. Although the development of a two-party system in several parts of the South has been accompanied by an increase in voter participation, turnout in Southern States remains relatively low, ranging in 1960 from 25.5 percent in Mississippi to 53.5 percent in North Carolina. In some Southern States, party primary elections have attracted more voters than the general election.

The Executive order establishing the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation specifically exempts it from exploring matters placed under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Consequently, we have not dealt directly with the problems over which it has primary jurisdiction. Our Commission unanimously endorses the right of every adult citizen to vote, whatever his race, color, religion, or national origin.[1]

Other democracies do better

Voter participation in the United States is often contrasted with participation in other countries. It should be pointed out, however, that turnout figures for other countries are not strictly comparable to U.S. figures. The different basis of calculation tend somewhat to inflate foreign participation figures and deflate U.S. figures. The statistical chasm, for example, between the U.S. turnout of 63.8 percent and Denmark's 85.5 percent in 1960 would not be so wide if identical measures were used.

Even with adjusted figures, the plain fact remains that citizens of other democracies vote in greater relative numbers than Americans. The United States, leader of the free world, lags behind many other free countries in voter participation.

Voter turnout in Italy, for example, has topped 92 percent in each of the last four national elections. All Italian citizens over 21 (other than felons, bankrupts, and the mentally ill) are eligible to vote, with the exception that 25 is the minimum age for voting for Italian senators. Italy's procedure for registration and voting is direct and simple. Municipal and communal officials compile lists of electors, resulting in the automatic registration of nearly all eligible persons. A citizen whose name is inadvertently omitted from the list can easily restore it. Italians vote on Sunday and until Monday noon.

Participation in West Germany's Federal elections has almost matched Italy's performance, ranging from 78.5 to 87.8 percent during the last 15 years. Like Italy, West Germany utilizes automatic registration and imposes no literacy or property requirements for voting. Elections are held on Sunday.

Participation in Canada's last three general elections has approximated 80 percent, with voting usually on a Monday. Canadian registration law provides that enumerators must visit each dwelling in the country and register every possible voter. The statutory voting age in Canada is 21, although any member of the armed forces on active duty may vote regardless of age.

The Scandinavian countries also enjoy high voter turnout. In every recent national election in Finland, Norway, Sweden,

[1] At the request of Commissioners Byrne, Phillips, Reuther, Shuck, and Washington, excerpts from the 1963 Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, are included below.

and Denmark, participation has been significantly greater than in the United States. Registration procedures in the Scandinavian countries are similar to those in Italy and West Germany, with local government units taking the initiative to enroll every potential voter.

In sum, a citizen of another democracy is more likely to vote than is an American. What accounts for the widespread failure to exercise democracy's most fundamental and precious freedom? Why do so many Americans—in 1960, more than 35 million—not vote on election day? The answers to these questions fall into two main categories: psychological and legal.

Psychological causes of low voter turnout

By far the most important psychological factor affecting an individual's decision to vote is his identification with a political party. A strong Democrat or Republican, as our studies show, is much more likely to cast a ballot than a person who feels little or no allegiance to a party. When an election is expected to be close, the strong partisan is even more inclined to vote.

Of course, this is not to say that all or even most nonpartisan or independent voters have poor voting records, but the voter who identifies himself with a party seems to be more regular in his balloting. Beyond party commitment, a person is likely to vote if he has a personal interest in the candidate, campaign, or issues; if he becomes concerned about the outcome of an election; or if he feels that his vote will be fairly counted and may really make a difference.

Taken together, these variables add up to the elector's sense of political involvement. Studies of recent presidential elections show that persons whose involvement was low were less likely to vote.

Characteristics such as education, age, and sex also relate closely to voter involvement and participation. The more formal educational experience a person has had, the more likely he is to be politically involved, to feel that his vote counts, and to vote. Our research also shows that voter participation tends to increase with age until the late fifties. Young people not only vote less than older persons but are less strongly allied with political parties.

In addition, young people move most frequently. As a consequence, precisely those persons least involved in politics often must overcome an added obstacle to voting. The older person is more highly motivated to vote and less likely to have to go through the process of registration. The younger person is less involved in politics to start with, he moves more often, and he must expend more time and effort to stay on the registration books.

Voter participation among women is approximately 10 percent lower than among men. Since women are a significantly larger element in our adult population than men, their lower participation tends to reduce the national average.

Legal and administrative causes of low voter turnout

Restrictive legal and administrative procedures for registration and voting are a major reason for low participation. Many election laws and administrative practices are unreasonable, unfair, and outmoded. They obstruct the path to the ballot box, disfranchising millions who want to vote. An unexpected business trip or a broken ankle can deprive a citizen of his right to vote. He may lose his vote by moving across the street. And he may discover that because he failed to vote 2 years ago he cannot vote now.

Registration systems: The exercise of the franchise in the United States usually requires two deliberate acts on two different days: registration and voting. The finest voting system in the world is of no avail if registration inhibits participation. Registration procedures often require a visit to the county courthouse, with such attendant inconveniences as making the trip during working hours and standing in long lines. Although the great majority of States provides permanent registration, only half enable voters to register in their precincts rather than at one county office. Only 17 States allow registration by mail. (See app. 2 below for summary of State voting laws.)

Registration systems originally were established to provide up-to-date lists of eligible voters to prevent multiple voting and other electoral frauds. But often the systems used have had a quite different effect. Frequently registration has become an obstacle course for the voter rather than an assistance to voting.

A different problem is posed by registration provisions designed for the simple purpose of preventing people from voting and so keeping political power in the hands of one or another group. For example, one State is considering a plan to cut off registration many months before election day.

In too many States, registration closes more than a month before the election, when political campaigns are not in full swing and peak interest has not been achieved. Early closing dates coupled with the inconvenience of many registration procedures discourage potential voters. Unlike registration systems in other Western democracies, where the initiative is with local officials and the process is simple and direct, registration in the United States often imposes undue burdens on citizens who desire to vote.

Residence requirements: Residence qualifications serve two principal purposes: allowing the voter to become acquainted with local problems and candidates, and preventing election fraud. Yet they also prevent many citizens from voting in presidential elections. Some States have attempted to meet this problem: 15 now permit presidential voting by new residents and seven allow former residents to vote for President. Similarly, some States permit intercounty and interprecinct movers to vote by absentee ballot in the precinct where they formerly voted.

Yet such modernization has been slow and has not kept pace with hour high rate of population mobility. It has been estimated, for example, that 4 million citizens were disfranchised by residence requirements in 1950, 5 million in 1954, and 8 million in 1960. In a public opinion survey of the 1952 presidential election, 12 percent of the nonvoters cited residence requirements as their reason for not voting.

U.S. Census Bureau figures reveal that more than 20 million adults changed residence in 1961. Of these, 13 million moved within their counties, 6 million moved from county to county, and 3 million moved from State to State. Such a high rate of mobility is likely to continue, and millions of Americans will discover that change of residence— from State to State, county to county, or even street to street—may deprive them of their vote.

Absentee provisions: Absentee voting laws also disfranchise many potential voters. In 16 States, more than mere absence is required for absentee voting, with the result that businessmen, students, vacationers, and handicapped and incapacitated persons often cannot vote. Three States do not even provide for civilian absentee balloting of any kind.

All States now allow absentee voting by members of the Armed Forces, and 47 States provide a similar mechanism for civilian Federal employees. Yet civilians residing on Federal reservations under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government are denied the right to vote in all but three States. Since many of these persons have no State residence, they lose the power to exercise their franchise.

Election day problems: Many election day procedures also discourage citizens from voting. Polling places in many areas close in late afternoon or early evening and potential voters who are not allowed time off from work to vote must rush to the polls during the time of heaviest voting. The early closing hours dissuade many from making the effort. Polling places are sometimes relatively inaccessible to voters. Overpopulated precincts cause long lines which may turn away potential voters. In addition, lengthy ballots and frequent elections often cause "voter fatigue."

The act of voting—like the act of registration—often is onerous. In some States it is easier to get a hunting or fishing license or a pistol permit than to register and vote. Today, the average American must expect to go to the polls often, or if not often, to face a complicated ballot when he does. The polling place may be crowded, and he may expect to wait in line. In the face of unreasonable inconvenience, he may elect to stay home on election day.

CHAPTER 2. THE REMEDIES FOR VOLUNTARY NONVOTING

The citizen who does not bother to vote is both a source of despair and a challenge. To increase his desire to vote, many groups have made him the focus of appeal and persuasion. Their efforts have sometimes been intense and continuing, sometimes half-hearted and sporadic. In specific instances they have succeeded, and the unmotivated citizen has marked his ballot. In general they have failed, and low voter turnout persists.

Apathy, unconcern, and indifference, coupled with the notion that one vote does not count, constitute a troubling condition which no pat formula can quickly rectify. Yet certain remedies are capable of improving voter turnout.

The most obvious method of combating apathy is a register-and-vote campaign. Political parties, civic, business, and labor groups, public bodies and officials employ the techniques of publicity and persuasion to encourage citizens to register and vote.

A good example is the campaign of Philadelphia's Non-Partisan Register and Vote Committee. The work of this organization is made possible by the city's modern registration laws, which permit mobile, branch, and inplant registration.

Directed by civic and governmental leaders, the Philadelphia committee enlists the aid of practically every type of communication medium and almost all community groups. Labor and management, women's organizations, youth groups, civic, fraternal, and veterans' organizations, professional groups, editors, broadcasters, and businessmen, municipal employees, schoolchildren—all these and many others contribute to the assault on apathy. Registration week—for newly naturalized citizens, young voters, married persons, people who have moved—publicize registration requirements. Register-and-vote messages are sounded in baseball parks, theaters, and other places of public recreation. Schoolchildren bring similar messages home to their parents.

All mail of Philadelphia city agencies, as well as telephone and gas bills, contains register-and-vote reminders. Announcements are made at all city functions. A labor-management subcommittee arranges inplant registration. In the month before registration closes, boxes appear regularly in local newspapers detailing the schedule of traveling registrars and the days remaining in the registration period. Political leaders receive flyers for distribution telling citizens how and where to register.

Drives produce results

These procedures merely highlight the Philadelphia campaign. Many supplemental techniques round out the committee's pro-

gram. The result of such effort has been a marked increase in voter participation.

In 1956, a concentrated, weeklong registration drive in Davenport, Iowa, added 2,267 names—one-third of the city's nonregistrants—to the registration rolls. Radio and television, newspapers, schools, churches, city officials, and more than 20 community organizations worked to give Davenport block-by-block coverage in the drive.

In the same year, Wausau, Wis., and Highland Park, Ill., engaged in a contest to see which city would be the first to register 100 percent of its citizens. Massive, heavily publicized campaigns, employing many of the techniques outlined above, produced impressive results in both cities. Highland Park registered 99.4 percent of its potential voters and Wausau was close behind with 99.1 percent. A followup, get-out-the-vote campaign in Wausau produced a 90.7-percent turnout on election day.

Stirring people up is in the best tradition of American politics, and we commend the practice of well-organized, comprehensive register-and-vote campaigns. Yet exhortation alone cannot do the job, and such campaigns are superficial if they consist only of admonitory slogans, however well-publicized and oft repeated. Increasing the number of citizens who journey to the polls should not be merely an exercise in coaxing.

What publicity and persuasion can and should accomplish is the nourishing of a meaningful sense of political participation. The worthwhile register-and-vote campaign transcends mere emotional appeal and strikes at the core of apathy. For while encouragement is important, information is vital, and the meaningful register-and-vote campaign both encourages and informs. It tells people whether they must register, and how, when, and where to do it. It tells people about the mechanics of voting. And it tells them about the candidates and issues.

Such an educational approach can boost a citizen's desire to vote. It can attack directly the psychological causes of low voter participation.

One vote does count

The educational register-and-vote campaign should take special aim at the citizen who thinks his vote does not count. History discredits that notion.

In 1884, less than one additional vote per precinct in one State would have elected James G. Blaine President. He lost to Grover Cleveland in New York by only 1,149 votes out of a total of 1,125,159. If he had carried New York, he would have won the election.

In 1948, President Truman won Ohio by 7,107 votes and California by 17,865. If one voter in only half the precincts in those States had changed his mind, Governor Dewey would have captured 50 more electoral votes, President Truman would have lost 50, and the election would have been thrown into the House of Representatives.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy's national plurality was less than one vote per precinct. He defeated Vice President Nixon by less than 120,000 votes out of almost 69 million votes cast.

A single vote was never more valuable than in 1962. The Governor of Massachusetts was elected by only 5,341 votes; the Governor of North Dakota was elected by only 2,007; the Governor of Vermont by 1,348; the Governor of Maine by 483; the Governor of Rhode Island by 398; and the Governor of Minnesota, after 3 months of recounting and certifying ballots, was elected by the hairline margin of 91 votes.

Also in 1962, Alabama came within 6,803 votes of electing its first Republican to the U.S. Senate. South Dakota elected a Senator by 597 votes. Minnesota's 6th Congressional District elected its U.S. Representative by 348 votes, and New York's 15th District elected its Congressman by 383.

A lone ballot has often meant victory or defeat in local elections. A mayor and a city treasurer in Ohio, a councilman in Arizona, a State legislator in Pennsylvania—all recently won office by one vote. On November 5, 1963, a candidate for councilman in a Cincinnati suburb was hospitalized for an emergency appendectomy and was unable to go to the polls. He lost by one vote.

We could fill this report with additional proof of the importance of a single ballot, but these examples make the point. We strongly urge register-and-vote committees to direct their fire at the citizen who thinks he is politically helpless. Every means of publicity and public information should be used to bury the myth that one vote does not count.

Each citizen can help

The task of informing citizens and urging them to register and vote is the responsibility of all of us. Businesses should encourage voter participation among employees by providing time off for voting. Labor unions should encourage members to take advantage of such provisions, and should seek to arrange in-plant registration. Civic and fraternal organizations should encourage members to be registered. State and local governments could designate registration weeks for young people, new citizens, and other groups. Clergymen might wish to call attention to registration and voting campaigns.

Leadership for such local efforts to improve voter participation has long been provided by the American Heritage Foundation. Through a variety of programs, this organization has stimulated citizen and group interest in public affairs, and has waged a continuing battle against low voter turnout.

Special efforts are needed by youth groups and women's organizations. Young people, the least politically active segment of the population, should be encouraged to participate in politics. Local communities, where State law permits, could designate young volunteer registrars, not only to enroll persons of the same age group but also to infuse register-and-vote drives with dynamism. Alternatively, States and communities should authorize canvassing by young people to inform citizens of their rights and obligations as voters, and of the mechanics of registration and voting. Young members of social, professional, civic, fraternal, and other groups would perform effectively in registration drives, particularly in areas where there are many young couples.

We have noted that fewer women than men vote. Women's organizations can strike a major blow against the notion that only men should be concerned with politics and government. Women, often with more time than men to devote to public affairs, have a unique opportunity to inform and encourage all citizens. The League of Women Voters in many States has taken the lead in disseminating information about the electoral system and about particular campaigns and candidates. We look forward to the continuation and expansion of the League's activities, and urge all women's organizations to engage actively in similar and cooperative programs.

We must underscore the responsibility of the mass communications media in combating voluntary nonvoting. Newspapers, radio, and television command—indeed, monopolize—the attention of the American electorate. In a sense, they are quasi-public institutions, responsible to the public. They hold the key to adult education.

We urge newspapers to cooperate with register-and-vote campaigns by printing the details of registration and voting procedures as well as campaign and candidate information. We urge radio and television to expand the public service time devoted to debates and forums, and to inform listeners when, where, and how to register and vote.

We cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of the communications media. Attempts to reduce voluntary nonvoting depend in large measure on the custodians of the printed and spoken word. If information is to reach the apathetic citizen, it must reach him primarily through mass media channels.

Importance of education

These approaches to the problem of nonvoting will not in themselves create a nation of instant voters and obliterate apathy. Greater motivation and better understanding must be achieved, and that achievement depends on formal education.

It is not enough merely to transfer the problem to an abstraction called education, and confidently await a future when all citizens magically will be more learned. Education is the best hope, but that hope will die unfulfilled unless educators make a new effort. We must face the fact that our schools are not doing the job.

The teaching of citizenship in our elementary and secondary schools needs a major overhaul. A trip to the firehouse and a slide down the fireman's pole are now many times substituted for realistic instruction in government and politics. American education has failed to do justice to politics and politicians. The failure is part of a larger failure—American education has placed too little emphasis on subject matter that will provide a broad understanding of our system of government. The school child tends to be taught social studies passively. He is not shown in a meaningful way how he as a person relates to his world. His responsibilities as a citizen in a free society are not made clear.

It is small wonder that we are a nation of cynics when it comes to our politics.

Social studies courses and textbooks should be reexamined; there is an urgent need to develop new curricula.

One certain outgrowth of a successful reappraisal of our teaching will be a better understanding of government by our children. Our children can learn what citizenship in this Nation implies—both its privileges and responsibilities. And this learning can be done in ways that are meaningful to students at different age levels.

In addition, much can be done to supplement the academic effort and to stimulate student interest. Mock elections can be held; candidates and political leaders can be brought into meetings with students; significant, not just ceremonial, field trips to the city hall, the courthouse, and the State capitol can be arranged. Opportunities are limitless to awaken student interest and demonstrate to them the relationship between their vote and the operation of government.

Responsibility for education in politics rests also in the home. How many parents talk to their children about the act of voting—what it means and what it accomplishes? How many parents take their children to the polls or to election return centers on election night? Here is where children can sense that something significant is happening even though they may not be capable of understanding it fully. This type of family activity will serve to upgrade the importance of voting in young minds.

Partisanship helps

A great ally of education in the long-range fight against apathy is politics itself—the two-party system. Effective two-party competition prompts political involvement, spurs interest in politics and campaigns, and strengthens a person's feeling that his vote counts. We believe that two-party competition is essential to build and maintain interest in public affairs, and consequently leads to greater voter participation. It is no

coincidence that the growth of the Republican Party in the South has impelled many more voters of both parties toward the polls.

The entirely commendable efforts of nonpartisan groups and citizens to encourage voting and interest in public affairs should receive the encouragement of every citizen and be considered complementary to, and not as the rival of, effective two-party activity. Although studies have demonstrated the committed, party-oriented voter to be better informed, more concerned about public affairs, and more likely to vote than his uncommitted neighbor, there are citizens who prefer to work on many issues with a nonpartisan group.

CHAPTER 3. INVOLUNTARY NONVOTING

To make recommendations with respect to the involuntary nonvoter, the Commission had first to consider in detail the general authority and jurisdiction exercised over elections in this country.

Under our Federal system of Government, constitutional responsibilities for elections are divided between the Nation and the State. Every election held in the United States is within the jurisdiction of both the National Government and the State governments to some degree.

Varying points of view arose within the Commission on the point of the division of authority and power between the United States and the several States in the conduct of Federal elections. These viewpoints are set forth below:

"Commissioner BYRNE. Not being a constitutional lawyer or a member of the judiciary, I don't feel qualified to try to unravel this esoteric problem. Perhaps, one practical way to make progress in this delicate area—were we to prescind from the controversial subject of bona fide literacy tests—would be to offer the following proposed constitutional amendment for study, public discussion and consideration by the Congress and the States:

" 'SECTION 1

" 'Every citizen of the United States of the age of 18 years, or older, who has resided in any State or territory 6 months and in the voting precinct 30 days, shall be entitled to vote at any election therein, in which candidates for any public office are elected (but in primary elections, only if he is an enrolled member of the party), except that the privilege of voting shall not extend to persons in confinement for crime nor to persons adjudicated unsound of mind; and no citizen of voting age shall be deprived of the right to vote for presidential and vice-presidential electors because of failure to meet State residence requirements by having changed his address before the elections.

" 'SECTION 2

" 'Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.'

"The proposed amendment, it is hoped, would engender further study, clarification and understanding of this vital constitutional question—the essential preliminaries to an ultimate solution."

"Commissioner FORSYTHE. This Commission was charged with studying the problem of low voter participation in both presidential and congressional elections. These two types of national elections are constitutionally dissimilar from each other and from State elections.

"Presidential elections are primarily under State control because the composition of the electoral college is a matter for State determination. Since all States today elect rather than appoint their presidential electors, national antidiscrimination powers apply to presidential elections. If the electoral college fails to elect a President, the responsibility passes to the U.S. House of Representatives.

"Under our Constitution there are lines of demarcation between the powers of the Federal Government and those of the State governments in the election of Congressmen and U.S. Senators.

"The Constitution, by article I, section 2, and the 17th amendment, states most explicitly that those persons voting for Representatives and U.S. Senators shall possess the same qualifications as those entitled to vote for members of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. It would appear clear that the qualifications prescribed by the States for electors of the most numerous branch of their legislatures are adopted by this provision of the Constitution as the qualifications for the election of Representatives and U.S. Senators.

"Article I, section 4, of the Constitution states: 'The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulation * * *.' This provision, however, does not speak of the 'qualifications' of voters.

"Congressional and senatorial elections are also subject to amendments XIV, XV, and XIX of the Federal Constitution.

"As a result of these constitutional provisions, the States occupy primary jurisdiction over elections, including elections of U.S. Representatives and U.S. Senators. The Congress itself holds to this theory of State authority in the matter of voter qualification as evidenced by the fact that throughout our history the main concerns of Congress have been to set the date for its own election and to regulate campaign expenditures and fraudulent practices. The Congress has not seen fit to challenge the basic doctrine of State responsibility in establishing voter qualification. There is no indication that the Congress today would act to change the present system.

"It is for this very reason that the Commission in this report proceeds to recommend standards for States to consider in regard to changes in voter qualification requirements rather than recommendations for congressional action."

"Commissioner KIRKPATRICK (Commissioners Bennett, Perkins, and Scammon concurred). While the question of the constitutional right of Congress to determine voter qualifications will be settled only by congressional action and judicial review, I believe that Congress does have such power. I particularly believe this is the case with respect to congressional power to correct or prevent discriminatory State action that denies the vote to Negroes. Such denial is clearly forbidden by the Constitution and I believe Congress has the power to make that prohibition effective. At the same time, with the exception of corrective congressional action in the case of the denial of the vote to Negroes, I believe the general determination or regulation of voter qualifications is best left to the several States in those matters discussed by this Commission; it is, therefore, to the several States that the recommendations of this Commission should be and are addressed."

"Commissioner SCHUCK (Commissioners Phillips, Reuther, and Washington concurred). The provisions in article I, sections 2 and 4, relating to the election of Senators and Representatives and in article II, section 2 relating to the selection of presidential electors (once the State has determined upon popular election) must be interpreted in light of the subsequent amendments to the Constitution and especially the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 19th amendments. Whatever may have been the situation before 1865, clearly thereafter and in particular in 1868, 1870, and 1920, the preexisting parts of the Constitution which concerned the electoral process, Federal or State, were profoundly altered. Those amendments made a wholly new adjustment between the State and Federal functions in a great many respects including that of electoral processes.

"The States' occupancy of the field of voter qualifications remains subject to all the provisions of the Constitution. Congress is expressly given power to enforce the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments and consequently has the power, and the duty, to eliminate denials of due process or equal protection of the laws whenever it appears that citizens are improperly denied the privilege of participating in the electoral process.

"Should the States continue to require unreasonable registration procedures, residential requirements, etc. Congress should in our opinion exercise its power to correct such unfairness.

"That Congress has such power with respect to elections, both State and Federal, has been made clear in the recent case of *Baker* v. *Carr* (369 U.S. 186, 1962) and the series of cases subsequent to it. The Supreme Court has held that equality in electoral influence is a proper right of judicial protection. The last section of the 14th amendment contains a grant of power to the Congress as wide as that granted by the amendment to the Court."

Despite the differing viewpoints represented above, it is the unanimous opinion of the Commission that recommendations for solutions to the immediate problem of low voter participation may be advanced without a resolution of the constitutional questions. It is to that practical end of getting action within the present electoral system that the Commission makes specific recommendations.

These recommendations are made for the consideration of all concerned with our electoral process. Some will affect certain authorities more than others, but the Commission would be gratified if all citizens would consider the suggestions which follow.

Standard I: Each State should create a Commission on Registration and Voting Participation, or utilize some other existing State machinery to survey in detail its election law and practices

The Commission feels that the utilization of a general review of each State's election law and practices by that State would be the most useful way to relate the specifics of this report to the problems of each jurisdiction. This standard can be met through the appointment of a special State commission within the executive branch, by the creation of a State legislative commission, or through the use of existing departments, offices, and officials. The nature of the machinery should include citizen representation and will depend on State evaluation of the best method by which to approach this problem. Some States already have begun such a review.

Local jurisdictions, such as counties and cities, are urged to review in detail their electoral practices and procedures. In many instances the Commission has found that local election administrators will be able to implement these recommended standards wtihout State action.

Standard II: Voter registration should be easily accessible to all citizens

Once a person registers, he is likely to vote. But many people are discouraged, if not barred outright, by complicated and inaccessible registration. In Idaho, where registrars are authorized to canvass house by house, and North Dakota, which has no

registration at all, voter turnout is very high.

Registration policies alone did not cause 81 percent of Idaho's potential voters and 79 percent of North Dakota's to turn out for the 1960 presidential election. Other factors were at work. But the average American is far more likely to vote if few barriers stand between him and registration.

Door-to-Door Registration

A number of States and local jurisdictions have developed ways to facilitate registration. Idaho, for example, pays deputy registrars, one in each precinct of the State to keep registration rolls up to date. Door-to-door canvassing is authorized and encouraged. Canada similarly uses teams of enumerators, two in each electoral district, to canvass each residence during the seventh week before every parliamentary election, for the purpose of compiling new and accurate registers of voters. In this manner, each adult receives a personal reminder that he is eligible to vote, that an election is on the way, and that it is in the public interest for him to get on the registration books and go to the polls. Idaho, like Canada, turned out 81 percent of its potential electorate in the most recent major election. The States may learn from the voter registration systems used in Idaho and Canada, and the Commission hopes other States will adopt similar plans.

Deputy Registrars

California has approached the problem of voter registration in a similar manner. There, State law authorizes the appointment of deputy registrars and door-to-door canvassing. The election law of California provides: "County clerks, in order to promote and encourage voter registration, shall enlist the support and cooperation of interested citizens and organizations, and shall deputize as registrars qualified citizens in such a way as to cover most effectively every section of the county (1962 Election Code, p. 52)."

The effectiveness of the law in California, as in other States, depends on the local official in charge of its administration. In Alameda County, for example, the county clerk has compiled a fine instruction booklet for deputy registrars, who in addition have the benefit of instruction in special classes. In Los Angeles County, the registrar of voters has developed an outstanding training program for deputy registrars. Every effort is made to have full and fair registration.

Precinct and Mobile Registration

Another successful method for overcoming inconvenient and ineffective registration systems is precinct, neighborhood, or mobile registration. We are concerned that some States prohibit such registration, despite the wishes and ingenuity of the local officials. These States require a registrant to make what may be a lengthy trip to the county courthouse, perhaps during working hours. Such restrictive laws are the antithesis of the system in Idaho. These prohibitions against local initiative should be repealed.

The Commission recognizes the problem of rising registration and election costs. One effective and inexpensive way to meet these costs is to follow the example of Fresno County, Calif., which has had great success in registering voters at fire stations. This practice might well be broadened in urban areas to make firehouses, police stations, and libraries year-round neighborhood voter registration centers. By utilizing these existing city and county officers and their present staffs, an additional public service could be provided with minimum expenditures. Every citizen can locate these government offices in his neighborhood, and all are open around the clock or beyond normal working hours.

Standard III. State residence requirements should not exceed 6 months

Every year more than 20 million adults in this country move to new residences. Most find themselves without a vote even if they move only across town or across a city street.

Residence requirements can and should be geared realistically to the election on hand. A person who has resided anywhere in a State for 6 months ought to be allowed to vote for statewide offices. He should not have his vote taken away simply because he moves within the State shortly before election day.

Standard IV. Local residence requirements should not exceed 30 days

If a voter has satisfied the State requirements, he should be allowed to vote in county and city elections after 30 days' residence.

Standard V. New State residents should be allowed to vote for President

No American should be deprived of the right to vote for President and Vice President because he changed his address before the election and did not have time to meet State residence requirements. Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Maine, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin have set a good example by allowing a new arrival to cast his ballot for President if he can demonstrate that he would have qualified to vote in the place from which he moved, and that he has not voted and will not vote elsewhere.

Arizona, Connecticut, Maryland, New Jersey, Vermont, Wisconsin, and Wyoming permit absentee voting by former residents who have not met residence requirements in their new States. If all States allowed presidential voting by new residents, absentee voting by former residents would not be necessary. Meanwhile, presidential voting by new residents could be eased if States agreed, perhaps on a reciprocal basis, not to charge a fee for certifying that a former resident was qualified to vote. This fee at present amounts to a poll tax on new residents who wish to vote for President.

Standard VI. Voter registration should extend as close to election day as possible, and should not end more than 3 or 4 weeks before election day

Idaho is exemplary in this respect. The deadline for registration there is 9 p.m. on the Saturday prior to the Tuesday election. This poses no problem in the preparation of poll books, because Idaho has no last-minute rush of registrants as many other jurisdictions have, since it employs continual canvassing to keep its registers up to date.

Other States, by adopting facets of the Idaho plan, could also bring their registration deadlines closer to election day. Some States still adhere to registration cutoff dates as much as 9 months prior to election day. Three or four weeks is not an unreasonable deadline, even under the most complicated system of registration. In States with large and mobile populations, it may require 3 weeks to put central records in shape and supply current registration lists. It takes 3 weeks in New York. The Commission feels that the nearer the close of registration is to election day the better.

We urge continuing registration, with an educational campaign launched well before the deadline. Greater accessibility of registrars would allow voter registration deadlines to be moved closer to election day.

Standard VII. Voter lists should be kept current

It is important that voter registration lists be kept up to date. Rosters which exceed the number of potential voters or even the adult population of a county or municipality are an invitation to cynicism if not to fraud. The concern created this year by publication of overregistration figures in certain counties is good evidence that proper administration of voter registration systems is essential. Election officials should give constant attention to this problem. For the voters who move within the jurisdiction, simple procedures to transfer registration should be available.

Standard VIII. No citizen's registration should be canceled for failure to vote in any period less than 4 years

The Commission supports permanent, personal registration. Some registration systems force people who vote only in presidential elections to reregister every year they plan to vote. Such provisions make little sense. It is unreasonable for a would-be voter, who thinks he is still registered, to be told on election day that his name has been removed from the roster for failure to vote in the last election and that, as a result, he cannot vote.

It is important, moreover, that any voter scheduled for removal from the rolls for failure to vote be notified of that fact. He should be sent a postcard, which he could return if he desires to remain on the rolls. This procedure would insure that no citizen who still resides in the jurisdiction and who desires to remain eligible to vote would be removed against his will.

Some jurisdictions clear registration lists of all persons who have missed two consecutive elections. The Commission believes this is an unnecessary requirement. States such as Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Washington, and West Virginia require reregistration only after a voter has missed all elections in a 4-year period. We believe such a provision is a reasonable standard which meets the needs of fairness and efficiency.

Standard IX. Voter registration lists should be used only for electoral purposes

It has been indicated to the Commission that some persons do not register to vote because the voter registers in their counties are used for tax assessment, jury selection, and other nonvoting purposes. While the Commission is fully aware of the importance of these other civic responsibilities, we believe that registration lists should not be used for these purposes.

Standard X. States should provide absentee registration for voters who cannot register in person

We urge the replacement of restrictive statutes which prevent the registration of fully qualified Americans who cannot come in person to places of registration.

Federal personnel, military and civilian, usually must register in absentia. The Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (Public Law 296) is tailored to their specific needs. Under the supervision of the Department of Defense, the act has made possible a substantial increase in the voting participation of military personnel and oversea Government workers. Each of the 50 States has adopted at least a portion of the model State law proposed by Public Law 296. Some States have adopted it in full.

The key provision of this model law authorizes the potential voter to fill out one postage-free airmail postcard for the purpose of applying to the chief election officer in his hometown or county for both absen-

tee registration and an absentee ballot. This procedure cuts the red tape which used to impede voting by military personnel and oversea Federal workers.

In addition, each State should provide voter registration by mail for other qualified citizens living abroad.

Serious problems confront handicapped and physically incapacitated adults who wish to register. Many have a strong desire to vote, but in some areas impediments to their registration are insurmountable.

Two methods are available for the registration of these citizens—registration by mail and special canvassing. Some communities employ canvassers to visit nursing homes, hospitals, and similar institutions to seek registrants. Other jurisdictions provide registrars who respond to telephone requests to visit private homes where incapacitated adults live. Such registrars also provide absentee ballot applications for those who expect to be unable to vote in person.

Standard XI. Literacy tests should not be a requisite for voting

A minority of our States continues to impose some form of literacy test as a condition of registration. The problem posed by such tests depends on the State in question. Literacy tests in some States are unfairly administered, particularly to deprive Negroes of their right to vote. Only with rigid safeguards is a State likely to eradicate the sort of maladministration reported by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Racial discrimination by means of unfair administration of literacy tests is a perversion of the democratic process.

A more basic question, though, is whether any literacy test can be justified today. When noncitizens could vote, literacy requirements made some sense, but today only citizens may vote, and the process of naturalization involves a test for literacy, so the original reasons for the test as a part of registration are gone.

Many media are available other than the printed word to supply information to potential voters. The Commission is not impressed by the argument that only those who can read and write or have a sixth grade education should have a voice in determining their future. This is the right of every citizen no matter what his formal education or possession of material wealth. The Commission recommends that no literacy test interfere with the basic right to suffrage.[2]

Standard XII. Election day should be proclaimed a national day of dedication to our American democracy

The President by proclamation and the Congress by resolution should proclaim the even-year general election day as a national day of dedication to our American democracy. At the same time, the States should consider declaring the day a half-day legal holiday.

If election day were a half-day holiday, the privilege of a free ballot would be underscored. A half-day holiday would also alleviate congestion at the polls. We have observed that voting tends to concentrate during certain times: before the workday begins, during lunch hours, and after 5 p.m. Because our population is presently increasing at the rate of 3 million per year, the accommodation of voters is becoming a major problem. The day is fast approaching when 100 million Americans will be voting. If election day were a half-day holiday, a more even flow through the polls undoubtedly would result.

The Commission in its deliberations noted with interest the spectacular voter turnout in several European countries which have weekend or Sunday voting. We considered the advantages and disadvantages of holding general elections on Saturday and/or Sunday in the United States, but the Commission is not prepared to recommend nationwide voting on days of religious worship.

Standard XIII. Polling places should be so equipped as to eliminate long waiting periods

An overcrowded polling place, with its congestion and long lines, creates an unhappy atmosphere. Polling places can accommodate efficiently only a certain number of voters. To eliminate congestion, States should write into law realistic maximum sizes for voting precincts. Oversized precincts should be split or sufficient facilities provided to avoid jamming the polls.

Standard XIV. Polling places should be open throughout the day and remain open until at least 9 p.m.

The original purpose of closing the polls at an early hour was to allow time to count the ballots. Most cities and many smaller communities now have voting machines, which have accelerated vote tallying. In others, officials begin the counting task early in the day.

We are convinced that late openings and early closing of the polls discourages or prevents some citizens from voting. Some people do not get time off from work to vote and often have to travel a considerable distance to the polls. Since they must vote during the rush periods, they encounter long lines. When polling hours are the same as working hours, the voter faces unreasonable inconvenience.

While the Comimssion recognizes that small, rural precincts may complete polling and close at an early hour, we find no general argument for the early closing of the polls. Keeping most voting places open until 9 p.m. would remove a real bottleneck to greater voter turnout.

Standard XV. The States should provide every possible protection against election fraud

Public confidence in the integrity of the ballot is a most important element in our elections. The more certain a voter is that his ballot will not be lost through error or fraud, the more likely he is to cast his ballot. Happily, election fraud today in America is small compared to what it was two generations ago. Indeed, the Commission has been impressed by how much has been done in past years to guarantee a full, counted vote to each citizen.

The Commission recommends that the States provide every possible protection against electoral fraud. For example, the Commission specifically recommends that the States provide effective bipartisan election boards and poll watchers representing both parties in all polling places.

Standard XVI. Voting by persons 18 years of age should be considered by the States

The Commission is concerned over the low voter participation of the age group from 21 to 30. We believe a major reason for this low turnout is that, by the time they have turned 21 (the minimum voting age in 46 of the 50 States) many young people are so far removed from the stimulation of the educational process that their interest in public affairs has waned. Some may be lost as voters for the rest of their lives.

Despite the growing enrollment in institutions of higher education, it is a fact that only a minority of Americans are still in school when they near or reach their 21st birthdays. We believe that each State should carefully consider reducing the minimum voting age to 18.

If 18 is adopted as a minimum age, we also recommend programs under which registration of students could be facilitated, perhaps through voter registration days at high schools themselves.

States might also incorporate in the curriculum of high school senior classes a three-point plan of action to inspire good citizenship:

1. Explanation of the importance of a single vote to the American way of life.
2. Information on the requirements and mechanics of registration.
3. Demonstration of the actual process of voting in the local community.

If such citizenship programs are to be developed, it is clear that teacher training must be improved also to insure that teachers have a firm grasp of the principles upon which good citizenship rests.

Standard XVII. Candidacy should be open to all

In some States, minority parties must meet unreasonable requirements to secure places on primary and general election ballots. The cost of primary elections in States where primary costs are charged to the parties is often too high to be borne by a minority party. Similarly, the required number of votes cast in a previous election for a party to secure a place on subsequent ballots discourages normal party competition. Such restrictive requirements tend to diminish party competition and consequently impede voter participation.

Individuals face similar obstacles, once their parties have qualified. High filing fees and undue petition standards undoubtedly keep some citizens from running for office. Certainly no one can object to reasonable filing fees nor to a minimum signature requirement as a prerequisite for candidacy, but it is of the essence of our democratic system that any person or party seeking office be assured every reasonable opportunity to appear on the ballot.

Standard XVIII. The right to vote should be extended to those living on Federal reservations

At this moment, several hundred thousand American citizens living on certain Federal reservations such as military posts, national parks, and veterans hospitals do not have the right to vote. Throughout the United States there are more than 5,000 pieces of land where the Federal Government exercises exclusive jurisdiction. Most residents of these enclaves do not have State residence for voting purposes.

Until 1940 these residents were exempted from all State taxes. In that year Congress enacted the Buck Act permitting the States to tax them. The result for these people is taxation without representation.

Three States, California, Utah, and West Virginia, do allow citizens on Federal enclaves to vote. The courts in these States held that for purposes of voting these persons were residents of the State. In addition, California has enacted into law a statute which permits all qualified citizens on these Federal reservations to vote as residents of the State. We recommend to the attention of each State the legislative action of California.

Standard XIX. Absentee voting by mail should be allowed for all who are absent from home on primary or general election day

Today all States except Mississippi, New Mexico, and South Carolina provide absentee balloting for at least some of their nonmilitary citizens. Of the 47 States with civilian absentee voting, 34 give voting privileges to all otherwise qualified persons who expect to be too far from home on election day to vote in person. In the other States, a person must be unavoidably absent or have special status, such as a businessman on a regular trip or a student at an accredited college or university.

Even in the States with liberal absentee voting laws, some prospective voters find it difficult and laborious to go through the

[2] See individual views above.

steps to apply for a ballot and cast a vote either because of early deadlines, requirements that ballots be obtained in person or other complicated procedures. Persons whose absence on election day is unplanned are often disfranchised. For example, the person who becomes hospitalized after the deadline for obtaining absentee ballots has passed usually loses his vote. Similarly, citizens residing abroad are disfranchised when they must apply for an absentee ballot in person.

The Commission believes that absence, avoidable or unavoidable, is not a valid reason for disfranchisement. If a person deserves to vote, he also deserves to be able to vote when he is out of town or incapacitated; he deserves an absentee balloting system which does not make the exercise of the right to vote difficult and vexatious.

Standard XX. The poll tax as a qualification for voting should be eliminated

No American should have to buy his right to vote in any election.

Standard XXI. Each State should keep informed of other States' practices and innovations in election administration

In our studies, we have been impressed by the number of interesting and important ways some States and election officials are meeting the problems confronting them. Election laws and procedures must constantly be examined and reevaluated by the States if these laws and procedures are going to keep pace with a growing United States. Listed below are some specific areas we believe are of special importance, but the list is by no means exhaustive.

A. Training of election officials: Every State should provide special instruction for election officials as some do now. One of the surest ways to guard against fraud is to have capable, knowledgeable officials at each polling place.

B. Technical advances in the voting process: Electronic devices which speed up the voting process are now being developed and are being tested in some States. We urge all the States to be alert to these new methods of voting and ballot counting.

C. Information on candidates and issues: Several States now publish and send to each registered voter booklets containing information about the candidates and public questions which will appear on the next ballot. This procedure assures that each voter will have access to information concerning the next election. We believe all the States would do well to institute similar practices designed to improve the level of information of the electorate.

D. Data compilation: Registration and election statistics should be accessible to the general public. Our research was sometimes stifled by the lack of sufficient data. We suggest that each State provide a central location for the compilation of registration and election statistics, and follow the example of those States which publish such data in their manuals or blue books.

E. Frequency of elections: One reason for nonvoting is "voter fatigue." In one eastern community, eight elections have been held in a single year. The Commission urges that the States study this problem in conjunction with a study of ballot complexity.

F. Nature of the ballot: A recent ballot in a midwestern State measured 2,414 square inches, contained 246 names, and warned each voter that he could not stay in the voting booth longer than 1 minute. We recommend that each State examine its ballot, with an eye toward determining whether it can be shortened and simplified.

CONCLUSION

We began this report with a description of the many reasons, both psychological and institutional, why more citizens do not register and vote. We then laid out a blueprint for action to improve America's record of participation. We heartily agree with former President Eisenhower, who said in a letter to the Commission: "As our electorate becomes more knowledgeable—and in my judgment it is doing so every day—it becomes less patient with the legal hurdles and roadblocks which prevent it from exercising freedom of choice in the truest sense."

While the Commission has been charged with the responsibility of suggesting means to increase voter participation, we do not contend that every citizen must vote in order to make our democracy work. In our society the freedom to cast or not cast a ballot must remain with the individual. Our purpose has been to devise methods to guarantee that every citizen who wishes to register and vote may do so without unreasonable or unnecessary obstacles.

If our election mechanics can so guarantee the right to vote to every citizen, then we will be able to return to the responsible elector as the keystone of our democratic system. Without such guarantees, we encourage irresponsibility. With them, we offer to every American the opportunity to be a full citizen.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

Dissenting statement by Commisioner Byrne on literacy tests (standard XI)

Do you think it essential that the American voter be able to read the language in which our ballot is written? If you do, you'll probably differ with standard XI: "Literacy tests should not be a requisite for voting." If you don't, how would you vote on the following proposition:

Har A-Partiet Lovet Mer Enn Det Kan Holde?

This question in Norwegian is still Greek to me and means as much to me as an American ballot does to every illiterate. If it doesn't make any real difference whether an American voter can or cannot read the language of a ballot, why don't we print our ballots in Chinese or Swahili?

How many illiterates are there in the United States? On February 12, 1963, the Bureau of the Census stated that there were in 1960 about 3 million illiterates and about 8 million functional illiterates (14 years old and over).

The Bureau defines "illiteracy as the inability to read and write a simple message either in English or in any other language. Illiteracy in this sense, should be clearly distinguished from 'functional illiteracy,' a term used by the Army in World War II to refer to persons who were incapable of understanding the kind of written instructions that are needed for carrying out basic military functions or tasks. Since that time, the term 'functional illiterate' has been commonly used to denote a person who has completed fewer than 5 years of school."

Reasonable people entertain conflicting convictions on the wisdom of literacy tests. Some political scientists oppose all literacy tests; others approve them provided they are simple, objective and discrimination-proof.

In States with a large non-English-speaking citizenry, some favor the option of taking a literacy test in another language. For example, in Hawaii, you may take the test in English or Hawaiian.

The National Municipal League, noted for its model election laws, recommends "a reasonable literacy test to determine ability, except for physical cause, to read and write English."

The literacy test has been abused in certain areas but I am not convinced that good citizenship demands its across-the-board abolition. Isn't it a fallacy that the abuse of something is an argument against its use, the so-called Anti-Saloon League syndrome?

Shouldn't we distinguish between the literacy test as such and unfair, discriminatory requirements? The prostitution of the literacy examination as a subterfuge to exclude Negroes or any other group from the suffrage because of race, religion, or national origin, is a violation of the U.S. Constitution. I deplore the chicanery of barring voters from the polls because they do not interpret the Constitution correctly, even though erudite justices differ sharply in their interpretations. But to equate such subjective and fraud-fraught tests, which have sometimes excluded Negro Ph. D.'s from voting, with objective and fraud-proof literacy tests is unrealistic.

The rationale for the bona fide literacy test is the same as that for the minimum-age requirement. Both stem from the premise that some minimal standards in knowledge and understanding are needed to make an intelligent choice at the polls. By what subtle logic can you ban the one and retain the other?

In the future, as universal public education improves, the need for literacy tests will probably vanish. In the meantime, what is so unreasonable about a State's reserving its constitutional right (upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court as recently as 1959) to require a voter—unless he is blind—to demonstrate his ability to read the language of our ballot, a ballot upon which so much depends in this most critical and challenging period of our history?

Statement by Commissioner Forsythe on literacy tests (standard XI) (Commissioner Mintener concurred)

In my opinion certain additional information should be pointed out in regard to the use of literacy tests as a requisite for voting. At present 19 States have a literacy test. Seven of those States were among the top 20 States in voter turnout in 1960. Eleven of the States had a voter turnout of over 63 percent. Three of the States had a voter turnout between 51 and 54.5 percent. Four of the literacy test States ranked lowest in voter turnout. The evidence I have seen does not indicate that the literacy test per se is a bar to suffrage.

It is equally clear, however, that in certain States the literacy test has been used as a device to deprive people of their right to vote. The Commission was unanimous in condemnation of that type of action.

However, the U.S. Supreme Court did unanimously uphold the literacy test of North Carolina in 1959 (*Lassiter v. Northampton Election Board*, 360 U.S. 45). Further, the Department of Justice under the present administration and its predecessor administration has not found evidence of discriminatory use of literacy test in 15 of the 19 States which employ such tests.

In my opinion each State which has a literacy test should reevaluate the use of and the need for the test. States should evaluate their tests on the basis of whether the test constitutes a bar to voting and whether it is being used in a discriminatory manner. If a literacy test does not prohibit a high voter participation and if it is not being used as a discriminatory device, I think the State should make the determination concerning whether there will be continued use of the test.

Statement by Commissioner Kirkpatrick on literacy tests (standard XI) (Commissioners Bennett, Phillips, Reuther, Scammon, Schuck, and Washington concurred)

"I had supposed that the great fundamental principle, that all men were equal in their rights was settled, and forever settled in this country. I had supposed, sir, that there was some meaning in those words, and some importance in the benefits resulting from them. I had supposed from the blood and treasure which its attainment had cost, that there was something invaluable in it."

It is now 142 years since these words were spoken by John Cramer in the New York Constitutional Convention of 1821, and we might suppose that this great fundamental principle had long since been firmly established. Unhappily, this is not the case.

I had supposed that this Commission would be unanimous on the fundamental principle that all men are equal in their political rights, but it is not; one member has written a dissent to the recommendation of the Commission that literacy tests should be abolished. As a result, I think it important to make a more extensive statement in support of the Commission recommendation and the principles upon which it is based.

A democratic system rests ultimately on the belief that each man is the best judge of his own interests and that he should have, through the ballot box, a voice in choosing those who govern him. On what grounds should we deny to the person who has not learned to read the rights we accord to others? That he cannot read the ballot? Then shall we also disfranchise the blind? That he cannot read newspapers? Then shall we disfranchise the deaf because they cannot hear radio or television? That he will not be an informed voter? Then shall we require that each voter pass a test in current events? The arguments for a literacy requirement lack cogency. Their superficial merits vanish under scrutiny.

The assumption that the illiterate should not be permitted to vote because he cannot have informed himself about the election or the issues rests on a cluster of untenable assumptions. It assumes that information can be acquired only by way of the printed word and that knowledge gleaned from radio, television, or conversation is somehow inferior to that gained from newspapers or magazines. It assumes that persons who can read, do read—to inform themselves about election issues—though no study of voting behavior has demonstrated that knowledge follows literacy. It assumes either that the capacity to judge one's own interests is dependent upon the ability to read, or that persons who cannot read do not deserve to have their interests represented. And when advocated as the sole test for voters, it assumes that of all the differences among adult citizens, the ability to read alone has important implications for voting.

Literate men are not equally well informed, nor equally rational, nor equally moral, nor equally rich, nor equally devoted to their country. Neither are the illiterate. Who would argue that the political judgment of a literate man of doubtful morality or patriotism is better than that of an honest but illiterate patriot? Literary tests are a remnant of class discrimination. They discriminate against the poor, the aged, and rural inhabitants. It is not the wealthy who can neither read nor write. It is the poor and the dispossessed. Literacy tests have no more place in a modern democracy than property tests, which we have long since abandoned.

Democracy is built on the belief that wise decisions can emerge from the diverse and conflicting beliefs, experiences, and conditions of all the people. It affirms the still radical doctrine that each individual—by virtue of his humanity—has rights and responsibilities. Should a man be excused from obedience to a law he cannot read? Should he be denied participation in an election because he cannot read the ballot? Or should election officials assist him as they assist the blind?

Voting is the fundamental political right of citizens in a democracy. The right to vote is the right to influence officials and policy. To be denied the vote is to be denied the guarantee that one's interests will be taken into account when policy is made. There is no justifiable test of property, race, color, national origin, religion, or education for disfranchising one class of citizens.

The principles asserted here are as old as our Nation itself. In 1776 all 13 of the Original States joined unanimously in declaring:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

And from the very beginning of our history, these principles found eloquent expression in demands for extension of the suffrage. In 1829, the nonfreeholders of the city of Richmond, Va., presented to the Virginia Constitutional Convention a memorial protesting their exclusion from the suffrage. Based on the principles of the Declaration of Independence, it provides as eloquent a guide today as it did then:

"Experience has but too clearly evinced, what, indeed, reason had always foretold, by how frail a tenure they hold every other right, who are denied this (the suffrage), the highest prerogative of freemen. * * *

"A regulation which, instead of the equality nature ordains, creates an odious distinction between members of the same community; robs of all share, in the enactment of the laws, a large portion of the citizens bound by them, and whose blood and treasure are pledged to maintain them. * * *

"Surely it were much to be desired that every citizen should be qualified for the proper exercise of all his rights, and the due performance of all his duties. But the same qualifications that entitle him to assume the management of his private affairs, and claim the other privileges of citizenship, equally entitled him, in the judgment of your memorialists, to be entrusted with this, the dearest of all his privileges, the most important of all his concerns. * * *

"The enjoyment of all other rights, whether of person or property, they will not deny, may be as perfect among those deprived of the privilege of voting, as among those possessing it. It may be as great under a despotism, as under any other form of government. But they alone deserve to be called free, or have a guarantee for their rights, who participate in the formation of their political institutions, and in the control of those who make and administer the laws. To such as may be disposed to surrender this, or any other immunity, to the keeping of others, no practical mischief may ensue from its abandonment; or if any, none that will not be justly merited. Not so with him who feels as a freeman should; who would think for himself and speak what he thinks; who would not commit his conscience or his liberty to the uncontrolled direction of others. To him the privation of right, of that especially, which is the only safeguard of freedom, is practically wrong. So thought the fathers of the Republic. It was not the oppressive weight of the taxes imposed by England on America: it was the assertion of a right to impose any burdens whatever upon those who were not represented; to bind by laws those who had no share, personal or delegated, in their enactment, that roused this continent to arms."

It is wholly in accord with our American tradition to live by this eloquent statement of the case for democracy. If we do so, we will abolish literacy tests that are often discriminatory in practice and always wrong in principle; we will give meaning to the Declaration of Independence; we will bring our practices into conformity with the only legitimate basis for democratic government.

Excerpts from the 1963 report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (inserted by request of Commissioners Byrne, Phillips, Reuther, Schuck, and Washington)

The conclusion is inevitable that present legal remedies for voter discrimination are inadequate. In many instances, litigation has not secured to qualified American citizens the right to vote.

In seven States, the right to vote—the abridgment of which is clearly forbidden by the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States—is still denied to many citizens solely because of their race.

The Commission now believes that the only effective method of guaranteeing the vote for all Americans is the enactment by Congress of some form of uniform voter qualification standards. The Commission further believes that the right to vote must, in many instances, be safeguarded and assured by the Federal Government. Adequate legislation must include both standards and implementation.

APPENDIX 1. EXECUTIVE ORDER ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON REGISTRATION AND VOTING PARTICIPATION

Whereas less than 65 percent of the U.S. population of voting age cast ballots for presidential electors in 1960, and

Whereas popular participation in government through elections is essential to a democratic form of government; and

Whereas the causes of nonvoting are not fully understood and more effective corrective action will be possible on the basis of a better understanding of the causes of the failure of many citizens to register and vote; Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. (a) There is hereby established the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation (hereinafter referred to as the Commission).

(b) The Commission shall be composed of not more than 11 members, each of whom shall be appointed by the President. One of the members of the Commission shall be designated by the President as the Chairman thereof.

SEC. 2. The Commission shall:

(a) Study the reasons for the failure of many citizens to register and vote in elections for selection of Members of Congress, the President, and Vice President including:

(1) Laws which restrict registration and voting on the basis of residence, economic status, or other reasons,

(2) Procedures for registration of voters,

(3) Absentee voting provisions, and

(4) Causes of nonvoting by persons who are otherwise qualified to vote.

(b) Prepare and present to the President recommendations for increasing citizen participation in Government through the exercise of the right to vote.

SEC. 3. The Commission shall not consider matters placed under the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights by the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 634), as amended.

SEC. 4. All who may be in a position to do so are requested to furnish the Commission information pertinent to its work and otherwise to facilitate the Commission's work.

SEC. 5. Each member of the Commission shall receive compensation of $75 for each day such member is engaged upon the work of the Commission, except that any member who then receives other compensation from the United States shall serve as such member without compensation under this order. The Commission is authorized to appoint such personnel as may be necesary to assist the Commission in connection with the performance of its functions without regard to the civil service and classification laws, but no such personnel shall receive compensation at a rate in excess of $17,500 per annum. The Commission is authorized to obtain services in accordance with the provisions of section 15 of the act of August 2, 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a), at rates not in excess of $75 per diem for individuals.

SEC. 6. The compensation of the members and personnel of the Commission, lawful allowances therefor, and any other necessary

expenses arising in connection with the work of the Commission shall be paid from the appropriation appearing under the heading "Special Projects" in title III of the Treasury-Post Office Departments and Executive Office Appropriation Act, 1963, 76 Stat. 310, and such appropriation as may be provided for the same purposes for the fiscal year 1964. Such payments shall be made without regard to the provisions of section 3681 of the Revised Statutes and section 9 of the act of March 4, 1909, 35 Stat. 1027 (31 U.S.C. 672 and 673).

SEC. 7. The General Services Administration is hereby designated as the agency which shall provide administrative services for the Commission on a reimbursable basis.

SEC. 8. The Commission in its discretion may transmit to the President such preliminary or interim report or reports as it may deem appropriate. It shall transmit its principal study and recommendations to the President not later than November 30, 1963, together with such supporting materials as it deems appropriate. The Commission shall terminate not later than 60 days after the submission of its principal report to the President.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 30, 1963.*

APPENDIX 2.—*Voting turnout and election law* [1]

[Vote in presidential elections as a percentage of civilian population of voting age, by State, with provisions of election laws facilitating participation. Key: ★=statewide, ☆=some areas only]

Turnout 1920	Turnout 1940	State	Residence in State under 1 year	No literacy test	Permanent registration	General civilian absentee registration permitted	Precinct registration	Registration closes within 1 month of election	Civilian absentee vote	Mere absence a ground for absentee vote	Absentee ballot application by mail	Polls open 12 hours or longer	Presidential voting by new residents	Presidential voting by former residents
57.975.180.7	55.869.671.4	Idaho / Montana	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	----
63.880.380.1	56.872.471.3	Utah / Ohio	----	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	----	----	----
56.672.479.4	36.764.270.5	New Hampshire / Pennsylvania	★	----	★	----	----	★	★	★	★	☆	----	----
63.775.278.5	55.774.070.3	North Dakota / Kansas	----	★	(1)	(2)	(2)	(2)	★	★	★	★	----	----
52.879.578.3	40.766.967.4	South Dakota / California	----	----	----	----	----	★	★	★	★	----	----	----
67.881.477.3	44.567.467.0	West Virginia / New York	----	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	----	----
53.369.677.0	47.660.363.8	Minnesota / Oklahoma	★	★	☆	★	----	★	★	★	★	----	----	----
[illegible]079.876.9	56.964.462.1	Indiana / New Mexico	★	★	★	----	----	★	★	★	★	----	----	----
[illegible]667.476.8	52.170.661.2	Connecticut / Nevada	----	----	★	----	----	★	★	★	★	★	----	----
52.774.176.5	71.259.359.2	Iowa / Kentucky	★	★	☆	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	----	----
41.269.576.1	49.755.757.2	Massachusetts / Maryland	----	----	★	----	★	----	★	★	★	★	----	★
53.178.475.7	35.452.054.5	Illinois / Arizona	----	----	★	----	★	★	★	☆	★	----	----	----
47.367.475.1	44.542.653.5	Rhode Island / North Carolina	----	★	★	----	★	★	★	★	★	----	----	----
45.472.274.0	51.3	Wyoming / Hawaii	----	----	☆	★	★	★	★	★	★	----	----	----
69.576.873.6	35.330.650.3	Delaware / Tennessee	----	----	★	----	★	★	★	★	★	----	----	----
45.969.673.4	36.039.850.0	Wisconsin / Florida	----	★	☆	★	----	★	★	★	★	----	----	★
41.660.272.6	45.5	Maine / Alaska	★	----	★	----	----	★	★	★	★	★	----	----
41.462.772.5	13.627.144.8	Vermont / Louisiana	----	★	----	----	----	★	★	★	★	----	----	----
47.361.872.4	19.827.041.8	Michigan / Texas	★	★	★	★	----	★	★	★	★	----	----	★
46.566.572.3	21.218.241.1	Washington / Arkansas	----	----	★	----	★	★	★	★	★	----	----	----
48.264.372.3	19.122.033.4	Oregon / Virginia	★	----	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	----	----	----
48.069.671.8	20.818.931.1	New Jersey / Alabama	★	★	★	----	----	----	★	★	★	★	----	----
65.473.371.8	8.610.130.5	Missouri / South Carolina	----	----	☆	----	----	★	★	★	★	★	★	----
51.776.971.4	10.417.630.4	Colorado / Georgia	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
51.873.671.4	9.414.725.5	Nebraska / Mississippi	★	★	★	----	----	----	★	★	★	★	----	----
			★	★	☆	★	----	★	★	★	★	★	----	----
			----	----	★	----	★	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

[1] The information in this chart has been checked with responsible officials in every State. In certain instances, it has not been feasible to show in detail specific exceptions to general provisions.

[2] No registration.

APPENDIX 3.—*U.S. voter participation figures, 1920–62—turnout in elections for President and House of Representatives*

[Vote as a percentage of the civilian population of voting age]

Year	President	Representatives	Year	President	Representatives
1962	----	48.9	1940	59.7	56.2
1960	63.8	59.4	1938	----	44.5
1958	----	43.4	1936	57.5	54.0
1956	60.1	56.6	1934	----	41.8
1954	----	42.2	1932	52.9	50.2
1952	62.0	58.2	1930	----	34.1
1950	----	41.6	1928	52.3	48.2
1948	51.5	48.6	1926	----	30.1
1946	----	37.6	1924	44.3	41.0
1944	56.3	53.0	1922	----	32.4
1942	----	32.7	1920	44.2	41.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1962," 83d edition, Washington, D.C., 1962.

Turnout in presidential elections, 1920–60

[Vote as a percentage of the civilian population of voting age]

State	1960	1956	1952	1948	1944	1940	1936	1932	1928	1924	1920
Alabama	31.1	28.3	24.6	12.7	16.4	18.9	18.4	17.6	18.8	13.6	20.8
Alaska	45.5										
Arizona	54.5	50.8	54.4	44.0	43.4	52.0	45.6	46.6	38.8	34.9	35.4
Arkansas	41.1	39.9	37.6	22.8	22.0	18.2	17.1	22.5	20.9	15.4	21.2
California	67.4	63.8	68.0	58.9	62.9	66.9	59.6	55.9	49.7	41.9	40.7
Colorado	71.4	67.6	75.1	64.4	76.2	76.9	73.3	71.5	64.6	56.5	51.7
Connecticut	76.8	76.6	79.6	63.7	70.2	67.4	63.8	58.3	57.7	44.8	43.6
Delaware	73.6	72.1	79.8	66.9	68.9	76.8	77.3	72.8	73.5	67.8	69.5
Florida	50.0	45.9	50.3	34.5	36.3	39.8	31.8	30.2	30.5	16.7	36.0
Georgia	30.4	29.7	30.1	20.4	18.2	17.6	17.7	16.4	15.6	11.5	10.4
Hawaii	51.3										
Idaho	80.7	77.6	82.2	65.3	76.3	75.1	71.2	73.4	62.7	63.1	57.9
Illinois	75.7	73.2	76.0	68.1	79.4	78.4	76.3	68.6	65.5	55.8	53.1
Indiana	76.9	71.8	74.4	65.3	76.2	79.8	76.5	76.4	72.3	68.1	71.0
Iowa	76.5	73.2	75.7	62.8	72.0	74.1	72.3	67.8	68.3	67.9	62.7
Kansas	70.3	67.2	72.0	64.1	68.3	74.0	73.4	68.9	65.0	63.0	55.7
Kentucky	59.2	58.8	59.2	49.8	59.7	59.3	60.2	67.4	68.1	60.6	71.2
Louisiana	44.8	36.4	39.9	27.1	26.3	27.1	25.4	22.5	19.7	12.1	13.6
Maine	72.6	62.8	62.5	47.6	60.5	60.2	58.8	60.2	54.1	40.1	41.6
Maryland	57.2	54.5	58.8	40.7	47.5	55.7	56.2	49.1	54.2	39.2	49.7
Massachusetts	76.1	75.7	77.8	65.9	73.0	69.5	63.1	58.0	59.7	44.3	41.2
Michigan	72.4	68.1	67.0	52.4	63.7	61.8	58.5	56.6	48.8	46.0	47.3
Minnesota	77.0	67.7	72.3	65.5	70.2	69.6	66.5	62.7	63.3	56.1	53.3
Mississippi	25.5	21.7	24.1	16.7	16.8	14.7	14.4	13.8	15.2	12.1	9.4
Missouri	71.8	67.8	72.2	61.2	68.9	73.3	75.4	68.7	67.6	61.7	65.4
Montana	71.4	71.0	72.6	65.4	70.8	69.6	68.0	67.4	61.0	55.7	55.8
Nebraska	71.4	67.1	73.4	59.6	75.9	73.6	72.9	69.1	68.6	60.9	51.8
Nevada	61.2	62.8	71.5	59.2	62.3	70.6	63.5	63.7	54.9	48.1	52.1
New Hampshire	79.4	75.2	78.9	67.3	78.1	72.4	70.1	68.5	66.9	57.4	56.6
New Jersey	71.8	69.0	71.1	59.2	70.9	69.6	67.4	62.3	63.6	50.4	48.0
New Mexico	62.1	59.6	61.0	57.1	59.0	64.4	65.2	66.2	55.9	57.3	56.9
New York	67.0	66.0	68.3	60.8	74.1	67.4	61.7	56.0	60.2	47.2	44.5
North Carolina	53.5	48.2	52.8	36.7	43.1	42.6	47.3	43.7	43.0	36.1	44.5
North Dakota	78.5	70.6	75.2	64.0	71.0	75.2	74.8	71.4	69.7	61.4	63.7
Ohio	71.3	65.0	70.0	55.8	69.5	72.4	67.7	61.3	61.6	52.1	56.8
Oklahoma	63.8	63.6	71.8	56.2	62.0	60.3	55.6	53.7	50.1	47.4	47.6
Oregon	72.3	68.2	67.5	55.9	59.7	64.3	59.9	57.5	53.1	51.5	48.[illegible]
Pennsylvania	70.5	65.7	66.3	54.6	64.1	64.2	68.3	48.8	55.3	39.7	3[illegible]
Rhode Island	75.1	73.7	81.6	62.3	65.3	67.4	70.1	62.9	58.9	52.0	[illegible]
South Carolina	30.5	25.2	29.4	13.4	11.0	10.1	12.4	12.1	8.5	6.5	8.[illegible]
South Dakota	78.3	73.5	75.1	66.7	70.8	79.5	75.6	73.4	69.5	55.9	52.8
Tennessee	50.3	46.3	44.8	28.5	31.0	30.6	29.9	26.1	25.9	23.0	35.3
Texas	41.8	37.9	42.3	24.7	30.5	27.0	23.4	25.8	23.0	23.9	19.8
Utah	80.1	75.2	81.4	74.7	76.2	80.3	75.2	75.1	68.2	64.3	63.8
Vermont	72.5	67.4	66.2	54.1	63.6	62.7	64.1	62.0	62.0	47.6	41.4
Virginia	33.4	33.5	31.7	22.1	23.9	22.0	22.3	21.7	23.6	17.7	19.1
Washington	72.3	70.8	71.9	61.4	65.6	66.5	63.3	59.9	50.4	45.4	46.5
West Virginia	77.3	75.2	75.9	67.5	74.1	81.4	81.2	78.5	73.5	72.4	67.8
Wisconsin	73.4	67.4	73.3	59.2	71.2	69.6	65.3	60.7	58.6	50.9	45.9
Wyoming	74.0	67.8	75.1	62.2	75.6	72.2	71.3	71.3	65.5	63.4	45.4
Total United States	63.8	60.1	62.0	51.5	56.3	59.7	57.5	52.9	52.3	44.3	44.2

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1962," 83d edition, Washington, D.C., 1962 (for civilian population of voting age figures, 1920, 1940, 1960); Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census (for estimates of civilian population of voting age, 1924–36,1944–56); Richard M. Scammon, ed., "America Votes," Vol. IV (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press), 1962 (for votes cast in presidential elections, 1948–60); "Statistics of Presidential and Congressional Elections, 1920–58," compiled under direction of Clerk of House of Representatives (for votes cast in presidential elections, 1920–44).

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

Richard M. Scammon, Commission Chairman, Director of the Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, since 1961. Following 5 years in the Army during World War II, served on Gen. Lucius Clay's military government staff in Germany. Chief, Division of Research for Western Europe, U.S. Department of State, 1948–55. Director of elections research for the private, nonprofit Governmental Affairs Institute, 1955–61. Editor of the four-volume series "America Votes."

Bert L. Bennett, immediate past chairman, North Carolina Democratic Executive Committee. General partner in Quality Oil Co., Winston-Salem, N.C. Director of 14 corporations. Active in civic and religious life of the community. Navy veteran with service in both Atlantic and Pacific theaters during World War II. Was president of the student body at University of North Carolina.

Brendan Byrne, executive director, the American Heritage Foundation. Directed nationwide register, vote on an informed basis and contribute to your political party program, 1958, 1960, and 1962. Has conducted, since 1957, a continuing educational program on the need to modernize archaic election laws. Author of "Let's Modernize Our Horse and Buggy Election Laws." Former public affairs and philanthropic consultant, magazine editor, and educator. Commissioner, New York City Board of Education 1961–63.

Robert A. Forsythe, State chairman, Minnesota Republican Party. Attorney. Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1959–60. Administrative assistant to U.S. Senator Edward J. Thye, 1955–59. Chief counsel, U.S. Senate Small Business Committee, 1953–55. Faculty member, Speech Department, College of St. Catherine, 1946–53. A.B., St. Olaf College. LL.B., University of Minnesota, 1949. World War II veteran, 1942–46.

Evron M. Kirkpatrick, executive director, American Political Science Association. Former professor of political science; chairman, social science division, University of Minnesota. Former chief, psychological intelligence and research staff, U.S. Department of State. Author of political science textbooks and board member of numerous educational institutions and foundations.

Bradshaw Mintener, attorney. General counsel, U.S. Chocolate Manufacturers Association and American Cocoa Research Institute. Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1954–56. Vice president and general counsel, Pillsbury Mills, 1946–54. Chairman, Department of Social Welfare, National Council of Churches. Member of numerous civic and governmental advisory committees.

John A. Perkins, president, University of Delaware. Undersecretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1957–58. Has been professor of political science, University of Michigan; president, American Society for Public Administration; vice president, American Political Science Association; editor, "Public Administration Review." Author of several books and numerous professional articles.

Ruth Schertz Phillips, president, League of Women Voters of the United States. Elected in 1958, reelected in 1960 and 1962. League member since 1926. Officer of League of Women Voters of Illinois 1947–57, including presidency 1953–57. Has two married children and six grandchildren. Widow of the late Robert J. Phillips.

Roy L. Reuther, director, Citizenship-Legislative Department and administrative assistant to the president, United Automobile Workers Union (AFL–CIO). Deputy director, national voters' registration committee, 1960, and national director, AFL–CIO voter registration campaign, 1962. Chief, Labor Morale Division, War Production Board. Service with Army Engineers, World War II.

Victoria Schuck, professor of political science, Mount Holyoke College. Former president, New England Regional Political Science Association and secretary, American Political Science Association; member, Massachusetts Commission on Interstate Relations, 1957–60; member, board of trustees of the University of Massachusetts since 1958; chairman, planning board of the town of South Hadley; member, Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission; advisory editor, Encyclopaedia Britannica; author, numerous articles on Federal-State relations and State government.

Leon H. Washington, Jr., editor and publisher of the Los Angeles Sentinel. Born in Kansas City, Kans., the son of Leon H. and Blanche Washington. Attended Washburn College, Topeka, Kans. Went to Los Angeles in 1928, and in 1934 founded the Los Angeles Sentinel, which under his leadership has grown to be the largest Negro newspaper west of Chicago with a circulation of more than 35,000. Crusader for human rights for all Americans. Initiated a dramatic campaign through his newspaper entitled "Don't Spend Your Money Where You Can't Work."

Staff: Donald G. Herzberg, Staff Director; Robert J. Sickles, Assistant Staff Director; Thomas G. McHale, Counsel; Allen Hoffard; Michael McClister; Frances D. Hull; Earlene Owens.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I wish to join the many Senators who today have spoken about the President's state of the Union message. This marvelous statement is a program that calls for action. It is a statement of purpose, goals, and objectives, which should send throughout the world renewed hope for peace and for the extension of freedom and security to a very unhappy and suffering mankind. It is also a message of assurance to the American people, particularly to those who are so frequently forgotten in the busy life of our Nation.

I was pleased that President Johnson saw fit to single out for particular attention the young of our country, the students, and also the elderly. Indeed, he added a third category—those who, through no fault of their own, are the victims of misfortune; physical, mental, social, or economic. The President wisely pointed out that a government that is to command respect and enjoy the confidence of its citizenry must be a government that concentrates its attention upon those who are in the dawn of life—the youth; those who are in the twilight of life—the elderly; and those whom we might call people in the shadows of life or in the storm clouds of life—the disabled, the handicapped, the needy, and the unemployed.

The message was that of a man who has a deep sense of compassion. It was the message of a President who has a big and a strong heart. It was the message of a President who understands that the purpose of democratic government is to guarantee justice for one and all. The real purpose of government, of orderly society, is to assure justice. President Johnson's message was one of social justice. It was one of strength. It was one of charity. It was one of kindness. And yet it was one of boldness.

In his message the President demonstrated that a nation does not have to prove its strength by beating upon its armor plate in order to terrify the adversary and to command the attention of the loyal and the faithful. Strength, if it is present, is quickly comprehended by friend and foe alike. True strength does not need description. It is obvious. It is so apparent that there is no need even to describe it. We have built great strength in America—military, economic, political, and moral—throughout the years of our Republic. We have added to that strength in the past few years, particularly during the administration of President Kennedy. It is that reservoir of strength which now permits President Johnson to lead from strength, to negotiate from strength, and to follow the fine admonition of President Kennedy when he said that we will never be afraid to negotiate, but we should never negotiate from fear. I only paraphrase the brilliant remarks of the late and beloved President in his inaugural address.

Today we saw and heard a President deliver a message that represents strength without being belligerent, firmness without being arrogant, and justice without being self-righteous. I wish to compliment the President. I believe that he has given us a stirring message of reassurance and dedication. He has given us a commitment of his personal life, of this Government, and of this Nation that we are going forward to complete the unfinished business of this great democracy. Since taking office as President, by his words and deeds, President Johnson has taken the initiative in showing the world that he is a man of peace. He is doing everything in his power to reach that goal.

For many years the headlines of the world's press were occupied by the men in the Kremlin as they proclaimed their so-called desires for peace. We knew that the statements were hypocritical. We knew that the statements were not true. But the propaganda of the Communist political system and the effective propaganda of the leaders of communism had millions and millions of people in the world believing that it was from Moscow that the message of peace was coming.

Now the dove of peace is on the shoulders of the President of the United States. Yet the President of the United States represents the most powerful nation in the world. In a real sense, he follows the advice of Theodore Roosevelt, who suggested that we "speak softly, but carry a big stick." The strength exists, and the soft word of conciliation, of negotiation, of understanding, is present.

I am happy to say that we live in a time in which the forces of decency have been able to claim the honors of peacemaker. The late beloved Pope John XXIII, possibly more than any other man in our lifetime—indeed, in many a century—broke through the cold war of bitterness, doubt, suspicion, and animosity to launch a great effort for understanding, peace, and social justice. He has been followed by the present Pope, Pope Paul, who in recent days has given the world renewed hope for peace.

The forces of decency, morality, and spiritual truth are on the march, and the cause of peace is in good hands, in the hands of those who are peacemakers.

I am proud of the message of our President. I am highly pleased with it. I am also very much heartened by the continuous, sincere, dedicated efforts of the President, not only in word but in deed, for the achievement of a just and enduring peace.

In his state of the Union message he has pledged his administration to another great objective, to an an unrelenting war—as he put it, unconditional war—on poverty, and upon the companions of poverty—ignorance and disease—here at home.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Let me finish this thought, then I shall yield.

I am confident that Congress will match the President's determination and will respond to his call with positive action, because he has asked for action.

I am also confident that Congress will honor the President's call for an effective, comprehensive civil rights program. This is the fulfillment of the guarantees of our Constitution. As the President has so well noted, those who could fight together and die together might very well expect to have a world in which men could walk together, travel together, work together, and live together.

That was a remarkable passage in the President's message, one that touched my heart, one that I am sure moved every person that heard it.

I now yield to my friend from Tennessee.

Mr. GORE. The President's declaration of unconditional war on poverty appeared to me to be worthy of the standards of our greatest humanitarian Presidents. The passage in his speech to which the Senator has just referred received one of the most vigorous manifestations of applause. I was one of those who applauded it.

In the President's proposal to wage unconditional war upon poverty, he went further and identified the group who suffered this poverty, this one-fifth of our people who live either on relief or in poverty—many in abject poverty. It is for this that the social conscience of the Nation should cry out.

The distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota and the senior Senator from Tennessee may disagree with one measure or another, or upon the details of them, and disagree as to the possible effectiveness of a proposal. Both he and I may disagree with the President on occasion. But I am sure the senior Senator from Minnesota, the senior Senator from Tennessee, the senior Senator from Pennsylvania, and most Senators on the Democratic side of the aisle, will applaud vigorously most of the realistic steps in the unrelenting war against poverty. It is out of poverty that much of crime comes. It is out of poverty that much of our suffering comes. It is because of poverty that most of our talents are lost, both of the young and of the old.

I congratulate the Senator on the able speech he has made. I wish to join him in many of the plaudits he has expressed.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I thank the Senator from Tennessee, who has always been in the forefront of the struggle to give a better break to our citizenry, to give more justice and a fair reward for their efforts.

I wish to conclude my comments on the President's speech. I mentioned the civil rights section of the speech. We all recognize that it is controversial legislation. I thought the President put the purpose of such legislation in proper perspective, in beautiful and moving

words. I remind my colleagues of what the President said. He said:

> Today Americans of all races stand side by side in Berlin and in Vietnam. They died side by side in Korea. Surely they can work and eat and travel side by side in America.

That remarkable logic is compelling. There is no refutation of it. It seems to me it is this kind of direct, simple, forceful, and profound reasoning that will move the Nation and the Congress to take the action required to provide the guarantees of citizenship and equal privileges, opportunities, and immunities under the law.

I am hopeful that the party of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, will join the party of Andrew Jackson and Thomas Jefferson to meet its moral responsibility on civil rights. As the President made crystal clear, a moral obligation is involved. A moral issue is at stake. There is no room for partisanship in this issue. Every American suffers when any other American is injured or denied equal justice; and every American profits when all Americans are treated fairly and are given the equal protection of the law.

Therefore, the Senator from Minnesota stands today not as a Democrat, but as an American, appealing for bipartisan and nonpartisan action to forward the great program of civil liberties, civil rights, and human rights which we all thought were guaranteed to us by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and which today need to be fortified by statute as well as the daily living of citizens.

I invite the attention of my colleagues to the fact that there were those, however, who, according to their own pronouncements, found this message somewhat disappointing.

For example, the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] called it a disappointing message insofar as the farm areas are concerned. Of course, every Senator is entitled to his own opinion. I merely wish to state for the record that President Johnson has been giving daily attention to the problems of American agriculture. I know, because I have been with him when he gave this attention to the problems of our farmers.

This morning, at the direction of the President of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture met with livestock producers and livestock feeders from all over America, in order to do something about the drastic drop in livestock prices.

The President spoke to the Secretary of Agriculture in the Speaker's room in the Capitol even before he delivered his state of the Union message to a joint session of Congress.

I have before me today's Washington Evening Star. An article on the front page deals with the President's concern for agriculture and the problems of the farmers:

> At his first Cabinet meeting he mentioned the problem briefly. Two days later Secretary of Agriculture Freeman was called to the White House.
>
> The President, the Secretary was told, wanted to discuss some problems with him.
>
> They sat down in the President's oval Office for a review of farm programs and, the Secretary quickly discovered, a detailed discussion of the poverty problem.
>
> "It was something uppermost in his mind," the Secretary said later. "He wanted to do something about it and wanted to do it at once."

This article also notes that when the President discusses the poverty problem, he is not talking about poverty in cities alone; he is talking about places where there is more poverty than anywhere else; namely, in the rural areas of America. He is talking about the rural slums of America, the shacks of the sharecroppers, and about the little farmer who ekes out a living. These problems are close to the heart of our President.

President Johnson comes from rural America. President Johnson knows rural America. President Johnson does not need the advice of his critics on rural America and its problems.

The President of the United States has asked the Secretary of Agriculture to give increased and new attention to the problems of agriculture, rural housing, farm credit, the wheat program, cotton, and other commodities. The Secretary of Agriculture is testifying this week before the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives on programs which the administration wishes to see enacted.

I come from a relatively rural State, even though in the State of Minnesota the population is becoming more and more urbanized. Approximately 30 percent of our people live in rural areas. We are proud of our rural areas. We are proud of the quality of our farmers and the character of the family life of our farm people. We are proud of our rural communities. I invite anyone who wishes to do so to come to see them. There are few places in the world which can equal them in cleanliness or wholesomeness or a basic sense of decency. But our farmers have economic problems. This administration is committed to alleviating those problems. This administration is committed to a program of parity for American agriculture. This administration is committed to finding ways and means of aiding American agriculture without unnecessary regulation or compulsion.

We are committed to finding ways and means of helping the American farmer and American producer achieve greater prosperity without too much regulation, and without too many people interfering in his operations. I say to the critics of the President's message on agriculture that deeds speak much more loudly than words, and much more effectively. President Johnson's record on agriculture, when he has had an opportunity to spend a period of time in the White House, will clearly, unequivocally, and forcefully show that he is a man who understands agriculture and is a friend of agriculture and is doing effective work for our American farmers.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I rise to commend the President of the United States on his excellent state of the Union message. It was a perfectly wonderful message. In this case brevity was the soul of clarity, conviction, and compassion.

The high priorities the President gave to the war against poverty and unemployment, the search for peace and disarmament, and the duty of the Congress to give his comprehensive program a fair test by bringing it to a vote were particularly gratifying to me.

I am completely in accord with the President's goals, and look forward to supporting his specific legislative proposals. He can count on me to do what I can to help him get his program enacted by July—from civil rights and the tax cut to urban renewal and youth employment.

Certain specifics in the President's message are within the range of my committee responsibilities and my longtime interest during the period that I have been in the Senate. I was delighted that the President referred to the American citizen's "hopes for a fair chance to make good" and "for fair play from the law"—which I take to mean civil rights legislation.

I also was delighted to have him make reference to the American citizen's "hopes for a fulltime job on fulltime pay"—which I take to mean a massive attack on unemployment—"his hopes for a decent home for his family in a decent community"—which means a continuation, on a massive scale, of housing and urban renewal programs—"his hopes for a good school for his children with good teachers"—which I take it means adequate Federal aid to education from grade to graduate school—and "his hopes for security when faced with sickness, unemployment, or old age"—which I assume means a reference to the problem of health care for the elderly people under social security.

I was delighted by the President's unconditional declaration of war on poverty in America, on his emphasis, as weapons in the attack on poverty, or better schools, better health, better homes, better training and job opportunity, to help more Americans, especially young Americans, escape from squalor and misery.

I take special pleasure in his determination to launch a special effort in the economically distressed areas of Appalachia, which includes a significant part of my own State; for an extension of the area redevelopment program; for the enactment of youth opportunity legislation; for a broadening of the food stamp plans; and for the creation of a National Service Corps to help the economically handicapped.

I commend the President for his recommendations to modernize our unemployment insurance program and establish a high level commission on automation, and for his commitment to extend the coverage of our minimum wage laws as well as for the extension of the library program and the Hill-Burton Act; also for recommending an expansion of the program for the training of more nurses; for providing hospital insurance for elderly citizens; for providing a mass transit program, and, of course, for the proposed tax cut.

JUN 1 1962

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

112 East 19 Street
New York 3, New York
GRamercy 3-2181

STUDENT DEPARTMENT OF THE
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Dear attendee at the SNCC conference:

With that extensive salutation and with a wish for good luck during the present stress and struggle, I'd like to invite you to attend the post-exam SDS national convention, beginning June 11, lasting until June 15 at Port Huron, Michigan.

The SDS, as you probably know, is an association of liberal and radical youth, mostly around universities, concerned with formulating our various criticisms and dissatisfactions with contemporary institutions and values in America into a more or less coherent political outlook and program. We were formed about a year ago and have worked with SNCC as an observer in the South and liaison in the North. We recently held a conference at Chapel Hill, N.C., on "Race and Politics in the South."

Our desire to have people from the Southern movement participate in our convention is part of a broader concern to cement relations between active students in the South and their counter parts in the North and, more centrally, to establish linkages between the desegregation struggle and other aspects of the movement for democracy and social justice in America.

Thus we are hopeful that a number of people can find their way to Michigan as participant-observers at our convention. (The FDR labor center where the convention is being held is, by the way, a lovely place.) While there is a cost for room and fees we can arrange deferred paykment.

Beyond the convention, though, we are looking for the development in the South of a program of discussion of political issues. We are preparing now and over the summer several pamphlets and papers including the talks from Chapel Hill. We hope in the fall and next year to have one or more people travelling and to be able to give some administrative assistance to informal groups who want to begin the building of a community of political discourse in the South.

Let us know if it is possible for you to come to Port Huron. In any case, if you'd like to participate in or be informed of our program in the South, please write.

There is a reply form on the last page of the enclosed "What is SDS?" statement. Note also the brief convention program.

We hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

R Alan Haber

Robert A. Haber

President
ROBERT ALAN HABER

Vice President
ROBERT ROSS

National Executive Committee
MARK ACUFF
U. of New Mexico
REBECCA ADAMS
Swathmore College
PAUL BOOTH
Swathmore College
DONALD FREEMAN
Cleveland
BETTY GARMAN
Univ. of California
SANDRA CASON HAYDEN
Atlanta, Ga.
SHARON JEFFREY
Univ. of Michigan
TIMOTHY JENKINS
Yale Law School
DANIEL JOHNSTON
Drake Univ. Law
STEVEN MAX
New York City
JAMES MONSONIS
Atlanta, Ga.
JOHN ROBERT ZELLNER
Atlanta, Ga.

Regional Representatives
NICHOLAS BATESON
Univ. of No. Carolina
PETER COUNTRYMAN
New England
EDWARD HOLLANDER
Temple
MICHAEL LOCKER
Earlham College
MICHAEL RUBY
Univ. of Oklahoma
MAX STANFORD
Central State Coll.
ROBERT WALTERS
Harrisburg, Pa.
HOUSTON WADE
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Program Directors
R. A. HABER
Nat'l Sec'y, New York City
THOMAS HAYDEN
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HARLON JOYE
VENTURE, New School for Social Research
JON EISEN
ACTIVIST, Oberlin College
GERRY SCHWINN
Peace Research Project, Univ. of Indiana
SANDRA HAYDEN
Convention Coordinator, New York City

L.I.D. Student Activities Committee
EMANUAL MARAVCHIK, Chairman
MICHAEL HARRINGTON
MARVIN RICH
ROWLAND WATTS
VERY RONY, ex-officio

File Voter Project

October 17, 1961

Mr. Al Haber
Students for a Democratic Society
112 East 19 Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Haber:

Since John Constable is no longer with the Council I have been asked to answer your letter concerning the draft statement of the Students for a Democratic Society, relative to the voter registration program.

We are happy to have this indication of your thinking and are pleased that SDC is interested in participating in this vital effort. At this point the project is very much in the formative stages. However, in time we will be in contact with you again when we have a more definite idea of what the project is likely to entail.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb

Leslie

PA
please acknowledge,
cordially but
short

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

112 East 19 Street
New York 3, New York
Algonquin 4-5865

STUDENT DEPARTMENT OF THE
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

14 August 61

Mr. John Constable
SRC
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

The enclosed is a draft statement that the SDS had worked out with some of the SNCC people and NSA people regarding various ways in which we might participate in the voer registration program currently being discussed in connection with the Southern student movement.

Harlon Joye, an SDS member, will in Atlanta on Wednesday or Thursday of this week and would like to talk to you about the project. Particularly, he'd be interested in the possibility of SDS beginning some discussion groups on southern campuses. You may recall last October when several SDS people and myself spent some time in the SRC office. At that time we expressed an interest in encouraging liberal discussion activity on southern campuses on a somewhat broader theme. We would like now to put such ideas on a little firmer basis. We see the beginning being to sound out a number of people on the needs they see and the way we could best begin work in this area.

I hope Mr. Joye has a chance to speak with you and others in the SRC. We did not have a chance to rework the memo prior to the SNCC meeting and will probably not do any revision now until we have some more substantial comment.

Sincerely,

Al Haber

Al Haber

RAH:jw
Encl.

President: ROBERT A. HABER; *Vice-President:* JONATHAN WEISS (Chicago Law School); *International Vice-President:* ERIC WALTHER (Louvain, Brussels); NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: ELDON CLINGAN (Hunter), DONALD FREEMAN (Western Reserve), BONNIE GERMAIN (Syracuse), SHARON JEFFREY (Michigan), MICHAEL ROSENBAUM (Columbia Medical School), ROBERT ROSS (Michigan), NAWAB SHAH (Michigan), RICHARD WEINERT (Yale), FLORENCE WEINBERGER (Syracuse), CAROL WEISBROD (Columbia Law School), RICHARD WOLFF (Harvard); STAFF: CAROL WEISBROD, *National Secretary;* ROBERT A. HABER, *Field Secretary;* DONALD FREEMAN, *Midwest Representative;* DAVID GOLDEN, *West Coast Representative.*

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

112 East 19 Street
New York 3, New York
Algonquin 4-5865

STUDENT DEPARTMENT OF THE
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Copy No. ____

August 3, 1961

Note: This is a preliminary draft given limited circulation for comment. It will be revised for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Meeting August 11-13.

MEMO: Students for A Democnatic Society, and Civil Rights
Re: Proposed student project in voter registration
From: Al Haber, Sandra Cason: SDS

The SDS is an organization of students, largely in the North, concerned with the understanding of democracy and the extension of democratic values throughout the various aspects of contemporary economic, social and political affairs, both in American life and internationally. We are affiliated with the League for Industrial Democracy, a long standing liberal educational center. The SDS has followed carefully the developments in the student civil rights movement in the south, sitting in as an official observer on SNCC, attending the various conferences, and aiding the northern support effort, both through the programs of our chapters and from our national office. We have viewed with great interest the initial discussion of a coordinated and cooperative voter registration program in which the student movement would play a principal role. The SDS offers the following memorandum as a contribution to that discussion.

The organization of a voter registration, such as has been contemplated, involves at the outset a number of problems. The major civil rights organizations and agencies functioning in the south would have to commit themselves to its support; the limitations of students would have to be clearly understood as well as their role in giving support to local adult organization and the relation of the voter project to the continuing thrust of the non-violent mass movement on public facilities and employement would have to delineated. A responsible policy making and administrative group would have to be constituted, while keeping the major initiative with the students. Financial support and personnel for the program would have to be arranged and the organizational differences that have sometimes made cooperative action in civil rights difficult would have to be composed. Even so, we are hopeful that these problems can be handled; we give our strong endorsement to "voter registration" as the major new initiative in the student civil rights movement.

1. The sit-ins, jail-ins, and freedom rides have set the stage. There exists now the image of a radical mass action movement, there exists a group of committed, relatively experienced people who could give this impetus and there exists indigenous organizational structure suited to protest and radical action.

2. The issue itself is fundamental. If the non-violent movement has increasingly focused on human dignity, it is nonetheless clear that to give dignity social content, the individual must find channels through which they can have influence within the broader community. Traditionally in a democratic system, participation in the political process, and specifically the elctoral franchise, is chief among these channels. Political rights, ultimately, are the precondition for an equal footing in such areas as employement, housing, education,

and welfare protection.

3. Further, Negro enfranchisemsnt is absolutely essential in order to bring about the social and economic changes necessary for themore general development of the South quite apart from any specifically civil rights struggle: trade union organization, urban redevelopment, public services and social welfare programs, the improvement of the quality of education, democratization of the political party structure.

4. We feel that the movement is prepared for the kind of shift of emphasis that a voter registration program would involve. There is an increasing feeling that action has notgotten leverage on the crucial issues of racial equality. Further, as the movement has developed an increasingly able body of leadership there is greater desire for political activity, and a knowledge that this can be successful without compromising the movement's direct non-violent character. Finally we believe that with students playing the initiating role — through the SNCC which is a non-membership body — there will be a much better base for cooperative activity among the adult groups.

In preliminary discussions, the SDS has been mentioned as the principal student group supporting and associatied with the SNCC in the project. We would be very anxious to play such a role. We see that our involvement could, potentially, follow three lines:

I. The publicizing of theproject on Northern campuses and the coordination of support activities;

II. Direct assistance for theproject operation in the South;

III. Broad support for the project through the encouragement on Southern campuses of informed discussion on social, political and economic problems.

I. We would envision a northern support effort as involving:

a) The projection of a new image of the southern movement to northern students primarily through the publication of occasional reports and the facilitation of information flow. In particular, this would entail an explanation of the need for voter registration efforts, the organization of SNCC, its role and the scope of its efforts, the cooperative nature of the project, etc. In addition it would entail the channeling of material through the SDS office, from various southern groups, such as SNCC, southern regional council, NAACP, SCLC, CORE, and other agencies (such as the Justice Department, and the labour movement) to northern campus groups such as ad hoc civil rights, student political groups, religious groups, etc.

b) The organization and facilitation of support activity: providing a center for organization of fund drives, giving service to groups wishing speakers, directing student interest to critical points in the political structure (Congress and the Justice Department), and to national bodies of voluntary organizations (churches, professional groups, labour, etc.). Beyond this there might be the organization of support demonstrations (such as a march on Washington or to some place in the south or a petition campaign) should the southern leadership feel such action necessary or useful.

c) The recruiting and training of northern students and youth to participate in the project. Just as in Rock Hill and the freedom rides, "outsiders" have shown that they can have an important impact on a "local" problem, we can foresee the

need for manpower and the need for a direct expression of concern by students from all over the country on this "regional" problem. Northern students could participate in staffing the voting clinics, doing administrative work, and perhaps doing canvassing and field work. We could aid the important orientation of these students to the conditions and the character of the region inwhich they would be working that would precede their moving south.

d) Giving the project northern extension: initiating similar campaigns on a pilot basis in two or three selected northern cities where an increased registration of the Negro community could substantially alter the political character of the city. Such projects would be concentrated efforts to demonstrate the potential of political involvement and to stimulate the indigenous northern civil rights groups to take up the program and themselves develop amovement complimentary to that in the South. We would provide program resources and, in conjunction with the functioning agencies, field assistance to student groups who wanted to undertake such an initiative.

Concretely, the above points would entail SDS's assignment of one or more, likely two, staff people to the project, the compilation of an extensive mailing and contact list, the publication of resource documents on the program and the problems it would be dealing with, the serving as a clearing house and distribution center for materials and information relating to political rights and political education.

II. Direct assistance to the Southern effort: The involvement of SDS in this is a possibility if there is need for a student group that can serve as a recipient for tax-free funds. This could be particularly important in view of the discussions both of foundation support and of large individual contributions. The SDS, through its association with the L.I.D., could receive such funds on a tax-exempt basis. It might, in this way, be possible to establish a special fund for at least certain aspects of southern program. The mechanics of any such arrangement would have to be worked out so that the administration and formulation of policy by SNCC and whatever advisory group is set up would not be compromised. The program areas in which this might be possible are:

I understand that SNCC would be doing this — good!

a) Handling the financing of the educational materials that will be used in the voting clinics and in subsequent work with registrants (constitution reprints, manuals, guides for teachers, material for general distribution in the South on the problem).

b) Acting as the agency for the financing and the maintainance of clinics.

c) Serving, nominally, as the paymaster for the student field staff, and receiving various support funds that might develop.

III. Development of an SDS discussion program in the South would serve as a broad complementary action for the whole registration program. There are in the South almost no campus groups concerned with national and international social, economic and political issues. There is little opportunity within the regular college program to develop such concerns. The South has become a region set apart and isolated from any continuing current of progressive and political thought. Student governments on most white campuses have withdrawn from the United States National Student Association and have formed the Southern Student Government Association, which does not deal with questions of social consequence; local campus political discussion or action groups are non-existent; Young Democrats, where they are present, are usually the Dixiecrat variety; denominational groups, which are the chief carriers of discussion, tend to steer away from controversial issues.

Intelligent discussion and thought on these white campuses is obviously necessary if the colleges are to become a center for the kind of social and political awakening in the South which will recognize Negro registration, or the civil rights advance generally, as necessary and valuable. The Southern student civil rights movement has stirred the Southern Negro campuses, but the focus on "non-political" action has provided little incentive for discussion of the issues that face the South, or the nation as a whole, in any context save civil rights. Thus the same sort of encouragement is necessary on Negro campuses if the move toward enfranchisment is to be paralleled by an increasing understanding of the issues which are to be voted upon.

There will certainly be many sources of resistance to any organized promotional effort of campus discussion programs and groups. It will be branded communist and subversive; it will suffer harrassment by university authorities; it will be misunderstood by many students. Perhaps most significant will be the feeling, long current within southern civil rights movement, that political discussion will introduce devisive issues and disrupt the unified thrust of the action program. We think, however, that there are a significant group of students and faculty — on both white and Negro campuses — and many people prominent in the adult community who are now ready to support such an effort. Particularly within the context of political awareness produced by a voter registration drive, we think it possible to initiate campus political discussion groups which could deal with a broad range of issues and eventually be recognized as legitimate and respectable liberal centers on campuses.

If such activity is seen as an appropriate correlate to the voter programs, and could secure financial backing, the first step would be the assignment of an SDS field secretary to the South — beginning as early as possible in the Fall 1961. Principally, the person would be laying the ground work for the subsequent program, developing contacts with Southern civil rights grups, establishing communication with faculty and students on various campuses and with Southern liberal adults in various fields who could serve as informal advisors and resource persons. On the basis of these preliminaries we would prepare a project proposal, for possible foundation support, of a two year program in the South. As now conceived, we would see such a proposal involving:

a) The publication of a pamphlet and a series of discussion guides on regional social, economic and political problems for use as resource material for discussion groups and for general distribution.

b) The organization of a group of speakers and resource persons who would be willing to meet with discussion groups or address the campus in meetings planned by the groups, and generally, to aid in the development of the program. The collection of program resources in the national office — or perhaps a regional office — that would aid in setting up such forums.

c) In the spring, bringing together a number of Southern youth and adult leaders in an invitational conference to review the activity experience of the fall to define better the problems with which the program will have to deal and to plan a phased, long-term strategy.

d) A series of conferences in leadership techniques, national and international issues, and regional problems, designed primarily to overcome the isolation of individuals on campus and to increase the confidence and experience of the student leadership.

The aim of this program would be to establish on perhaps 50 southern campuses, within a two year period, political issue clubs or liberal discussion groups. These might be either SDS chapters or independent groups loosely associated with and serviced by the SDS. We would see those groups as the necessary base of political education which should properly parallel the registration of voters.

* * * *

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York
GR 3-2181

NATIONAL CONVENTION

11 to 15 June

F D R Labor Center
Port Huron, Michigan

The convention will center around debate on a political manifesto. Preliminary papers have been distributed to members and associates. The manifesto--seeking to articulate in terms of our generation the values traditional to democracy and then applying these to the situations of international and domestic politics--will, we hope, provide both an organizational and an intellectual stimulus to the development of a community on the left in the universities.

BRIEF PROGRAM

11 June: PRE-CONVENTION MEETING ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, LABOR AND THE CAMPUS
also, National Executive Committee meeting and registration

12 June: EDUCATIONAL SESSIONS: Roger Hagan (Editor, Committee of Correspondance newsletter) Michael Harrington (socialist writer) Arnold Kaufman (Professor of Philosphy) Harold Taylor (educator) I.F. Stone (journalist)...others pending

****the domestic stalemate: racism, the economy of poverty and affluence, militarism and the warfare state, obstacles to discussion and dissent
****a status quo nation in a revolutionary world: the Anti-Colonial Revolution, the Cold War
****the intellectual foundations of the Left
****modern liberalism: a critical view

13 - 15 June
THE MANIFESTO: debate, amendments, voting
THE ORGANIZATION: a new constitution and elections
THE PROGRAM: workgroups and mandates

****

F.D.R. Center is 9 miles north of Port Huron, Michigan, on highway US 25 (about 60 miles north of Detroit). Bus transportation will be available from New York City leaving June 10. Convention room and fee is $14, food not included. Deferred payment over the summer will be available for those without sufficient funds on hand. Plan to arrive June 11.

****

The manifesto draft will be mailed after June 1 to registrants and those requesting it. Copies of other convention papers will be mailed out or available at Port Huron. For information: Sandra Hayden, 112 E. 19, NY.

Students for a Democratic Society
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

What is the S.D.S.?

Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left. It seeks to create a sustained community of educational and political concern: one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty.

It maintains a vision of a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which effect them and the resources on which they are dependent. It seeks a relevance through the continual focus on realities and on the programs needed to affect change at the most basic levels of economic, political and social organization. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counter posed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right.

The S.D.S. is an organization being built; its program and structure will be formalized at a national convention, 14-17 June 1962. Broadly it represents the concern of students for a multi-issue educational and action center responsive to the needs, idealism and intellect of a new generation seeking its future in peace and social justice. It is organized as a national membership association: it looks to the formation of chapters on campuses and in high schools, to loosely affiliating independent clubs and to building an at-large membership.

A Statement of Need.

The time is one of revolution. The clash between East and West and the development of the Soviet Union, China and international communism are but overtones to that revolution. An exploding world population and a nuclear weaponry threatening to explode the world, new nationalisms seeking the readiest way to throw off economic exploitation, poverty, and political dependency; complex bureaucratic and corporate structures changing the relation of man to his work, to his government and to his community; incredible strides in technology, medicine and industrial productivity: these are the new realities. They challenge our conventional notions of freedom and democracy; the reconstruct our ideas of the possible. Yet, paradoxically, America lacks now the one force that might react constructively to this world in upheaval -- a creative, daring, and politically organized left.

What is needed is a left that is public, responsible and influential -- not one housed in garrets, lunatic and ineffectual; a left that is visionary yet ever developing concrete programs -- not empty or deluded in its goals and sterile in its action; a left that is idealistic and hopeful -- not deadened by its failures or chained by a myopic view of human possibility; a left that is both passionate and reflective -- not timid and intellectually paralytic; a left which demands that American politics be vivified by controversy -- not one that emasculates its principles before the icons of unity and bipartisanship; a left that stimulates and gives honor to the full movement of human imagination -- not one that induces sectarian rigidity or encourages stereotyped rhetoric.

The leadership for such a movement comes now too infrequently from the Democratic or Socialist parties, the trade unions, the liberal, civil rights, civil liberties and peace organizations, the writers and members of the various professions. While urging such institutions to regenerated motion for genuine reform, we look to the American University as one basis for the development of the movement we envision. We are not unseeing apologists for the numerous problems of the academic community, but we find in it the resources with which we might forge a progressive social movement, one that is relevant in its confrontation of the serious issues facing man, farsighted in its penetration, bold in its reemphasis of principle and enunciation of program.

Purposes:

1) to develop among students a concern for contemporary social, political and economic problems, looking both to immediate remedial programs and to a broader view of an humane social order where such problems would not exist.

2) to build a movement of University reform seeking to establish conditions of academic freedom and internal democracy and to make the academic community a creative and penetrating force confronting the political and moral complexities of our time.

3) to promote educated participation in movements of civil rights, civil liberties, and peace on the campus and the extension of these movements into the adult community - particularly with the view of coalesing such potentially allied interests as labor, farmer, minority group into a unified progressive force in American politics.

4) to serve as a democratic initiative against those forces of reaction that would respond to international and domestic challenge with military initiative, pseudo-patriotism, and with an anti-labor, anti-welfare defense of outmoded economic and political privilege.

Membership:

1) a commitment to democratic values and to the ideas of cooperation and planning as crucial integrating notions for the program of the left.

2) a willingness to identify yourself as one critical of contemporary society and to work others in the common exploration both of proximate alternatives and reforms and, as well, the long range re-thinking of social, economic and political philosophy.

3) a willingness to apply the same criteria of criticism and affirmation to nation-states, be they of the Sino-Soviet bloc or of the West, and to social movements, be they revolutionary movements of the left, liberal movements of reform or reactionary developments on the right.

4) the willingness, as students and faculty, to assert the full responsibility of membership in a university community, both of serious scholarship and of democratic participation in the decision making and direction of the institution.

Program and Policy:

The SDS National Convention, 14-17 June 1962, will adopt a "political manifesto" expressing the intellectual and programatic outlook of the organization. This will focus particularly on a delineation of the concept "democracy" as it applies in such varied realms as industrial organization, education, the arts, colonial revolution and economic development, the Soviet Union and international communism, etc. It is hoped that this will provide a much needed statement of conviction and program for the young left in America.

Civil Rights: We support a program of direct action and political organization which strikes at the economic and power base of the present institutions of social exploitation. This means that the civil rights movement must focus the commitment to non-violence on specific forms of social dislocation that disrupt the functioning of those institutions, that it must look for allies in the labor and liberal movements, that it must associate itself with an educational program examining the context of the race issue, the structure of established institutions, the road-blocks to change and specific political objectives. The struggle for racial equality cannot be separated from the struggles for democracy in local politics, the work place, the control of public resources, the planning of public welfare.....We work with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and serve as a northern liaison and participation in the Southern Student Freedom Fund.

Peace: We believe that initiatives toward disarmament and disengagement must replace "deterrence" as the central thrust of American foreign policy. Such initiatives are necessarily tied to a broader policy reform: support of anti-colonial and progressive nationalist movements, free trade and travel and expanded economic aid, etc. Essentially a viable alternative must be created to the complex of military and industrial and investment interests that derive profit or stability from the present system. Hence, we emphasize the organization of "political seminars" to conduct research pointed to influencing legislative and decision making elites on both the national and local levels, to do the detailed planning toward demobilization and economic conversion, to initiate education and action in the community toward building a base of local political support and pressure for national policy shift.....We work closely with the Student Peace Union and are a cooperating organization in the National Turn Toward Peace and the TTP youth council. We were a co-sponsor of the recent "Washington Action Project."

Higher Education: We see the university as a vital base of resources for political action in the society. Believing that the young intellectual is becoming increasingly important as an agent of social change, it is imperative that there be freedom of political thought and activity within the university. Our demands for university reform focus on the introduction of controversy and concern for major public issues into the curriculum and classroom, opposition to in loco parentis, student and faculty control of educational policy, and full freedom of inquiry, press and assembly.

Student Political and Economic Organization: We support action for the 18 year old vote and the right of students to vote and organize politically where they go to school. We support student economic organization: in unions or other associations for a minimum wage and non-discriminatory hiring, in tenant associations or cooperatives for fair rents. We support the unionization, collective bargaining, and right to strike of the university employees, both service and academic. We support campus political parties and action to make student government an effective force of student interest - in the university and in the community at large.

National Politics: As an educational organization, SDS does not engage directly in the support of candidates or particular items of legislation. It urges making demands on political candidates for both national and local office and for being organized in a way to give support to candidates that pledge themselves to progressive programs. It sees as paramount the organization of a Caucus in the Democratic party directed to expelling the Dixiecrats at the 1964 Convention. It sees making this a unifying demand through all areas of the student movement, particularly in civil rights and peace. It supports student involvement in reform political organization both as an independent radical force and representing the interests of youth. It sees the need for a national framework and meeting place and educational center for such young people in politics.

Membership

Membership is open to all young people who support the aims and purposes of the organization. Dues are $1.00 for the year. Non-members who want to receive the materials of the organization may become associates. Contributing associates ($1.00 per year or more) will receive the regular membership mailings, meeting notices and right to attend conferences and participate in local program. Non-contributing associates will be maintained on the mailing list for two months. Members receive without cost, all publications of the organization and of the LID.

Local Organization

The SDS membership is organized in chapters and associated groups. A local group carries on seminars, research, brings speakers to campus, cooperates in action programs, attends regional and national conferences. The national office provides publications, speakers, and other resource assistance. A chapter has representation on the national committee and gets priority in program service from the national office. It also sends voting delegates to the convention. An associated group, while remaining completely independent, expresses agreement with the organization and its desire to work within the general framework of SDS program. It has observer status on the national committee and participates at the convention without vote.

History

The SDS reorganization which began last Fall followed several years of slight activity. Its history, however, chronicles the course of the young left in America since the year 1905. Founded by Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Clarence Darrow and others, it has maintained a program of educational activity on the campus, publications and conferences and training institutes. Throughout it has fought (often by necessity)the battles for academic freedom, the right to assemble, to speak, to print and to promote controversy.

SDS supported labor organization--on picket lines, in campaigns for strikers relief, in organization of the unemployed; it stood against imperialism and fascism--protesting American intervention in China, Nicaragua and Mexico, giving aid to democratic underground movements; it joined in the public outrage over the Sacco and Vanzetti convictions. It played a central role in the anti-war strikes of the early '30s, supported the Oxford Peace Pledge, fought against the influence on the military in the Universities, against ROTC and patriotic oaths. It organized student employees into unions, called strikes against administration suppression of student rights, and served continually as a defender of civil rights. It is from this tradition of "agitation, Education, Organization" that SDS renews its program.

League for Industrial Democracy

A youth organization, if it strives for political relevance, must connect itself with movements in the "adult community" of labor, civil rights, civil liberties, urban reform and international world order. Throughout its history, SDS has functioned as the youth affiliate of the L.I.D., long a gathering place for radicals and progressives carrying on the struggles for democracy in America and throughout the world. At this point, with the adult left in tatters and without clear direction, a responsibility of the student movement falls heavily toward the recreation of a unifying intellectual and political center on the left.

Where Does the S.D.S Get Its Support?

The principal source of support is the L.I.D., and through it, labor unions, educational foundations and individuals in the adult community. The expansion of program requires greater reliance on direct contributions from members and friends. All contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

National Executive Committee of Students for a Democratic Society

Robert Alan Haber, chairman
Robert Ross, vice-cahirman (Michigan)
Mark Acuff (New Mexico)
Rebecca Adams (Swarthmore)
Paul Booth (Swarthmore)
Donal Freedman (Cleveland)
Betty Garman (U. of California)
Sandra Cason Hayden (New York)
Sharon Jeffrey (U. of Michigan)
Timothy Jenkins (Yale Law School)
Daniel Johnston (Drake Law School)
Steven Max (New York)
James Monsonis (Atlanta, Georgia)
John Robert Zelner (Atlanta, Georgia)

Regional Representatives

Mick Bateson (U. of North Carolina)
Peter Countryman (New England)
Edward Hollander (Temple)
Michael Locker (Earlham)
Michael Ruby (U. of Oklahoma)
Max Stanford (Central State)
Robert Walters (Harrisburg, Pa.)
Houston Wade (U. of Texas)
Jack Stuart (Columbia)

Liaison
Richard Roman.
Paul Potter

StaffA Al Haber, National Secretary, New York City
Thomas Hayden, Field Secretary, New York City
Harlon Joye, VENTURE, New York City, New School for Social Research
Jon Eisen, ACTIVIST, Oberlin
Jerry Schwinn, Peace Research Project, University of Indiana
Sancra Cason Hayden, Convention Coordinator, New York City

Student Activities Committee for the League for Industrial Democracy

Emanual Maravchik, Chairman
Michael Harrington
Marvin Rich
Rowland Watts
Vera Rony, ex-officio

****

SDS Sponsored Conferences

April 13-15	Campus Political Parties Conference (with the Progressive Student League): Oberlin, Ohio
May 4-6	Race and Politics in the South: Chapel Hill, North Carolina
June 11-15	NATIONAL CONVENTION: PORT HURON, MICHIGAN
August 19-30	Liberal Study Group at the National Student Congress: Columbus, Ohio

****

Name_____ phone_____
Current Address_____
_____ until_____
Permanent Address_____
_____ phone_____
School_____ Year_____

Send: manifesto draft ( )
information on peace project ( )

( ) I would like to be a member of SDS. $1 dues enclosed.
( ) I would like to be a contributing associate: $___ enclosed plus $___ pledge.
( ) I would like to be a non-contributing associate: on mailing list for two months.
( ) I am interested in organizaing an SDS chapter.

(Indicate on the back your interests and other people we should contact.)

2

December 20, 1962

Mrs. Joyce Sudds
610 West 66th Street
Shreveport, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Sudds:

Senator Leroy Johnson has forwarded to me your letter of December 7, in which you inquire about the procedure for organizing a voter registration campaign.

We work through organizations and at the moment we have assigned the Shreveport area to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. SCLC has a director there in the person of Rev. Harry Blake (2834 Abbie St., Shreveport - phone 424-8044) and I would strongly urge that you get in touch with him and find out what plans are currently under way, if any, regarding registration in the Shreveport area.

Although the NAACP is not receiving any funds from us for work in the Shreveport area, I know that it is the policy of the NAACP to make some effort toward voter registration wherever they have branches and in this regard I would suggest that you get in touch with Rev. C.C. McLain, Shreveport branch president (1140 Kenneth Ave., Shreveport).

We would also be interested in knowing your own opinions regarding the status of any voter registration drives which have been conducted in Shreveport during the past year, the problems encountered, and, from your observation, the reasons for any apparent failures in getting more people registered, or not getting people to attempt registration. You may be assured that your reply will be kept in the strictest confidence in the event that you would not want to be quoted.

4-Project Proposals

We welcome your interest in voter registration and would like to hear from you further.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Senator Johnson

610 - West 66th Street
Shreveport, Louisiana
December 7, 1962

To the Honorable Senator Leroy Johnson,
960 Hunter Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would like to find out more about organizing a voter registration drive or campaign quietly and discreetly and also send information concerning this grant. I believe you called it the Branton Fund.

Again, may I commend you for the inspiring words you gave at the Citizenship Conference in New Orleans.

Respectfully yours,
(Mrs.) Joyce Sudds

January 8, 1964

Ms. Miriam Cohen
614 G Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Cohen:

Your letter of January 4 to Mr. Jack Minnis is being answered by me for the reason that Mr. Minnis is no longer connected with the Southern Regional Council.

The Voter Education Project has no particular plans for beginning projects in white communities in Georgia but will consider a request from any group for work with voter education projects anywhere in the eleven states where we are working, without regard to the racial composition of the community.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

WB

JAN 6 1964

614 G Street S E
Washington D. C.
Jan. 4, 1963

Mr. Jack Minish
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Minish:

I was told that you are investigating the possibility of beginning projects in white communities in Georgia.

I have worked with SNCC in Georgia and Mississippi and I am very interested in the idea of working with white communities. I have talked with people and read about this and also have tried canvassing in the white community in Meridian, Miss.

I would be very interested in hearing what progress you have made so far and what plans are being formed.

Thank you!

Sincerely,

Miriam Cohen

Miriam Cohen
SNCC

WB. ✓
RTB!
BW. ✓

702 Popular Street
Goldsboro, North Carolina
February 14, 1964

Randolph Blackwell, Field Director

5 Parsyth Street N.W.

Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

We are beginning an all out effort to get every qualified Negro in Wayne County registered to vote in the up coming elections. In Wayne County we have potentials in that Negroes comprise 45% of an approximately 90,000 population.

To carry this program we are in great need of financial assistance. We are submitting below a partial budget in connection with our total program.

Secretary----10 weeks @ $25.00 per week	$250.00
2 Field Workers 10 weeks @ $25.00 per week	500.00
Supplies 25,000 Leaflets	125.00
Letters and Stamps	35.00
Transportation in connection with Registration drive	300. 00
Rental (headquarters) and telephone	100.00
Miscellaneous	100.00
Total	$ 1,410.00

Your immediate attention would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

O.R. Stovall

Dr. O.R. Stovall, Chairman
Voter Registration Campaign

O.R.S. /c

I do not know Dr. Stovall. I have had contact with a Rev. Grizette state religious leader of the NAACP. I also know that John Edmond has conducted a drive in Halifax, I will be in this section of the state 20 of Feb.

Project Proposals

601 East Lemon Street
Fitzgerald, Georgia
February 18, 1964

RTB.
Rec'd 2/18/64

Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackwell :

Upon the instructions of our branch president, Rev. Mr. F. R. Rowe, I am writing to let you know that we are interested in having you conduct a voter education program in our community.

Here in the Ben Hill County area, we have undertaken a massive drive to register every eligible Negro voter in this county. However, we find that many persons can not qualify due to the lack of certain knowledge. We would hope to overcome this obstacle by conducting a program similar to the one held most recently at Koinonia Farm near Americus, Georgia.

Enclosed you will find a clipping from one of the local newspapers which shows a fairly good count of the number of persons (900) who registered to vote January 31st and February 1st, just prior to the closing of the books for the county primary. Of these 900 registrants, Negroes constituted approximately 40%. In these two days we were able to register approximately 360 new voters and we hope to do much better in the weeks to come. Our drive will continue until the books close just prior to the September general election.

We would like to know if it is possible for you to come to this area sometime in the very near future. If you find it possible to do so, please let us know the approximate dates so we can plan along those lines. Mail your return letter either to me or to : Rev. Mr. F. R. Rowe ; 603 East Roanoke Drive ; Fitzgerald, Georgia.

Your consideration of this matter will be deeply appreciated by all of us.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur B. Haynes
Chairman, Legal Redress Committee
Ben Hill-Irwin County Branch, NAACP

Project Proposals

Wayne Cross

March 21

9:00 am

American Legion

BWL
RTB

March 16, 1964

COPY

Miss Dorothy Franklin
P. O. Box 307
McCormick, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Franklin:

Thank you for your informative letter of March 14 concerning voter registration activities in the 3rd Congressional District.

I will inform the leaders in Oconee, Greenwood, Pickens, Abbeville and Anderson Counties about the next meeting scheduled for April 12 at the Masonic Temple in Saluda, 3 P. M. o'clock.

I am mailing to you under separate cover a supply of sample registration application blanks.

Please note that I am mailing a copy of your letter to me and my letter to you to Dr. C. H. Thomas, the State chairman and Mr. Randolph Blackwell, Field Director of the Voter Education Project for their information.

I plan to meet with the 3rd District April 12. If any change is made as to time and place of the Meeting kindly let me know.

Yours for freedom,

I. DeQuincey Newman,
Field Secretary

IDN:an
CC: Dr. C. H. Thomas
Mr. Randolph Blackwell

Regional Programs

Dorothy Franklin
Post Office Box 307
McCormick, South Carolina
March 14, 1964

Mr. S. D. Newman
Post Office Box 1204
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Newman

The Third Congressional District met March 8, 1964, which was our second meeting. As the vice secretary and being present at the meeting I was ask to inform you that only four counties was represented, which was Saluda, Edgefield, McCormick, and Newberry, South Carolina.

If you know the key members of the other counties will you please inform them that our next meeting will be the 2nd Sunday in April in Saluda, South Carolina at the Masonic Hall, time 3:00 P.M.

I would like very much for you to send me a few sample application's for registration.

Respectfully yours,
Mrs. Dorothy Franklin

Project Proposals

June 29, 1964

Mr. William R. Keech
Department of Political Science
The University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Keech:

It was not until Leslie Dunbar returned from the Research Conference on Negro Politics in Chapel Hill that I became aware of the fact that your letter to Jack Minnis of April 13 had never been answered. Mr. Minnis left the Voter Education Project in December of 1963.

The Voter Education Project is now in the terminal phase and we intend to withdraw support to our participating agencies in October and start writing our final report after the November Election.

Because of the limitations on the one hand and lack of staff on the other, we do not feel that your project could be completed in time to be of value to the Voter Education Project even though we think well of your proposal.

We would be pleased to share with you any information which we might have available or could obtain and would hope that you would share with us any information which might be of value to Voter Education Project. I note that your proposal was prepared in October of 1963 and I would be interested in knowing what developments have taken place regarding your project since that time.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
SOUTH HALL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

LWD ✓
What do you think of this proposal
WH

265 Langdon St.
Madison, Wis. 53703
13 April 1964

Mr. Jack Minnis
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

APR 15 1964

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Enclosed is a statement of a research project I plan to carry out this fall, attempting to measure the effects of increases in Negro voter registration on Negro social and economic status.

Because the Southern Regional Council is active in encouraging Negro registration, Mr. Herbert Jacob and I thought the Council would be interested in my project and that it might be willing to help support it financially. While the University of Wisconsin is giving me a small stipend, it will not be enough to cover all my expenses.

In any case, I wonder if you can suggest any information that would be helpful in carrying out my research, whether collected by the Council or otherwise. Please let me know if you would like me to send you further information about the proposal. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

William R. Keech

William R. Keech

TO: DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE October 1963
FROM: WILLIAM R. KEECH
ADVISOR: PROFESSOR AUSTIN RANNEY
SUBJECT: PROPOSED TOPIC FOR PH. D. DISSERTATION

THE EFFECTS OF INCREASES IN NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATIONS UPON NEGRO SOCIAL STATUS IN SELECTED SOUTHERN COUNTIES

How much difference has the grant of the vote to previously disfranchised Negroes in the southern United States made in terms of improving their social and economic position? The theory behind the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, and behind considerable activity on the part of the Justice Department and certain private organizations is that political rights are basic to social and economic rights and that the vote is a major tool, if not the major tool, to be used by the Negro in achieving first-class citizenship.

Thus this question has considerable importance for current public policy if for no other reason than that extensive resources are being poured into the enterprise of getting the Negro the vote. The question has even wider implications, however, for democratic theory and the empirical study of politics. It is an item of contention between democratic theorists and Marxists whether the vote is actually an effective tool for petitioning the government and getting a response or merely a sham that does not get to the real conflicts in society. This is of course bound up with the theory that voting rights are closely connected with social and economic rights. The study would shed light on the nature of the relationship between governors and governed in the electoral process. We know far more about how interest groups and parties function as an input into the political system than we do about the slack that exists between the voters and decision makers. This project would answer some of the relevant questions and perhaps point up guidelines for further research. It would shed light on the question of how the vote can be used to further the ends of a group.

I propose to isolate a number of counties in the [redacted] southern states where registration statistics are collected by race, and in which there has been a substantial increase in Negro registration that has gone over a threshold of, say, 25-30% of the total electorate. I would visit those counties, or certain of them, and check local statistics on public services, expenditures, etc. that would indicate some of the changes that might have taken place, and interview elected public officials and both white and Negro civic leaders to ascertain their perceptions of actual concrete changes, if any, and of other less tangible changes that had taken place as a result of the change in registration. I would then try to relate the changes or lack of them to many factors such as the Negro percentage of the total population, Negro percentage of all registered voters, the nature of political cleavage in the county, the nature of Negro and white civic leadership there, etc. This way the circumstances under which the grant of the franchise to a group of relatively high cohesion with relatively common grievances and demands is most likely to get results might be isolated from those under which negligible change takes place.

Following is a list of some of the sources which have been consulted in the course of formulating this problem, all of which point in one way or another to the need for a comparative study of this sort.

Commission on Civil Rights, REPORT, 1959.

Commission on Civil Rights, REPORT, 1961, Vol. 1, VOTING.

Key, V. O., Jr., SOUTHERN POLITICS.

Lane, Robert, POLITICAL LIFE.

Matthews, Donald, and James W. Prothro, "Social and Economic Factors in Negro Voter Registration in the South," APSR, March, 1963.

Matthews, Donald and James W. Prothro, "Political Factors in Negro Voter Registration in the South," APSR, June, 1963.

Moon, H. L., BALANCE OF POWER: THE NEGRO VOTE.

Myrdal, Gunnar, AN AMERICAN DILEMMA.

Price, Hugh Douglas, THE NEGRO AND SOUTHERN POLITICS.

Wilson, James Q., NEGRO POLITICS.

W.B.

1. This is an interesting idea. But would he get his work done in time to be of value to VEP research & writing during 1965 & would he be willing to share ~~them~~ it?

2. Who is Herbert Jacob?

3. Reich's advice (see its attachment), Austin Ranney is a well known political scientist. Before entering into

... any arrangement with Reed, ~~if~~ ~~[illegible]~~ we ~~[illegible]~~ should get a recommendation from him

4. In sum, I would like to have such information as he proposes to get — particularly about VEP counties —, but not at great expense or trouble

August 10, 1964

Dr. John Morsell
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Morsell:

You called me several days ago to inform me that NAACP was interested in conducting registration programs in North Carolina between now and the October 24 deadline, and wanting to know what areas VEP would consider making grants to NAACP.

After reviewing our files and places where we are likely to make direct grants, I find the following: We previously made a grant to SCLC for work in certain eastern North Carolina counties and this program was completed. At the moment, there is no specific request for a new program but I expect that they will be asking for a grant. We would consider a grant to NAACP for any of those counties if you had strong reasons for wanting programs in any of those counties. I refer to the following counties in eastern North Carolina:

Bertie
Martin
Northampton
Currituck
Gates
Chowan
Tyrrell
Washington
Pitt
Pasquotank
Hertford
Perquimans

Project Program

In addition to some consideration for eastern North Carolina, we would consider making a grant to NAACP for work in any North Carolina city or county excepting the following:

Winston-Salem
Halifax County
Warren County
Wilson County

I know that some of the places in North Carolina have year-round registration, while others will be open for only a short period immediately preceding the election. If you desire grants in North Carolina, then you should submit a request to VEP, together with some budget estimate for each place requested and it would also be helpful if you would list your geographic priorities in the event that we cannot support you full request.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

cc: Mr. Kelly Alexander
Mr. John Brooks

August 10, 1964

Mrs. U. S. Brooks
President
Charlotte Branch NAACP
2044 Renner Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Brooks:

Dr. Leslie Bunbar has asked me to reply to your letter to him of August 3 in which you seek funds for a voter registration program in Charlotte, North Carolina.

In dealing with major organizations such as NAACP, we generally consider requests which come through the national office, and I would suggest that you make a request through the office of Mr. John Brooks, who is in charge of voter registration for NAACP in North Carolina. It would be helpful if you would send us a copy of the letter at the time you write Mr. Brooks, and you should include some description of the kind of program you plan to conduct, together with a budget proposal.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jg

cc: Mr. John Brooks
404½ North 2nd Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. John Morsell

Project Proposals

WB

WB - please reply

CHARLOTTE, N.C. BRANCH
N.A.A.C.P.

2044 Renner Street
Charlotte, N.C.
Auguat 3, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council on
Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Some time ago we were informed that the Southern Regional Council had designated certain funds to be channeled through various organizations for the purpose of increasing voter registration.

The Charlotte Branch, N.A.A.C.P. is now preparing to begin an intensive voter registration drive preceding the November elections, and I am writing to ask if any of the above mentioned funds are still available for this purpose.

If such funds are still available, please advise me as to what our procedure would be in applying for same.

Yours very truly,

Margette T. Brooks

Mrs. U.S. Brooks
President
Charlotte, N.C. Branch, NAA.A.C.P.

WB

YWCA

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

Southern Region
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 5-2372

Chairman
Olga Seastrom
Pennsylvania State University

Vice Chairmen
Chrystal Kellogg
Southwestern College
Kathleen Miller
Oklahoma State University
Alma Seniors
Tuskegee Institute

Chairman Administrative Committee
Mrs. William Genné

Executive
Mrs. Margaret Edmunson Norton

Associate in Administration
Odile Sweeney

Associates
Jean M. Whittet
Program Development
Ruth Shinn
Personnel and Training
Annie-Kate Gilbert
National Support

Consultant in Human Relations
Celestine L. Smith, Ed. D.

Administrative Assistant
Helen Baird

President, National Board
Mrs. Archie D. Marvel

General Secretary
Edith M. Lerrigo

November 13, 1964

David Dellinger

NOV 13 1964

MR. WILEY A. BRANTON, Director
Voter Education Project of
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

The National Student YWCA is considering the possibility of having several voter education and/or registration projects in the Southern region during the 1965 college spring holidays (one week before Easter and one week after Easter).

We would like to have your judgment regarding localities in which such projects would be needed and feasible at that time.

It would be helpful to us to have, also, the rationale for the selection of each of these localities.

I shall appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Rosetta E. Gardner vs.

REG/vs

ROSETTA E. GARDNER
Regional Director
Southern Region

(Signed in Miss Gardner's absence)

Info given to REG by WB on phone

Proposals - Gen

February 22, 1966

Miss Nancy Valentine
104 West Market
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Miss Valentine:

Your request for information on conducting a voter education center to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, dated January 24, has been forwarded to our office for reply.

We regret very much that we are not in a position to offer any suggestions in view of the fact that our project is limited to the eleven southern states. However, may I suggest that you write any or all of the following organizations? I feel sure they will be happy to assist you in whatever way they can.

The National Urban League
Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York

Mr. Ronnie Moore, Director
Leadership Training
CORE, Scholarship, Education & Defense Fund, Inc.
150 Nassau Street, Rm. 1312
New York, New York 10038

The National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

We highly appreciate your interest and wish for you every success in your endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

Thaddeus Olive
Administrative Aide

TO:nm

cc: (Mrs.) Eunice S. Grier
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

February 14, 1966

Miss Nancy Valentine
104 West Market
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Miss Valentine:

Your recent request for information on conducting a voter education center has been referred to Mr. Vernon Jordan of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project. CORE has also been active in this field and I suggest that you contact for additional information.

If the Commission can be of other assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Eunice S. Grier
Director
Research Division

cc: Official File Copy
SB
Mrs. Grier's Reading File

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

Thad, please answer asap - we don't fund projects in the North, it's Southern states only

VJ

February 14, 1966

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

The enclosed correspondence is directed to your attention for any action which you may consider appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

Eunice S. Grier

(Mrs.) Eunice S. Grier
Director
Research Division

Enclosures 2

January 24, 1966

To whom it may concern:

Please send me information about how to initiate and conduct a voter education center.

If literature is available for passing to the voters, please send this also.

Thank you,
Nancy Valentine

104 W. Market
Newark, New Jersey

ref. letter to VEP
ref. to CORE

Same letter to;
Marion County Voters League
Glynn County Voter Registration's Education Project
Houston County VEP
Houston County Voters' Committee
Concordia Parish Branch NAACP
New Iberia Louisiana Branch NAACP
St. John Parish Voters League
Carroll County Improvement Association
Free Bertie County Movement
North Carolina Voter Education Project
Petersburg Improvement Association
Brunswick County League for Progress
Amelia Branch NAACP
Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee

April 20, 1967

Mrs. Sallye B. Mathis
Chairman
Voter Education Registration
Jacksonville Branch NAACP
Post Office Box 1732
Jacksonville, Florida 32202

Dear Mrs. Mathis:

This is to acknowledge your request for assistance from the Voter Education Project. We are most happy to hear of your plans to conduct the described program in your area.

You may be certain that we will give your request every consideration. We may wish to visit your community in person to talk with you and others connected with your proposed program. In any case, we will let you know as soon as possible whether we are able to approve your request.

Again, we are pleased to receive your request and we thank you for sending it.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ:mlj

3-11-64

March 4, 1964

Mr. Ernest L. Doyle
1506 Franklin Street
Selma, Alabama

Dear Mr. Doyle:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter regarding a request for information on the qualifications for work under the Voter Education Project.

We have previously made a grant to the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee for voter registration work in Selma, Alabama, and it is my understanding that that work is still going on in registration. This does not mean, however, that we would not consider making a grant to another group but we probably would decline to make a grant as long as another agency is working on the problem in the same town.

If you care to submit an application for financial assistance to us then your letter should give the following information:

1. Tell something of the history of the Dallas County Voter League and give the names and addresses of its officers.

2. How many registered Negro voters are there in Dallas County at the present time?

3. What method do you intend to use in an effort to get more Negroes registered and how do you think that method differs from the method which has been used by SNCC or any other organization?

Make File
"Proposals Pending"

4. How long do you plan to run your program and how much is your budget?

5. What registration goal do you think you can realistically accomplish during your drive?

6. What criticism, if any, do you have of the manner in which SNCC or any other agency has been conducting a program in your county?

You may be assured that we will keep your reply confidential and we will be pleased to give consideration to any request you care to submit to us.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

WB

FEB 27 1964

1506 Franklin Street
Selma, Alabama
February 26, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director of Voter Registration
5 Torsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

I would appreciate it very much for some information on the qualification on how to sit up an office or work for the Voter Registration Education project.

I'm coordinator for the Dallas County Voter League and also first vice president here in Selma, Alabama.

Thanking you in advance.

ELD/lj

Respectfully,
E. L. Doyle
Ernest L. Doyle,

BW
R+B

March 18, 1964

Mrs. Eva M. Clayton
P. O. Box 533
Warrenton, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Clayton:

Following our telephone conversation last week, there was unanimous agreement here at the Voter Education Project that we should support a voter registration program in Warren County.

In reviewing our files, we have decided to explore the possibility of expanding the project to take in the entire Second Congressional District. A program somewhat in line with this was suggested to us in February ~~this~~ year in a letter we received from Mr. Floyd McKissick, and it appears that your husband is president of the organization known as the Multi-County Civic and Educational Association.

Because of the possibility of the expansion of this program, we have decided to defer any final action for a few days to give our Field Director, Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, a chance to come into your community and make a field study. Mr. Blackwell very likely will be in your area March 25 or 26, and I will be getting in touch with you and several leaders in the Second Congressional District. It is my hope that any program that we approve can get started by April 1.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Proposals Pending

August 31, 1964

The Rev. Andrew Young
SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Andy:

Enclosed herein is a copy of a letter received from Ms. Juanita Daniels, SCLC field assistant in Shreveport, Louisiana.

We have very little reason to be interested in this proposal due to the result of our past programs there, but if you think that something could now be done in this area, then we will consider it - but only through SCLC.

Would you let me know your thoughts on this?

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encl: 1

Recd 8/29/64

Juanita Daniels
1429 Alston St
Shreveport, La.
August 28, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Room 206/5 Forsyth St, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Branton

This letter is to inform you that begaining Monday August 31, 1964, we will start a big Voter Registration Drive for the Presidential election. We are asking for your financial support. We have only one month to work because the Books allways Close 30 days before an election. We are asking for at least $700 As of now we are starting from scratch. If you want to know who I am ask Rev. Andrew Young or Dr. King.

I am a field Assistant for S.C.L.C. I am now working with one of the Affiliates of S.C.L.C. which is the United Christian Movement.

We need your immediate attention on this matter because time is in essence.

Sincerly yours,
Juanita Daniels
Field Secs. S.C.I.C.

P.S. These are the officers of the United Christian Movement
Rev. J. R. Retledge ---- Chairman of Board
Rev. C. Byrd ---- President
Rev. L. P. Sims ---- Secretary
Rev. J. S. Thompson --- Treasurer

WB

August 31, 1964

Mr. Ellis F. Hull, President
United Voters League, Inc.
2516 South Tonti Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Mr. Hull:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter under date of August 17, in which you inquire about the possibility of getting financial assistance for your voter registration program.

VEP has been conducting a program in Greater New Orleans on a continuous basis for more than a year through the Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans. We would like to know what participation, if any, your organization has with the coordinated program. We would also like to know what you have been doing in the area of voter registration.

We have supported rather very extensive programs in other sections of Louisiana and would be interested in knowing what organization support you have outside the New Orleans area. In other words, are you now organized on a statewide basis, or do all of your officers and members reside in the New Orleans area?

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

Bring Proposal Back

WB

UNITED VOTERS LEAGUE, Inc.

2516 SOUTH TONTI STREET
TELEPHONE 822-4662
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70125

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ERNEST SIMS
Vice President
OLIVER WASHINGTON
Assistant Vice President
REV. DAN TYLER
Chaplain
MISS JEAN E. BLACKWELL
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THOMAS B. FIELDS
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PRESTON N. KING
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MRS. ROSE NELL HARRIS
JOSEPH RANDALL
REV. E. MORRISON

AUG 24 1964

August 17, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Mr. Clarence Mitchell of the Civil Rights Commission working out of Washington was here in New Orleans and in Baton Rouge, Louisiana seeking information relative to voter registration discrimination practices against prospective Negro registrants. We were unable to furnish this information for any parish other than Orleans. This points up the fact that there is a need for us to extend our voter registration activity into other parishes of this state in order to be in a position to give such information in the future.

In talking to Mr. Mitchell about the cost of such a registration program and the problems of having insufficient funds for such programs, it was suggested that we contact you soliciting your aid and advice on how we may be able to receive some financial assistance with our voter registration program.

We have been working in this field for the past eighteen (18) years. We feel that with some financial assistance we can do much to increase Negro voter registration in our state that could prove to be of great importance in the coming presidential election. Some of our work is known to Mr. Herbert Tucker of the Civil Rights Division. He was in Washington four (4) years ago with the Kennedy administration; he now resides in the state of Massachusetts.

I hope to meet you personally in the near future.

Thanking you very kindly for whatever you can do in this matter.

Respectfully yours,

Ellis F. Hull/b

UNITED VOTERS LEAGUE, Inc.
Ellis F. Hull, President

EFH/b

WARD LEADERS

GISTAND MINOR, 1st Ward — ROGER DARENSBOURG, 2nd Ward — JOHNNY SQUIRE, 3rd Ward — MRS. MARY E. BARROW, 4th Ward — ROBERT SMITH, 5th Ward
MRS. LUCILLE POWELL, 6th Ward — LOUIS M. MACK, 7th Ward — MRS. ARISKA McWILLIAMS, 8th Ward — WILLIE CHAMBERS, A. A. THOMAS and
MRS. SHIRLEY MARTIN, 9th Ward — BEN PERKINS, JR., 10th Ward — SAMUEL HULL, III, 11th Ward — JOHN BRYANT, 12th Ward — N. C. BROWN, 13th Ward
MRS. MAGGIE D. STEWART, 14th Ward — MRS. LILLIE B. ANTIONE, 15th Ward — MRS. VALENA BARKSDALE, 16th Ward — MRS. LUSHBIA ALCORN, 17th Ward.

September 28, 1964

Chapel Hill Voter Registration
Committee
419 Hillsboro Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Friends:

Thank you for sending us a copy of your July 30, 1964, report on your voter registration drive in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. We wish to commend you for your special efforts in trying to get eligible Negroes registered to vote.

VEP is now supporting some rather extensive registration efforts throughout North Carolina, but we note that Chapel Hill is not included. If you would care to submit a budget proposal to VEP in connection with your current registration campaign, then we would be pleased to examine the same immediately. This letter should not be construed as any assurancesthat we can make you a grant, but we will make every effort to see if there is not some way which we can assist your program, provided it is conducted on a non-partisan basis.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Project Proposal
Pending

LWD ✓
WAB
JM

Sirs:

We hope that you will be interested in our progress report for Negro voter registration in Orange County, North Carolina. In May, 1962, we had a general reregistration in this county. Before the reregistration took place there were 15,498 persons registered in the county. Of this total 13,988 were white; 1,510 were Negroes. Now the total registration stands at 16,401. Of this total 14,091 are whites; 2,310 are Negroes. This figure for Negro registration represents about 35% of the potential Negro registration. (Negro population in Orange County is about 10,600 out of 42,400). We hope that we will be able to add to the total of registered Negro voters by about 400 every registration period.

We hope that these figures may be of some interest in your VEP program.

Cordially,

Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee

Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee
419 Hillsboro Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Phone: 942-6723

July 30, 1964

Dear Chapel Hillian,

In a quiet, unpublicized way the Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee has been increasing the number of Negro citizens registered to vote in this township. We have been so successful in our work that we feel that all of our block captains, contributors, volunteers, and friends would be interested in the following progress report.

The Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee was organized in mid-December, 1963, out of a pressing need to make Chapel Hill's Negro citizens more active politically. With a small number of hard-working, energetic Negro and white volunteers, the Committee conducted a house-to-house survey and registration drive throughout the Negro communities in this township during the December 21, 1963-January 4, 1964 registration period. The results of that first canvass were, we feel, most gratifying. Of some 1,430 Negro adults contacted twenty-one and older, some 746 were found to be registered. The registration campaign added 143 more new names to the voting lists.

Two filing cards have been made for each person contacted. One of these cards goes into a file of all Negro citizens of voting age. The other card goes into a "registered voter" or "non-registered voter" file. In this way we are able to determine exactly who is and who is not registered to vote. Continuing survey work has brought us into contact with 1,962 Negro adults through last week.

The frequency of such comments as "I don't know what I'm voting for," or "What good is my vote anyway?" prompted the Committee to organize itself into a permanent registration and education body. We have since divided the township into small units, each of which has a block captain responsible for from seven to twenty-five families. These block workers are now distributing regularly issued, non-partisan newsletters of objective abstracts of issues and platforms.

A campaign for funds in mid-February produced enough money to allow the Committee to continue in this most basic work. We were able to construct a Voter Information Booth, which was placed in a central location in the Negro community during the registration period prior to last spring's primary. There Negroes were able to determine whether they were registered, receive newsletters, or get rides to the polls. Furthermore, we have been able to purchase numerous posters, leaflets, and "Iam A Registered Voter Are You?" lapel buttons. Funds have also gone into supplies for newsletters, into postal materials, into filing and memeographing supplies, and into advertising.

We have organized a highly successful telephone pool. Prior to the beginning of the registration period all non-registered voters in the township were called and were urged to register. Then four weeks later all registered voters were called the evening before election day and were reminded to vote.

The results of our newsletters, telephoning, and block captains

during the May2-May 16 registration period were overwhelming. A total of 311 Negroes registered. It is particularly pleasing to note that many of the new registrants were elderly people who had never registered before in their lives.

Another activity has been to help keep the registration books up to date. During our survey, we found 59 people who had moved from the county, had died, or had been incorrectly registered. Those incorrectly registered were re-registered, while those no longer in Chapel Hill were removed from the books. Our results in brief, therefore, are as follows:

Registered as of December 20, 1963:	746		
Added Dec. 21, 1963-Jan. 4, 1964:	143)	454	Percent increase:
Added May 2-May16, 1964:	311)		61%
Challenged May 23, 1964:	- 59		
GRAND TOTAL	1141		

The Committee has remained independent; its volunteers are all drawn from the Chapel Hill-Carrboro area. Since our beginning we have grown to include over 110 volunteers. Faculty members, teachers, housewives, workers, ministers, students, registrars, government, and civic leaders have donated their time and talents in an effort to make the Committee as effective as possible in its work.

We have every reason to believe that the efforts of these people have generated considerable enthusiasm in the Negro community. Although Negroes do not make up a majority of the voters in any of the township's twelve precincts (Northside comes closest with 39%), the percentage of Negroes voting in the Little Federal Plan election and in the two primaries was higher in every precinct than was the white turnout. In the first primary, for example, the Negro turnout ranged from a low of 73% in North Carrboro to a high of 86% in Northside. In the run-off primary the percentages ranged from 75% (South Carrboro) to 93% (Westwood). Furthermore, Many Negro citizens use our central telephone to ask questions and discuss issues. Our block workers have done a tremendous job and have been eagerly received. Our newsletters have been extremely helpful, too. Their discussion of the candidates and the issues apparently helped inform voters to the extent that a great many people refused to take pre-marked sample ballots distributed by other groups. The charge of local bloc-voting during the recent primary has no factual basis.

This summer's activity has centered around survey work in the rural parts of the township and in preparation for the General Election in November and the Town Election in May, 1965.

If you are interested in further information or have any questions about the Committee's activity, please call one of our co-chairmen: Mr. Mason at 967-1573, Mr. Caldwell at 929-2478, or Mrs. Donnelly at 942-6723.

We hope that we may have your continued support in our future activities.

Sincerely,

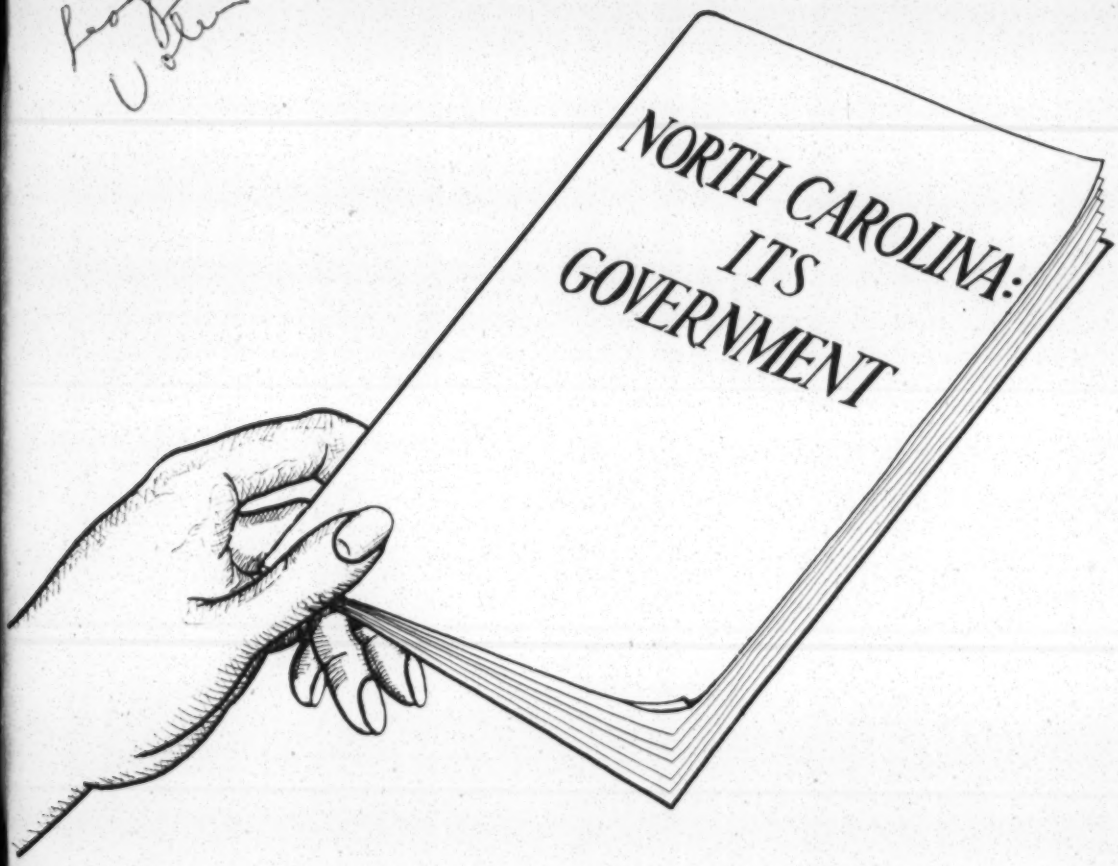
W. E. Mason III
W. E. Mason III

Edwin Caldwell Jr
Edwin Caldwell, Jr.

Dodi Donnelly
Dodi Donnelly
(Mrs. Tom Donnelly)

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF NORTH CAROLINA

PRESENTS



A HANDBOOK FOR CITIZENS

May 10, 1962

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Chairman
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

We do not feel that Penn Community Services is seeking to inject itself into our program through any selfish desires, but rather because of the interest which you have always manifested in the problems of your community. This is the kind of interest which we welcome.

We made grants to the five major agencies last week to carry on 90-day crash programs in six southern states where there is still time to register in order to vote in the summer primaries. We are now making plans for a more orderly long-range program.

Just as soon as we develop more fully the long-range programs for the major participants, then we will turn our attention to the requests from local agencies. You perhaps will be interested in knowing that CORE will be working generally throughout the Sixth Congressional District of South Carolina, and in Clarendon, Sumter and York Counties, while NAACP will be working in the areas of Beaufort, Columbia, Greenville, and Charleston. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee plans to do some work in Orangeburg County.

With kind personal regards,

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Copy to Mr. Courtney Siceloff

WAB/MR

MAY 7 1962

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

~~FROGMORE//SOUTH/CAROLINA~~

Linville Falls, N. C.

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

May 4, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I have your letter of April 27th and appreciate some of the difficulties with which you are confronted in launching your important new project.

Our only desire at Penn is to have you informed that our services and facilities are available at all times and in any way in which they may be used. We are not seeking to inject ourselves into your program but would like to perform any role which lies within our competence.

In the past there have been several seminars on voter registration at Penn. It may be that Courtney Siceloff could give you some ideas as to methods and personnel. I am sure he will be glad to do so upon your suggestion.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg
cc: Courtney Siceloff

April 27, 1962

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Chairman
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

We are trying very hard to get the five major participants in our voter registration effort off the ground and working, and it will be a few days longer before we will be in a position to give any serious consideration to the request from Penn Community Services, Inc.

We do not have the funds which we had anticipated receiving for our first year's operation, and when we reserve the amount needed for our own staff operations it will not leave the amount that we would like to have for use by the five major agencies, to say nothing of participation by local groups such as Penn. Unless we get a substantial increase in grants during the first year, then it is highly probable that we may not be able to include Penn in the program for the rest of this calendar year. This should not be considered as a decision on our part at this time, but I do want to point out to you the problems which we are encountering with reference to available money.

You may expect to hear from us at an early date regarding our decision on Penn's proposal.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

APR 9 REC'D

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Frogmore, S. C.

Penn Community Services wishes to make its facilities and organization available to Southern Regional Council in connection with the Voter Registration Project, and suggests the following as being an appropriate use of such facilities:

1. For some years, Penn has maintained a conference center for meetings of bi-racial and other groups. We are prepared to house 100 persons in our own buildings and may extend that figure to 175 by using homes in the community. We also have classrooms, conference rooms and auditorium, as well as cafeteria; and audio-visual aids are available if desired.

The cost per person, per day, for three meals and over-night, is $4.00. These facilities could be used for workshops and conferences at any time they were not occupied by other groups.

This feature would involve no costs to the project, except such as were involved by use of the facilities.

2. In addition to the tender of services set out above, we feel that Penn may render more particular and concentrated services by assuming development of the program in the five South Carolina counties of Beaufort, Colleton, Dorchester, Hampton, and Jasper. These counties are all within the orbit of Penn's influence and present much the same picture. Attached hereto is a sheet showing the percentages of non-white population, according to the 1950 census, and the racial percentages of voter registration in 1958.

It will be observed that the Negro population runs from 53.3 to 65.2, but the percentage of voter registration runs from 5.4 to 16.9.

Hence, a concentrated effort will be appropriate and may reasonably be expected to demonstrate results.

As to the five counties mentioned, Penn has served as a meeting place for groups of leaders and enjoys, we believe, favorable and helpful contacts. These have arisen from 100 years of educational activity in the area.

The suggestion is that as to these five counties, Penn employ a full-time field worker, a resident of the area, with education and capacity to conduct these programs we have in mind.

Briefly, the program contemplates eight monthly workshops in each of the five counties, at which qualified volunteer workers would be instructed as to their duties.

Penn Community Services - Continued

In addition to the monthly workshops in each of the counties, we propose a quarterly workshop, to be held on Penn's campus, and to which all of the volunteer workers would be brought. At such quarterly workshops there could be comparison of methods and techniques involved and evaluation of the results.

The field worker would not himself engage in registration of voters, but would attempt to develop in each county competent persons who could perform that task.

The volunteer workers would be furnished transportation while in the field. Once a month, transportation of registrants to places where books of registration are kept would be provided.

In addition to the personal persuasion of persons to register, use would be made of the customary devices of form letters, posters, badges, spot radio announcements, etc.

It is evident from the statistics that a vast amount of apathy must be overcome and, in some instances, official and non-official opposition.

It is our view that the effort should extend over a period of two years and that a substantial result might reasonably be expected within that period. Whatever methods prove to be successful here would logically have application in other black-belt counties and in areas of large Negro population.

A feature of the program which we think would be significant elsewhere is spot-checking those who did register, with a view to getting expressions from them of the factors which induced them to register, and from a study of such results valid conclusions may be reached as to the effectiveness of the various methods employed.

Any budget for such an effort is necessarily conjectural, but the attached budget seems to be one of a practical nature.

Without particular reference to Penn's connection with the project, we enclose for such value as it may have, a list of devices, some of which may have some merit.

A less intensive effort, using only a part-time director, and with less travel and fewer workshops, could, of course, be conducted at less cost. If it is felt that the intensive effort above outlined would absorb a disproportionate amount of the available funds, Penn will be prepared to conduct any such program as may be thought advisable, and to submit estimates based upon more modest exertions.

Respectfully submitted,
PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
By Marion A. Wright
Chairman

REGISTRATION 1958

COUNTY	Percentage White	Percentage Negro	Percentage of Non-white 1950 Population
Beaufort	50.1	16.9	57.5
Colleton	71.7	10.9	53.3
Dorchester	89.9	7.1	55.2
Hampton	69.5	5.4	55.9
Jasper	90.6	14.9	65.2

PROPOSED BUDGET

Personnel			
Director	$4,000		
Secretarial Service	300	$4,300	
PROGRAM			
Travel - 36000 mi. @ 7¢	2,520		
Per Diem - 235 days @ $6	1,350		
Office Expense - Telephone, Postage			
Office Supplies	500		
Materials	500	4,870	
Workshops in county (5 counties)			
40 monthly workshops @ $25	1,000		
Transportation($50 per Workshop)	2,000	3,000	
4 Quarterly 2-day area Workshops 50 persons @ $8 $400 4 workshops	1,600		
Transportation - $250 - 4 times	1,000	2,600	
Transportation to Polls $100 monthly		1,200	15,970
Supervisory Overhead			1,000
Total - 1 year			16,970
Total - 2 years			33,940

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Frogmore, S. C.

Penn Community Services wishes to make its facilities and organization available to Southern Regional Council in connection with the Voter Registration Project, and suggests the following as being an appropriate use of such facilities:

1. For some years, Penn has maintained a conference center for meetings of bi-racial and other groups. We are prepared to house 100 persons in our own buildings and may extend that figure to 175 by using homes in the community. We also have classrooms, conference rooms and auditorium, as well as cafeteria; and audio-visual aids are available if desired.

The cost per person, per day, for three meals and over-night, is $4.00. These facilities could be used for workshops and conferences at any time they were not occupied by other groups.

This feature would involve no costs to the project, except such as were involved by use of the facilities.

2. In addition to the tender of services set out above, we feel that Penn may render more particular and concentrated services by assuming development of the program in the five South Carolina counties of Beaufort, Colleton, Dorchester, Hampton, and Jasper. These counties are all within the orbit of Penn's influence and present much the same picture. Attached hereto is a sheet showing the percentages of non-white population, according to the 1950 census, and the racial percentages of voter registration in 1958.

It will be observed that the Negro population runs from 53.3 to 65.2, but the percentage of voter registration runs from 5.4 to 16.9.

Hence, a concentrated effort will be appropriate and may reasonably be expected to demonstrate results.

As to the five counties mentioned, Penn has served as a meeting place for groups of leaders and enjoys, we believe, favorable and helpful contacts. These have arisen from 100 years of educational activity in the area.

The suggestion is that as to these five counties, Penn employ a full-time field worker, a resident of the area, with education and capacity to conduct these programs we have in mind.

Briefly, the program contemplates eight monthly workshops in each of the five counties, at which qualified volunteer workers would be instructed as to their duties.

Penn Community Services - Continued

In addition to the monthly workshops in each of the counties, we propose a quarterly workshop, to be held on Penn's campus, and to which all of the volunteer workers would be brought. At such quarterly workshops there could be comparison of methods and techniques involved and evaluation of the results.

The field worker would not himself engage in registration of voters, but would attempt to develop in each county competent persons who could perform that task.

The volunteer workers would be furnished transportation while in the field. Once a month, transportation of registrants to places where books of registration are kept would be provided.

In addition to the personal persuasion of persons to register, use would be made of the customary devices of form letters, posters, badges, spot radio announcements, etc.

It is evident from the statistics that a vast amount of apathy must be overcome and, in some instances, official and non-official opposition.

It is our view that the effort should extend over a period of two years and that a substantial result might reasonably be expected within that period. Whatever methods prove to be successful here would logically have application in other black-belt counties and in areas of large Negro population.

A feature of the program which we think would be significant elsewhere is spot-checking those who did register, with a view to getting expressions from them of the factors which induced them to register, and from a study of such results valid conclusions may be reached as to the effectiveness of the various methods employed.

Any budget for such an effort is necessarily conjectural, but the attached budget seems to be one of a practical nature.

Without particular reference to Penn's connection with the project, we enclose for such value as it may have, a list of devices, some of which may have some merit.

A less intensive effort, using only a part-time director, and with less travel and fewer workshops, could, of course, be conducted at less cost. If it is felt that the intensive effort above outlined would absorb a disproportionate amount of the available funds, Penn will be prepared to conduct any such program as may be thought advisable, and to submit estimates based upon more modest exertions.

Respectfully submitted,
PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
By Marion A. Wright
Chairman

REGISTRATION 1958

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Transportation to Polls $100 monthly		1,200	15,970
Supervisory Overhead			1,000
Total - 1 year			16,970
Total - 2 years			33,940

APR 9 REC'D

In connection with a possible proposal by Penn to SRC for a role in the effort to increase voter registration, these matters would seem to require decision:

1. Penn would decide upon the geographic area in which it would operate — e. g., all of South Carolina, coastal South Carolina, or certain Southeastern counties. Should cities be excluded and Penn work only in rural areas?

2. Possible methods to be followed:

a. Stickers on car bumpers carrying some such slogans as:

"Your dog may be registered but are you?"

"I'm registered to vote; are you?"

"If you want to go ahead, register now."

b. Cards to be placed in store windows, post offices and other public places.

It may be that the Post Office Department would get up its own announcement and instruct postmasters to display.

c. Billboards at important road intersections or other highway locations. The language might be changed from time to time. Probably there are billboard advertising companies who would assume this responsibility for a price.

d. Spot radio and TV announcements. Possibly President Kennedy and other national political figures might furnish a tape recording of one or two minutes for use during the campaign. Local South Carolina public figures might do the same. The radio and TV stations may be induced to furnish this service gratis.

e. Tape recordings and records from the President and others might be secured for use in any public meeting or assembly.

f. Small ads may be kept standing in local newspapers giving the date and place where books of registration are kept open and names of officials in charge of such books.

g. Buttons or badges to be worn on coat lapels reading "I'm registered. Are you?", or some such language.

h. Leaflets to be handed to drivers of school buses for delivery to pupils as they unload. This device is credited with having defeated Dr. Frank Graham for the Senate in North Carolina.

i. Secure names of registered voters by townships or precincts. I am not sure how they are kept. Secure, also, from the Bureau of the Census names of heads of families living in such townships or precincts. A comparison of the two lists will furnish a complete list of unregistered heads of families. This could be extended to all adults, unless the process is too burdensome. With such list a mailing campaign could be instituted and travel routes mapped out for personal visitation.

j. Employ intelligent persons to make personal visits in the latter stages of the campaign after the mailing effort has been fully tried.

Arrange to furnish automobile transportation to carry possible registrants to the court house or other place of registration on days when the books are open.

k. Investigate the possibility of opening books of registration on certain days at conveniently located points in the county.

l. All Negro teachers should be supplied with materials which they could place in the hands of parents of their pupils. Perhaps this might be limited to principals.

m. All Negro ministers should be asked to make announcements from their pulpits calling attention to dates and places where registration may be completed.

n. All Negro club women should be urged to see that their members are registered.

o. Penn to conduct practically continuous institutions for training of personal workers. To such institutes there would be brought at frequent intervals those who have acquired experience and who could instruct beginners about strong and weak points in the methods they have employed.

p. A questionnaire should be prepared for spot checking of those who registered during the campaign. Such persons should be asked what factors or factor had influenced them to decide to register. All of the methods used in the campaign would be listed on the questionnaire and the registrant would be asked to ~~seek~~ check the methods which he felt had operated upon him. From the answers to such questionnaires the effectiveness of the various methods could be gauged.

MAW

APR 9 REC'D

Addendum

to

Suggestions for Penn's participation in voter registration drive.

- - -

1. Display stickers for places of business:

"We are 100 per cent registered."

etc.

2. Display stickers for homes:

"Don't ask us, We're already registered."

etc.

3. Can N. C. Mutual Life Insurance Company and other large corporations be induced to co-operate by:

a. Including leaflet urging registration with premium notices and statements of account?

b. As to N. C. Mutual, by allowing credit of $_____ if remittance covering premium is accompanied by registration certificate?

c. As to savings banks , by crediting each new account of not less than $_____ with $_____if depositor presents registration certificate at time of opening account?

4. Examine vital statistics records of 20 years ago to determine who is this year becoming eligible to register. Enroll such in 21 Club with special approach to new voter.

MAY 10 1962

TENNESSEE VOTERS COUNCIL

OFFICERS

General Chairman	Charles F. Williams	Memphis
First Co-Chairman	Rev. Frank Gordon	Knoxville
Second Co-Chairman	Atty. Avon Williams	Nashville
Third Co-Chairman	Atty. Russell Sugerman	Memphis
Vice Chairmen	Rev. E. M. Alcorn	Paris
	Rev. W. T. Boyd	
	Rev. George Jenkins	Clarksville
	Rev. W. A. Foulker	Union City
	Earl M. Quarles	Spring City
Secretary	Atty. A. W. Willis	Memphis
Assistant Secretary	Vivian W. Henderson	Nashville
Treasurer	C. J. Walker, M.D.	Nashville
Assistant Treasurer	Madison Smith	Knoxville
Chaplain	Rev. J. M. Granberry	Columbia
Assistant Chaplain	Rev. Kelley M. Smith	Nashville
Seargeant at Arms	Willard Bowden	Nashville
Assistant Seargeant at Arms	Warren Nicely	Kingston
Parliamentarian	Atty. H. T. Lockard	Memphis
Assistant Parliamentarian	Mrs. Mildred Freeman	Nashville

MAY 10 1962

Organization of Plans for Voter Registration Campaign for 1962 in the State of Tennessee

I. BACKGROUND

Tennessee requires no poll tax or literacy test and the only requirements for voting in Tennessee are residence in Tennessee for twelve (12) months and three (3) months in the county, and that persons be 21 years of age or above.

In order to vote in any election, the person must be registered at least thirty (30) days prior to the date of the election in which he intends to vote.

Tennessee is comprised of a total population of 3,567,089. Of this number, approximately 2,977,753 are white and 589,336, or 16.4% are non-white. The voting age population of Tennessee is 2,092,891. Of this number, 1,799,018 are white and 313,873, or 15% are non-white.

Tennessee presents a special problem in obtaining correct data on the number of registered voters on a state-wide basis. In Tennessee there is no central source of registration figures, however, in an effort to state some basis for determining where we are in terms of the number of registered voters, we will attempt to give some estimates together with some of our opinions deduced from sources available and our own thinking on this subject.

Margaret Price, in her pamphlet, The Negro and the Ballot in the South, published in 1959, gives the following figures on Negro registration in the State of Tennessee.

1947	80,000
1952	85,000
1956	90,000
1959	185,000

The 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report entitled, "Voting", gives the following data on registration in Tennessee based on a study of 63 of Tennessee's 95 counties. There is a voting age Negro population of 235,199 of which 150,869 are registered voters. This

represents 64.1% of the total Negro adult population in 63 counties. The Civil Rights Report found that they were unable to obtain any information in the remaining 32 Tennessee counties with a combined Negro adult population of 78,674.

If we project the percentage of Negro registered voters given for the 63 counties of 64.1%, over the remaining 32 counties, this would give us an additional 50,351 registered voters for the State, making a total for Tennessee's 95 counties of 202,220 or 14% of the state registered voters. However, an examination of the figures given by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, it is obvious that many of the figures given, particularly for small counties, are incorrect in as much as the total number of registered voters exceed the population figures. This is due in all probability to the failure of the county registrar to purge the voter's list and by deleting names of voters who no longer should be on the list due to death, moving to another county or state, or failing to vote in a primary or general election at least over any four (4) year period, as prescribed by law.

In Shelby County, the records on registration are kept up-to-date and reflect accurate figures. The records further reveal in Shelby County that some 10% to 15% of the voters are dropped from the registration list each year due to failure to comply with State law. This has been true over the past three (3) years. If we arbitrarily decide to drop 15% of the estimation stated above of 202,220 registered Negro voters, this would give us a total Negro registration of 161,887. This figure does not seem exaggerated if the figures given by Margaret Price for 1959 of 185,000 by the United States Commission on Civil Rights Report are approximately accurate.

II. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES OVER 21 IN TENNESSEE

After taking a brief glimpse at our position in Tennessee in terms of total Negro registered voters, we have arbitrarily assumed that Negro registrations approximately 161,000, however, the problem is how to increase the registration among Negroes in Tennessee. The ideal goal, based on a 1960 Census, would be approximately 314,000, or 100% of the adult Negro population of Tennessee. The realistic goal for 1962 would be approximately 200,960 or 64% of the adult population which represents an increase of

40,000. This would bring the state to a level of the Memphis and Shelby County registration. In Memphis and Shelby County, approximately 64% of the Negro adult population is registered to vote.

In approaching a state-wide voter registration campaign, it is obvious that the location and character of the Negro popuoation becomes a factor in attempting to plan a state-wide voter registration drive, thus, we face immediately the problem of determining where Negroes live in the State, and in what kind of areas, that is, urban or rural. Thus, we have included below charts showing Negro voting population distribution in Tennessee's 95 counties according to the United States' Census of 1960.

CLASSIFICATION OF COUNTIES BY DISTRIBUTION

OF NEGROES OVER 21 IN TENNESSEE

	No. of Counties	No. of Negroes over 21
Counties of over 10,000	5	216,363
Counties of 3,500 to 9,999	10	49,882
Counties of 1,000 to 3,499	20	31,624
Counties of 500 to 999	14	9,447
Counties under 500	46	6,557
TOTAL	95	313,873

Thus, from the chart above, it is readily seen that approximately two-thirds of the Negro population (216,363) reside in five (5) urban areas over against the vast majority (90,953) of the remaining one-third who reside in approximately 44 counties; with a very small percentage (6,557) residing in the remaining 46 counties. The population analysis reveals further that this distribution is important in determining the type of registration drive to be conducted. It is readily seen that we have five (5) types of counties to be concerned with, namely: (a) counties with primarily urban populations such as:

County	County Seat	Number	Location
Shelby	Memphis	119,030	West Tenn.
Madison	Jackson	10,416	West Tenn.
Davidson	Nashville	44,984	Middle Tenn.
Hamilton	Chattanooga	28,658	East Tenn.
Knox	Knoxville	13,275	East Tenn.
TOTAL----------		216,363	

(b) In the next category, counties with small cities, possessing, however, great urban influence, we have ten (10) counties and they are:

Counties	County Seat	Number	Location
Rutherford	Murfreesboro	3,960	Middle Tenn.
Maury	Columbia	4,710	Middle Tenn.
Montgomery	Clarksville	5,916	Middle Tenn.
Williamson	Franklin	3,616	Middle Tenn.
Fayette	Somerville	7,215	Middle Tenn.
Hardeman	Bolivar	4,072	West Tenn.
Gibson	Trenton	4,903	West Tenn.
Haywood	Brownsville	6,295	West Tenn.
Lauderdale	Ripley	4,137	West Tenn.
Tipton	Covington	5,058	West Tenn.
TOTAL----------		49,882	

(c) In counties with small towns but completely rural in character, we have twenty (20) such counties and they are as follows:

Counties	County Seat	Number	Location
Hainblen	Morristown	1,099	East Tenn.
Sullivan	Blountville	1,438	East Tenn.
Washington	Jonesboro	1,582	East Tenn.
Anderson	Clinton	1,034	East Tenn.
Blunt	Maryville	1,520	East Tenn.
Bradley	Cleveland	1,047	Middle Tenn.
Bedford	Shelbyville	1,603	Middle Tenn.
Franklin	Winchester	1,131	Middle Tenn.
Lincoln	Fayetteville	1,673	Middle Tenn.
Marshall	Lewisburg	1,042	Middle Tenn.
Wilson	Lebanon	2,231	Middle Tenn.
Giles	Pulaski	2,161	Middle Tenn.
Robertson	Springfield	2,304	Middle Tenn.
Carroll	Hentingdon	1,787	West Tenn.
Henry	Paris	1,977	West Tenn.

County	County Seat	Number	Location
Crockett	Alamo	1,586	West Tenn.
Dyer	Dyersburg	2,456	West Tenn.
Lake	Tiptonville	1,108	West Tenn.
Obion	Union City	1,829	West Tenn.
Weakly	Dresden	1,016	West Tenn.
TOTAL----------		31,624	

(d) This area can be characterized as completely rural and agricultural in nature with small towns and villages throughout. Negroes are dispersed throughout these counties in small numbers with no large concentration any place. There are fourteen (14) such counties having a total Negro population of 9,447.

(e) The balance of the Negro population, numbering approximately 6,557, can be found in the remaining 46 counties. Negroes in these counties are pretty much tied to land lords as sharecroppers and not much can be accomplished in terms of county-wide voter registration.

In analyzing the Tennessee population we have also used the phrases, West, Middle, and East Tennessee. This classification can have some significance in organizing a state-wide voter registration. Racial prejudice tends to be more intense as one moves from east to west across the state. This has historic reasons not significant to this report but it must be recognized that these racial prejudices will have a bearing on the attitude of the Negro toward registration. In analyzing population figures, the following distribution appears:

	Total Adult Pop.	White Pop.	Negro Pop.	Percentage
EAST	800,790	746,022	54,768	17.45
MIDDLE	662,801	579,852	82,949	26.43
WEST	629,300	453,144	176,156	56.12
TOTAL	2,092,891	1,779,018	313,873	100.00

III. LEADERSHIP

In organizing the voter registration drive, we feel that it is important to develop leadership in the locale or area in which the particular drive is being conducted. Obviously it is very difficult

but it must be done to conduct a registration campaign state-wide using one organization as a vehicle. It appears that we would all, by force of necessity, have to conduct many, many drives in many, many locales, using various techniques and approaches designed to fit the particular geographical area selected. Thus, we must have local leadership in any area chosen. While we feel that outside talent can be very helpful and is mandatory in some areas, the success of the drive will ultimately depend on the leadership and interest in the particular coummunity selected. In other words, any outside help whether it be from Tennessee or some other state, must recognize and gear itself to the promotion of local leadership with the thought in mind of fully cooperating with local talent, moving no faster than local talent is able to grasp and produce. The job is rather one of assistance than leadership. We will not labor the point of the necessity of developing local leadership, thus a serious consideration must be the theme throughout the State of any registration drive is to succeed.

IV. BASIC APPROACH TO STATE WIDE-VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE

Thus having made some brief remarks concerning the population distribution and the necessity for utilizing local talent for leadership rather than to import outside talent capable of leading. We come next to the question of selecting the approach for organization of voter registration across the State. In counties and cities in group (a) above, that is above 10,000 population, we recommend that budgets and organizational plans be drawn up by local leaders in the respective counties and cities and that outside help should be based on the findings of local groups and assistance should be given only when requested. As to the organizations spear-heading such local registration drives, again we recommend that this be selected by the community to be served. For example, in Memphis, the local registration drives are conducted through an organization known as the Citizens Non-Partisan Voter Registration Committee, an organization which has existed since 1948 and which has successfully held registration drives up to the present.

In Nashville, an organization known as the Davidson County Political Council was recently set up. Voter registration is one of its objectives.

It may be well to request this group to submit plans for voter registration for Nashville, Davidson County and any outside help would take the form of such assistance as may be requested by the Nashville group.

There are similar groups such as NAACP in other cities in this catagory which have voter registration as a part of the local program. These groups should be directly involved for plans on organization and operation of voter registration drives in their respective communities.

In group (b) areas that is, counties from 3,500 to 10,000, we recommend that field workers skilled in the techniques of organization of voter registration campaigns be used to attempt to inspire local people to organize themselves in some group or organization for the purpose of conducting voter registration campaigns.

In some of these areas there are active chapters of the NAACP. We recommend that an attempt be made to get the local NAACP chapters to step up the voter registration program, in these areas. We further recommend that leaders in other group "b" counties of the State be encouraged to step up voter registration efforts in their respective counties.

In group (c) areas, to increase the tempo of voter registration campaigns or to aid in the development of such campaigns where no local drive is currently being conducted, we strongly recommend the leadership from Memphis to give assistance to counties in West Tennessee; leadership from Nashville to give assistance to each area or person in Middle Tennessee; and the same pattern be followed for leaders from areas around Knoxville and Chattanooga.

In group (d) areas, from 1,000 to 3,500, we recommend that experienced field workers be used to make contact with ministers in an attempt to organize voter registration programs within their respective churches. The contact should also be made to Masters of lodges in an attempt to secure a voter registration program with the members of the lodges. Again we feel that leaders from the urban areas from West, Middle, and East Tennessee should be called upon to give assistance to those counties located in the same grand division of the State, that is, West, and Middle and East Tennessee respectively.

In the group (e) counties, we feel that any voter registration campaign must be conducted almost exclusively within the churches. The church is the only organized group capable of reaching the few Negro citizens scattered throughout the balance of our State.

IV. TENNESSEE VOTER COUNCIL

Up to this point, we have attempted to give a glimpse of the Tennessee population for the purpose of suggesting some of the geographical problems in organizing voter registration campaigns across the State. We have suggested generally, that voter registration campaigns should rely primarily upon local talent from the areas in which the campaign will be conducted. However, we recognize the advantages of having a central organization to coordinate voter registration activity across the State. At present, there are no grass-roots state-wide organizations in being. Recently, leaders from across the State met to reorganize and revitalize an organization known as the Tennessee Council on Registration and Voting. This organization was organized approximately three (3) years ago but has not been active until recently. The Board of Directors, which is composed of 100 persons, contains representatives from all of Tennessee's nine (9) Congressional Districts. One of the goals of this organization is to coordinate voter registration drives across the State for the purpose of increasing voter registration among Negro citizens. We feel that this organization can be of great assistance in coordinating such a mass voter registration drive. The Tennessee Council on Registration and Voting, being primarily a leadership organization can work in cooperation and harmony with any local group having as one of its purposes, voter registration, and it is concerned with developing local groups that can take on the primary responsibility of actually conducting voter registration campaigns in the various locations across the State. For example, we can work in complete harmony and cooperation with the 15 branches of the NAACP located throughout the State of Tennessee.

This organization's program is one primarily of attempting to inspire and give directions, guidance and information to any local group interested in attempting to conduct voter registration in its locality. A great deal of the expense of this organization would stem from traveling; sponsoring banquets; mass meetings; and attempting to seek out people of leadership in various communities throughout the State in order to encourage them

to organize their own voter registration drives. Further, it seeks to give assistance in trying to secure trained field workers to go into these communities properly supported and lend what talents, suggestions, and experiences they may have to the local group.

Our program necessarily involves a tremendous amount of correspondence, some telephone calls, also we would aid local communities attempting to work budgets and assist them in making requests to groups interested in aiding voter registration drives through financial aid. The objectives being to make the best use of funds available from other groups interested in voter registration such as labor unions, etc.

We also would provide copies of the laws concerning registration and election; conduct as many work shops as time permits in order to exchange ideas and experiences in voter registration across the State as well as ideas and techniques from other areas outside the State. To this end, we submit the following budget to coordinate a State-wide voter registration drive for the year 1962.

V. EXPENSE

1.	Transportation	$2,000.00
2.	Banquets and Meetings	2,000.00
3.	Postage	600.00
4.	Three secretaries (8 wks @ $50 each)	1,200.00
5.	Literature	1,500.00
6.	Office Rent	450.00
7.	Telephone Bill	400.00
8.	Office Supplies	700.00
9.	Rental/Office Equipment	500.00
10.	Three (3) Field Secretaries (8 wks @ $100 ea)	2,400,00
11.	State Director (2 mos @ $500 ea)	1,000.00
12.	Miscellaneous	500.00
	TOTAL----------	$13,250.00

VI. INCOME

Anticipated contributions from organizations interested in voter registration ---------- $13,250.00

The estimates given in the budget does not include any intensive door-to-door campaigning in the various counties. Primarily it concerns itself with coordination and organization of voter registration campaigns in the counties indicated above. The larger communities such as Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Jackson will submit separate budgets and plans for conducting their own voter registration drives.

Respectfully submitted,

TENNESSEE VOTERS COUNCIL

C. F. Williams, General Chairman

C. F. Williams, General Chairman

May 11, 1962

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
The South Carolina Council
on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street, No. 8
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Thank you for your informative letter of April 27 relating to voter registration efforts in the State of South Carolina.

A few days ago we launched our first effort toward voter registration in South Carolina, and we are pleased to report that CORE will be working in the 6th Congressional District, Clarendon and Sumter and York Counties; NAACP in Beaufort, Columbia, Greenville, and Charleston; and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Orangeburg County. In addition to this, we have another program which we are not at liberty to announce at this stage, but which is more of a research program to secure information about state and local programs in operation in South Carolina, rather than an actual registration program.

We appreciate the interest of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations in the Voter Project. We cannot consider at this time giving any financial assistance to the South Carolina Council. It may be that eventually we will consider some participation in the Voter Project by various state human relations councils, but at this time we are not considering such participation. We certainly hope that this will in no way diminish your own personal interest in voter registration efforts, and we welcome any suggestions and help which you and the Council might give to us or to the participating agencies in your state in trying to accomplish something in which we are all deeply interested.

I appreciate your comments with reference to the need for coordination of the efforts by the various groups, and that will be one of the primary responsibilities of our office. We hope to send someone from our staff into each of the various states from time to time, to help in the coordination of the various programs.

Kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

APR 30 1962

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET, No. 8
Columbia, South Carolina

April 27, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Director Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for your good letter of April 19 concerning my inquiry referred to you by Paul Anthony.

Of the five major agencies, the NAACP, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Congress of Racial Equality, and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the NAACP is the only one with any significant roots in South Carolina. So far as I know, there has never been an Urban League in the State. SCLC has two board members. CORE assisted the student sit-ins on a short term basis, but evidently lacked staff resources for follow-op and follow-through. SNCC formerly had one representative from South Carolina who met monthly in Atlanta. Recently, however, this contact has not existed. Doubtless there will be a few South Carolina students to participate in the meeting in Atlanta on the 28th.

The NAACP have had a full time director for the past several years who has apparently worked hard to recoup the losses which that organization suffered following the Supreme Court decision on school segregation in 1954. Members of numerous local units signed petitions to school boards in their respective communities, for which many of them suffered economic and other types of reprisals. Because of the highly prejudiced treatment by politicians and the press, the NAACP has had an uphill fight to get public identification as members, numerous persons who would doubtless like to be active.

I give you the above information in line with a suggestion received today in a newsletter from Paul Rilling. Also, it is important that you have this information in the light of considering our request for financial assistance from the Voter Education Project.

In a state where many people, both Negro and white, act conservatively and are both confused and fearful, it is possible for a bi-racial organization to play a unique and significant role. This I believe the South Carolina Council on Human Relations does in South Carolina. The Council is unique,

not only in the support and prestige which it enjoys, but also in the generous behind-scenes support and cooperation it is able to get both from governmental and voluntary agencies.

SCCHR has been cooperating fully and engaging in some joint programs in voter education with SCLC, especially in assisting Mrs. Septima Clark in making contacts and in recruiting teacher trainees. Furthermore, the Council and SCLC held jointly at Dorchester Center in McIntosh, Ga., a student workshop on voter registration. Subsequently teams of Negro college students are making their services available to adult groups where such are requested. The Council is helping to motivate groups to make use of these student teams.

A chronic ailment reported by all of us who have played any role at all in citizenship education is the need for motivating participation; why should I vote, for whom shall I vote, what are the issues? It is at this point that the Council has a unique role to play. We are called upon almost daily for services in line with the above, for which we are the agency best equipped.

In many cases, securing of information about State and Federal programs being initiated in South Carolina, and getting information about them to the persons for whom they are intended, is the most delicate job. I believe that this is highly important and directly related to motivating voter participation. The opportunities and demands have increased far beyond the limited resources of the Council personnel. We are, therefore, asking that the salary of a full-time person be assigned to us who, under my directionand with my assistance may make possible the development and enlargement of the Council's significant role and through the Council the enrichment of the extensive voter registration work in South Carolina which you state SCLC, NAACP, and CORE plan.

Frankly, it would seem to me that assistance is already needed in helping to coordinate the efforts of the several groups which are launching stepped-up campaigns. Regretfully, as is too often the case, a spirit of competition rather than cooperation and correlation develops.

Please let me have your reaction to this request at as early a date as possible. We are experiencing a growing sense of movement and are overwhelmed by the positive potentialities. <u>We need help</u>!

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Exevutive Director

ANS/cah

April 19, 1962

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
The South Carolina Council
on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Paul Anthony has referred to me your letter to him of April 6, 1962, in which you express interest in applying to the Voter Education Project for a grant to do voter registration work on behalf of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

The Voter Education Project will be working primarily with five major agencies: NAACP, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Congress on Racial Equality, and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. However, we plan to reserve some funds for use in participation by local organizations where special circumstances warrant our doing this.

I note that SCLC, NAACP, and CORE plan extensive voter registration work in South Carolina, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee would like to do some work there itself. Because of the limited funds which we will have available I doubt seriously if we could consider a request from the South Carolina Council on Human Relations this year.

If your Council has in mind working all over the state in key areas, then it would seem to me that it would be best to let one of the other organizations already engaged in voter registration work do the voter registration work in South Carolina. On the other hand, if you have a specific

project in mind which will not duplicate the efforts of the other organizations, we might be able to take a second look at your request. We hope, however, that the membership of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations will give all cooperation possible to the various voter registration drives which will be going on during the next several months in your state.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

Dictated by Mr. Branton; transcribed and signed in his absence.

bc: Paul Anthony

WB

April 17, 1962

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
The South Carolina Council on
Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

The participants in the panel at the annual meeting were: Louis Lomax, ABC-TV, 114-29 166th Street, Jamaica, Long Island, New York; Dr. Eric Lincoln, Clark College, Atlanta; and Dr. Robert J. Harris, University of Tennessee, Nashville.

The voter project head is Wiley Branton. I am turning your letter over to him.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

April 6, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I have an immediate need for the names and addresses of the three Negro leaders who spoke at the dinner meeting in the graduate dormitory at Atlanta U in connection with the SRC annual meeting in November. Please provide same for us, along with identifying information, at your earliest convenience.

I have succeeded in snowing under on my desk the announcement which gives the name of the person who will be heading the Voter Registration program. Because I think we should apply for a project, I shall appreciate your referring this part of my letter to him, with the request that we be sent any written statements as to policy, basis of applications, etc., which now be available.

Ever since students took part in a voter registration workshop conducted by Jack Odell of the SCLC at Dorchester, McIntosh, Ga., there has been real interest in a crash effort during the prolonged period from April 27 through May 12, during which registration books will be open in South Carolina. Also, I am sure that this will be a continuing interest in South Carolina for some time to come, and that SCCHR will have a unique contribution to make in the type of follow-through and persistency which will be needed to accomplish maximum results.

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman
NC cah

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/cah

Lewis Lomax - (ML)
Eric Lincoln (Clark College)
Robert J. Harris (VJ Jenn.)

May 25, 1962

Mr. A. W. Willis, Jr.
Attorney at Law
588 Vance Avenue
Memphis 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Willis:

We have carefully studied your letter of May 4 regarding your plans for a non-partisan voter registration campaign in Memphis and Shelby County, and also your letter of May 9 regarding plans for a statewide registration project by the Tennessee Voter's Council.

In view of the fact that several different organizations will be working in Tennessee toward increased voter registration, we do not see where we can contribute to the proposed plan submitted by the Tennessee Voter's Council. In order to get some work done in your state prior to the June 27 registration deadline we have made a grant to NAACP, a part of which will be used by them to support registration programs in Memphis, Fayette County, Haywood County, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Clarksville. We have also contributed to Southern Christian Leadership Conference for programs in Knoxville and Chattanooga. Another program which will be jointly supervised and administered by the Nashville Branch NAACP and the Davidson County Independent Political Council will get under way immediately in Davidson, Giles, Maury, and Williamson Counties.

In view of the fact that we have previously approved a program for NAACP which includes Memphis, we feel that we should not make any separate contribution

to the Shelby County registration drive except through NAACP. If it develops that additional assistance is needed in Shelby County, then I would suggest that this be brought to the attention of NAACP officials working with the Memphis campaign.

I feel that you are certainly to be congratulated for the very fine registration job which you have done in Memphis, where you have the highest Negro registration of any city in the South.

With every good wish for continued success, I am,

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Copies to: Mr. Roy Wilkins
Mr. John Brooks

WAB/mr

Dictated by Mr. Branton; transcribed in his absence.

A. W. WILLIS, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
588 VANCE AVENUE
MEMPHIS 5, TENNESSEE
JACKSON 7-7166

MAY 10 1962

May 9, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Enclosed is a copy of "Organization of Plans for Voter Registration Campaign for 1962 in the State of Tennessee" to be conducted by the Tennessee Voter's Council.

I think I understand your position in this matter as related over the telephone. We would appreciate it if you would read over our plans and give us any consideration possible.

Our next meeting is scheduled for May 19, 1962 and we would appreciate an answer by this time so that we can plan accordingly.

I have attached a list of our officers. We have a 100 man Board of Directors representing all nine (9) Congressional Districts of the State. Any other information that may be necessary concerning our organization or our plans, feel free to request the same.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Willis, Jr.

Enclosure

November 27, 1962

Mr. Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
Room 301
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jones:

In reply to your letter of November 20, in which you inquire as to the conditions which must be met for participants in the Voter Education Project, I think you already know that we are working with five major participating agencies and that they will receive the bulk of any funds which we might have available.

VEP will, however, give consideration to applications from other organizations or agencies (but not to individuals) and in doing so we will consider the following factors (not necessarily in the order given):

a) Has the proposed geographical area already been assigned to some other agency?

b) The applicant's history or reputation for organizational stability and responsibility.

c) The applicant's history or reputation evidencing interest in voter education and/or registration efforts in a non-partisan manner.

d) The merit of the applicant's program and its probable success in achieving an enlarged registration.

Project Proposals

e) The proposed cost of the applicant's program.

We have already assigned the Charlotte area to NAACP and I am in receipt of a letter from Dr. John Morsell, dated November 20, in which he informs me that the program has already been started in Charlotte. Under the circumstances, we would not consider making a grant to any other organization in the Charlotte area at this time.

We are enclosing a carbon copy of this letter in the event that you want to mail it to Dr. Hawkins.

We appreciate your interest in the Voter Education Project and would appreciate any comments you might have regarding the program which we are supporting in Charlotte as well as in other cities in North Carolina. We mailed you a schedule of all of our programs which should indicate cities where we are working in your state.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc.

"To strive through education, research, information and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of North Carolina without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the cause of intergroup friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state."
—from article II of the bylaws.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 301
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

Officers

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HENRY G. RUARK
ROCKY MOUNT

1st Vice-Chairman:
S. E. DUNCAN
SALISBURY

2nd Vice-Chairman:
WILLIAM M. BOYCE, JR.
CHARLOTTE

Secretary:
MRS. CHASE H. BENSON
GREENSBORO

Treasurer:
MOSES S. BELTON
CHARLOTTE

Executive Secretary:
HARRY S. JONES
CHARLOTTE

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RALEIGH
C. E. BOULWARE
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CHAPEL HILL
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DURHAM
RAYMOND M. WHEELER
CHARLOTTE
T. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
CHAPEL HILL

November 20, 1962

NOV 21 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Brauton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street - Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brauton:

Dr. R. A. Hawkins has asked me to get for him information as to what funds are available from the Voter Education Project, and what are the conditions to be met, etc.

Dr. Hawkins is a self-appointed Negro leader who heads a Political Action Committee which he organized. He is intelligent and able, and has put out some good statements in criticism of the school board, the hospital authority and the City Council. He is at odds with the local and State NAACP. This stems in part, it seems to me, from the fact that the NAACP has not come forth with agressive leadership, but may be in part because Dr. Hawkins is not content with any organization that he is not running.

I rather think that Dr. Hawkins would make good use of funds to increase voter registration but I don't know enough about the local situation to advise as to whether it would be wise to give him funds, or to give them to the NAACP or SNCC or SCLC for work in Charlotte.

If funds are available, you might let me know what the conditions are, and if I can be of any help in seeing that the best use is made of these funds, I will be glad to help.

Sincerely yours,

Harry S. Jones

Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary

HSJ/b

May 28, 1963

Mr. L. D. Simon, Chairman
Atlanta Civic Council
1327 Jonesboro Road, S. E.
Suite 4
Atlanta 15, Georgia

Dear Mr. Simon:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 14th, in which you tell us of your current voter registration program. We are pleased to know that the Atlanta Civic Council is working so earnestly at voter registration, for we feel that this is the key to many of the gains which people in this community are seeking.

The Voter Education Project has been assisting financially in voter registration efforts in the greater Atlanta community, however, we have decided to conduct all of our efforts through the All Citizens Registration Committee. If you are not already working with the All Citizens Registration Committee, then I would strongly suggest that you get in touch with Rev. Fred Bennett, 236 Auburn Avenue, N. E., who is directing the activities of the current registration campaign in Atlanta.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Rec'd 5-16-63 WBV

Atlanta Civic Council

~~174 Haygood Avenue, S.E.~~

~~Atlanta, Georgia~~

1327 Jonesboro Rd., S.E.
Suite 4
Atlanta 15, Georgia

L. D. Simon, Chairman
Pres., So. Atlanta Civic League
23 Moury Ave., S.E.
JA. 4-3628

Mrs. Carrie Jones, Secretary
Secy., Peoplestown Civic League
174 Haygood Ave., S.E.
MA. 7-1438

Benny T. Smith, Co-Chairman
Pres., So. East Community Council
209 Archcrest Dr., S.E.
766-3984

Mrs. Sarah Baker, Treasurer
Pres., P.T.A., D.H. Stanton School
244 Farrington Ave., S.E.
MA. 7-4193

May 14, 1963

ATTENTION: Mr. Wiley Branton
Human Relation
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

This is to inform you that the Atlanta Civic Council, which consist of several grass root communities Civic organization of the South Side Atlanta, has open a community office. We believe you share our conviction that citizens of a community wishing to create an atmosphere of dignity, decency, and respect will be in jeopardy if their community citizens is not inform. This is our reason for fogoing this tremendous task. We want to see our communities get their share of better housing, decent business, better public transporation, recreation facilities, good zoning and most of all Voter Registeration.

We are in the process of conducting a community wide Voter Registeration program. We believe the majority of the non-register voter is in the South Side Atlanta section. We are doing a good job in getting a few to register. We can and will do a better job if we had some finanical aid. If you know of anyone can be of any finanical assistance to us in this program please notify.

An immediately reply will be appreciate.

Sincerely Yours,

L.D. Simon

L.D. Simon, Chairman

Benny T. Smith

Benny T. Smith, Co-Chairman

BTS:rd

File copy

June 4, 1963

Ms. Virgie Hortenstine
5541 Hanley Road
Cincinnati 39, Ohio

Dear Ms. Hortenstine:

I apologize for the delay in answering your letter of May 13 regarding your voter education program in Haywood County, Tennessee Junell through 23. Your letter was referred to one of our staff persons for comments and it has just come back to my desk.

We have previously made a grant to the National Assodation for the Advancement of Colored People for voter education programs in several areas, including Fayette and Haywood counties. I am sending a copy of your letter and of this letter to Mr. W. C. Patton who is a regional field secretary for voter registration work for NAACP and I am asking him to check with your project in Haywood county to see what assistance he can offer or suggest as he is one of the most skilled persons in voter education in the South.

In order to speed things up you might write to Mr. Patton and tell him exactly what you would like for him to do (or have someone do) and please mail a copy of your letter to me, if you do write him.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mr. W. C. Patton
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Rec'd 5-15-63

JM
RTB
WB

5541 Hanley Road
Cincinnati 39, Ohio
May 13, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Voter Registration Project
5 Forsythe
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Friends,

At the suggestion of Rev. Otis Moss I am writing to ask your help in conducting some classes in voter education at a work camp which we will be holding in Haywood County, Tennessee part or all of the time from June 1-23. The enclosed material will tell more of what we have been doing in Haywood and Fayette Counties through workcamps, but the chief reason the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League wants to have a workcamp at this time is to get more of the Negroes there registered. We workcampers work with our muscles and are not skilled in voter education, and that is why we are contacting you. We expect to devote each evening to classes, probably going from district to district after an initial meeting for the entire Haywood County Civic and Welfare League. I'm sure the students will be of some help and will be willing to do all they can, but persons more skilled than they should be in charge. Do you have someone who could come to the workcamp for part or all of it?

The Haywood County League is so anxious not to be diverted from this goal of getting the people registered that it did not even furnish us with a project for manual work! So that will leave our workcampers idle in the daytime unless they find a project or unless the voter education program is such that some leg work can be done by students in the daytime when all the farmers are out in the fields. Any suggestions for the latter would be much appreciated by the Haywood County committee.

The secretary of the Workcamp Committee of the league writes: "Information furnished us a few days ago indicate that there are only 2225 Negroes registered to vote as compared with 3500 whites. We feel that if we can get another 2000 we not only will have won a battle, but we will have the major portion of the War won, and will truly be on the road to taking our rightful place as first class citizens." (They are not really as warlike as they sound).

Rev. Moss and I expect to go to consult with the League and the Workcamp Committee May 21 if possible. Please send any suggestions, material and help that you can. Thank you for your interest in this problem.

Sincerely,

Virgie Hortenstine

Virgie Hortenstine

THE HAVERFORD NEWS
Haverford, Pa.
February 8, 1963

Fords Participate In Fayette County Trip

by Russ Stetler

Fayette County has lost its place in the news. Some people remember that there has been trouble there. Sadly few recall the nature of the trouble and still fewer realize that tension and even violence remain in Tennessee.

During the semester break six Haverford students joined fourteen others from five other colleges in a work project designed to improve the lot of oppressed Americans in Fayette County and reveal the nature of the oppression. One local man called the revelation "eyesight information". It's this which the work campers are anxious to communicate.

The Haverfordians' interest in Fayette County may be traced to a visit from Virgie Hortenstine several weeks ago. Mrs. Hortenstine, a Quaker housewife from Cincinnati, spoke here to enlist students for the works camps, which she had organized almost single-handedly. She had found support from "Operation Freedom", The Baptist Ministers Conference of Cincinnati, and the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends. Haverford civil libertarians added their support as work camp volunteers. The six who traveled the eleven hundred miles to southwestern Tennessee were Stephen Bonime, Robert Eisenberg, David Elliott, David Flaccus, Bok Read, and Russell Stetler.

Outmoded Economics

In Fayette County the group found vestiges of outmoded economics and the lingering disease of political old age. They discovered a place where 7500 people are the majority who rule a county of 28,500. These same people own most of the land and monopolize the economic power. When men with darker skins and no landed fathers tried to register to vote in 1959, national attention focused on them. Federal power was necessary to enforce their right to register. Now no one will stop a qualified person from registering in Fayette County.

Perhaps this improvement explains the current lack of national attention. But few people register anyway. They fear the economic sanctions which have been applied to all who have already registered against the white man's will. (This mythical white man has a brain which is obsolete and an education which is a sophistication of ignorance. His whiteness is the badge of the local law. His Citizens' Council meets in his church and preaches to love thy neighbor—provided he lives in an all-white neighborhood.

Dark skinned potential voters lost their credit in local stores. (Certain more active ones can't even buy for cash.) Many were evicted from their homes, refused the chance to work at the land, quietly replaced by technological farming and weeds. Their educations, separate and less equal, afforded them little hope of surviving by new employment. Many still have no work. They cannot even find day labor. These people told of their plight with bitter eloquence.

Merchants Suffer

It would seem reasonable that to refuse credit to three-fourths of a county's population would severely hurt the merchant as well as the buyer. In fact, several merchants went out of business. The White Citizens' Council left them little choice. Any one white man who failed to appreciate the difference between white and non-white money faced boycott by the whites. One merchant lamented his position to the visiting work campers with complete despair.

Others told the work campers of their hopes to abolish discrimination by drastic change in the economic system. Co-op's and home industries form the vanguard in the advance to squnder economy.

Meanwhile the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, the outstanding organization which seeks at attaining equality for the deprived and oppressed peoples of the area, is trying to build a community center which will offer adult education and recreation facilities. It will also house a doctor's and dentist's office. (Now Negroes in Somerville must drive 40 miles to Memphis for such care.) The work campers hoped to work on the center itself, but found the weather prohibitive.

Instead they worked at renovating homes the League has found for evicted farmers. (They formerly lived in tents; the League has located old, deserted homes as better protections against the elements. And to raise money for building materials for the center, work campers chopped wood to be sold as firewood. Much money is needed. The story of the work campers culminate in their relating the great need for the community center and the funds to finance it. Address all inquiries to any one of them at Haverford College.

Reprinted by permission
for Fayette County
Work Camps Project
c/o Virgie Hortenstine
5541 Hanley Road
Cincinnati 39, Ohio

FAYETTE COUNTY WORK CAMP

Spring Vacation - March 25 to April 14,1963 (in periods up to 7 days)

Constructing the Community Center of the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, Somerville, Tennessee.....Also moving and rebuilding a cabin in Haywood County for an evicted sharecropper onto another farmer's land which he will be able to rent and farm.

Negroes in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, are right now in what might be called the Second Crisis Stage of their struggle for first class citizenship. And this is the crisis that can be lost the most easily. And if it is lost, the Tent City effort, which now seems like a partial victory, will be lost also.

This winter between 200 and 300 Negro sharecropper families have been put off the land in Haywood County, according to Odell Sanders of the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League. In both Fayette and Haywood Counties, Negroes are afraid to report these evictions, although offers have been made to send affidavits of the facts to the Justice Department. Negroes are told they may continue to live in the shacks. Nothing is said about voter registration. The landlord simply says he is mechanizing his farm. The sharecropper is given free government surplus food, which quiets him for the moment; last year, however, thousands were taken off government surplus food by local white authorities when they chose to do so. This sharecropper may himself be sczrcely aware that he has been evicted; he may find occasional day labor; it may be some months before he actually has to leave the county which has been his home and the farm work for which he is trained, to go to add to the unemployment problems of unskilled laborers in one of the large cities.

At the time of the first crisis two years ago, after long years when race relations had been"peaceful"because the Negro accepted his subservience, 700 Negro families in the two counties were openly given eviction notices because they registered to vote. Evictees moved into tents, Fayette and Haywood Counties were in the news; and organizations and individuals came to their aid. People helped as they felt they could, then looked forward to the establishment of justice by the U.S. District Court, which had placed some 160 white citizens under injunction. But these cases were settled out of court last summer, with little publicity and with no one found guilty of anything. Now,at the time of the second crisis, brought on by a White Citizens Council that has learned how to avoid publicity and thus be more effective, these organizations are putting all or most of their emphasis on helping other areas in the south which are in the news and which, currently, the public feels moved to support. Now, at the time of the second crisis, Negroes whose tremendous courage and spirit and vision continued to increase during these two years because of their belief that God, the nation and the world were with them even if their white neighbors were not, these Negroes now look around and find themselves essentially alone. They are poorly educated; they are poor; when they take risks in order to gain progress that risk may be the food for their own children. But they still have spirit; they still believe that, as their Vice President, Rev. June Dawdy, said, "The Lord is bread in a starving land." If we let them lose their struggle now, it will not be only they who lose. It will be others elsewhere, now receiving public aid, who will later be given the same quiet, effective evictions because they dared to register to vote.

It was to bring our moral support to these almost forgotten people that our Fayette County Work Camps Project was begun, guided by the thinking of Quakers who believe that it is only through the cherishing of "that of God" in each individual that great social problems can be solved in a way that will actually be a solution. We may never see that solution. But if we follow this principle, what we do will not have to be undone. Thus our immediate purposes are:

1. To work with local people in a project of their choosing for the betterment of their community.

2. To raise money for materials for construction.

3. To publicize the facts of the situation from firsthand experience (In an area where "justice" as we interpret it, does not exist, responsible citizens can help by exposing these conditions. The local people who are responsible sometimes "wake up" when they see themselves as others see them).

THE PROJECT IN FAYETTE COUNTY:

In Fayette County we are helping the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League to build one wing of a Community Center which will provide a place for the League to meet and offices for a doctor and a dentist for citizens who are boycotted from medical services. When completed it will provide space for adult

education, recreation, and a kindergarten.

At the Thanksgiving work camp we helped pour the footing and lay the foundation of one concrete block wall for the community center. At the January work camp weather did not permit construction on the center; so workcampers renovated a 150-year-old deserted house into which an evicted minister had been forced to move; they also chopped firewood to be sold for the building fund.

FINANCIAL REPORT:

The effort to raise funds for building materials and work camp expenses brought in $917.20 between November 1 and January 25. $400.00 was given to the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League toward the building fund. $115.64 was spent for other expenditures of the work camps: postage, phone calls, travel. Thus the balance January 25 was $401.56 (A few contributions and expenditures which came after January 25 have not yet been included in these figures).

The work with which unskilled workcampers can help is (1)hauling sand to put down before the concrete floor is poured and (2) putting on the roof. Before we can put on the roof we will need an estimated $2280.50 for building materials alone, plus the cost for the labor of a skilled worker and his helper. Estimates for needed materials are:

Windows	$267.00
Doors	208.00
"I" Beams	300.00
Lumber	710.00
Felt	60.00
Roofing	128.00
Pitch	60.00
Angle Irons	260.00
Nails (various)	87.50
Concrete Blocks	200.00
	4 2280.50

THE PROJECT IN HAYWOOD COUNTY:

There will be a week-long trial work camp in Haywood County April 8-14. Until now Haywood County has not accepted a work camp. The Haywood County Civic and Welfare League has not during the past year moved forward with progressive ideas in a way comparable with the Original League in Fayette County. One Negro who understands the movement in the south said that when Negroes who are trying to better their situation do not get enough help from the outsidethey will lapse back into their old way of living rather than take the reprisals day after day alone. It is hoped that this will not happen in Haywood County although there is much indication that it is happening. While Fayette County registered around 4000 Negroes, slightly over the number of registered whites, Haywood registered only around 2000. Haywood County has had police brutality through the years, including the lynching of a Negro leader of a small voter registration movement in 1940, false arrests, a court where a Negro cannot hope to get a fair trial. Yet there are districts within the county which are moving forward. It is in one of these districts that the local people plan to work with workcampers to move the house of an evicted sharecropper and rebuild it on a five to ten acre piece of land which the farmer will rent and farm with newer methods. Discontinuing the old idea that the cotton acreage was the only important part of the land, which necessitated a large acreage, some farmers are getting contracts for raising vegetables and forming a producers' cooperative under the leadership of Art Emery, an Iowa Quaker who has gone tothis area with his family to live, to devote himself to just such problems.

RESULTS, TO DATE:

At least nine sizeable professionally-written articles have been published by the group of ten November and twenty January workcampers, exposing the situation they found.

One of the results impossible to measure has been the fellowship with the local people. In November we lived in Tent City along with the evicted Negro sharecroppers and they shared with us the best they had from their store of government surplus food. In January we lived in homes of local Negroes and experienced an unusually warm relationship as we slept in their houses and ate at their table. Although these people have no opportunity to entertain white visitors at other times, there was no indication to us that anyone felt any racial differences.

Worship together has been part of each work camp. Workcampers attended the local Negro churches and silent meditation periods were held in homes or in the back of John McFerren's store, attended about equally by workcampers and local people. The last meditation included Unitarians, Quakers, Jews and a Buddhist plus local Baptists and Methodists. These have served to deepen relationships.

One workcamper, David Brown, a teacher from Doylestown, Pa., has already given up his teaching position and has gone back to Somerville to live. He has begun adult education classes for Negroes there. Two other workcampers have volunteered to teach summer classes.

Workcampers have come from several colleges: University of Illinois, University of Southern Illinois, Western College, Ohio, Oberlin College, Ohio, Haverford College, Pa., Swarthmore College, Pa., and Sarah Laurence College, N.Y.

HOW YOU CAN HELP:

Funds for building materials are needed, for the Community Center, possibly for materials for Haywood County, for some work camp expenses. Food can be collected by a college or church group and sent along with workcampers to help provide the workcampers and the local people. Many local hostesses are in the predicament of Mrs. Puckett, who said, "I would love to have them in my home, but I haven't anything to put on the table. When we were getting Government surplus food I had rice and cornmeal, but we've been cut off from that."

DETAILS:

Travel expenses are to be shared among those travelling in a car; it is hoped that all workcampers will be able to arrange themselves in carloads. If you cannot, let us know.

Cost while in Tennessee is $10.50 for any 7-day period. Cost of meals enroute will be part of travel expenses.

Clothing - warm work clothes. Sleeping bag. Folding cot if you have one. Dress clothes for Sunday.

Accomodations - Sleeping on floors in homes. Outdoor toilets. Don't forget towels, soap, personal articles.

Age - College age and older.

Time - Any 7-day period, approximately. The limit is 12 workcamp pers per week, including International Voluntary Service workcampers. Be sure to specify the date arriving and leaving.

Virgie Hortenstine, Coordinator

COMMITTEE:

Consultation - David Richie, Philadelphia, Pa., Executive Secretary of Social Order Com[illegible] Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers)

Barry Davis, Coral Gables, Fla., Field Secretary, International Voluntary Service

Robert Gaebler, Chicago, Ill., American Secretary, International Voluntary Service

Rev. James Lawson, Jr., Memphis, Tenn., Minister of Certenary Methodist Church, active in Southern Nonviolent Movement

Leadership - Max Parker, Woodland Park, Colo., engineer, formerly International Voluntary Service Worker in Sevagram, India.

Stan Boyd, Philadelphia, Pa., work camp leader for Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends

Lloyd Danzeisen, Brookville, Ohio, Member, Church of the Brethren, member of board of Operation Freedom

David Brown, Somerville, Tenn., Quaker, former Pennsylvania teacher, now living in Fayette County.

Virgie Hortenstine, Coordinator, Cincinnati, Ohio, Quaker, Vice Chairman of Operation Freedom.

SPONSORS:

The Baptist Ministers Conference of Cincinnati
Cincinnati Chapter of Operation Freedom
The Race Relations Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends
International Voluntary Service

REGISTRATION - Mail to Virgie Hortenstine, 5541 Hanley Road, Cincinnati 39, Ohio before Tuesday, March 19. Phone: JA 1-3202. Make checks payable to Fayette County Work Camps and send c/o Virgie Hortenstine at this address.

I plan to arrive in Somerville _____ and leave _____

Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ Age _____ Sex _____ Contribution _____

Contributor _____ Address _____

More announcements free upon request. If interested in later work camps, indicate when.

THE CALL & POST,

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1963

Cleveland, Ohio

Students Find Sharecroppers Still Being Evicted In Tenn.

CINCINNATI — Twenty work campers, mostly college students, have just returned from a between semesters work project to aid distressed Negroes in Fayette County, Tennessee, where they found the eviction of sharecroppers in this and neighboring Haywood County continuing at almost the same rate as two years ago, when 700 families were suddenly given eviction notices when they registered to vote. There is one marked difference: this is a quiet kind of eviction and is not making the news, as the evicted sharecroppers made news when they moved into tents two years ago.

No one is asking anyone to move out of his house; no one is starving. Landlords have told tenants they may continue to live in the shacks where they have lived for years as workers. There will simply be no land for them to farm.

The unemployed people are immediately given free government surplus food. They are quiet, and all is quiet. Between 200 and 300 Negro families have thus been cut off from their employment in Haywood County alone, the student workcampers learned from officials of the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League.

Odell Sanders, officer of that league, told work campers that there is 30% unemployment among Negroes there. No landlord speaks to his tenant about registering to vote; he simply tells him he is mechanizing his farm.

No one reminds the Negroes on surplus food that the local white officials cut off thousands from their surplus food rations last year when they choose to do so.

--::--

The twenty work campers are students of Haverford College, Pa., Saartmore College, Pa., Sarah Lawrence College, N.Y., Oberlin College, Ohio, Western College, Ohio, and the University of Illinois. They drove to Somerville, Tennessee in six carloads, some as far as 1100 miles, to help construct a community center which the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League is trying to erect in order to have a place for adult education, a kindergarten, a doctor's and a dentist's office for Negroes who are boycotted from medical services.

Their project is known as the Fayette County Work Camps Projects and was coordinated by Virgie Hortenstine, Cincinnati Quaker housewife. It is sponsored by the Baptist Ministers' Conference of Cincinnati, the Cincinnati Chapter of Operation Freedom, the Race Relations Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers), and International Voluntary Services.

Part of the project is the raising of funds for building materials for the community center.

--::--

Since cold and icy weather prohibited construction, work campers busied themselves instead on the renovation of a 150-year-old deserted house into which an evicted minister, Rev. June Dowdy, had been forced to move when he became vice president of the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, the organization which promotes Negro voter registration.

The students also worked with local citizens to cut firewood to be sold to raise money for the building of the center. In their spare time they interviewed local citizens, including two white citizens who refused to boycott Negroes who registered and who themselves were forced out of business as a result.

They witnessed the tragic visit of a Negro sharecropper who came to the League to report that he had not only been evicted; his entire cotton crop had been taken by the landlord, leaving him not a penny, although the landlord had not furnished him the customary monthly payments for food during the spring and summer, which arrangement gave him the right to a larger share than usual.

In his hand he had an official-looking paper which League members recognized as concocted by the White Citizens Council to appear to verify the landlord's action. They saw such incidents, despite the recent Federal Court Case (settled out of court they year.)

One of the work campers was so struck by the courage of the Fayette County Negroes' attempt to improve their community even in the face of such opposition that he drove home to Pennsylvania, only to turn around and drive back two days later. He is David Brown, white, a 24-year-old Quaker, a teacher from Doylestown, Pa., who has resigned his teaching position. He is now taking up residence in Somerville, where he will devote himself, full time to work for human rights and brotherhood in Fayette County.

Reprinted by permission
for Fayette County
Work Camp Project
c/o Virgie Hortenstine
5541 Hanley Road
Cincinnati, Ohio

Send contributions for building materials for community center to this address.

Next work camp April 1-14, 1963

NAME
ADDRESS
CONTRIBUTION

Please send me more reprints at $1.00 per 100

June 18, 1962

Miss Colia Liddell, Secretary
Hinds County Voter Registration and
Education Council
540½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Miss Liddell:

We acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 12 to which there is attached a budget for a three-month project for the Hinds County Voter Registration and Education Council which will be directed by Dean Charles Jones.

The Voter Education Project has made grants to CORE, NAACP, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a portion of which is to be used for work in the Jackson, Mississippi, area. Where two or more agencies are working in the same area, as is the case in Jackson, we have requested the agencies to coordinate their registration efforts as much as possible and have even suggested that they get together and plan a joint budget for local operations. Jackson is the only area where we currently have as many as three major organizations working at the same time.

Although your letter makes no mention of any request or need for financial assistance from the Voter Education Project, we think we should tell you that VEP would not contribute any additional funds to your local efforts except through the participating agencies. I note that Mr. Roy Wilkins has written us advising that Reverend Charles Jones is in charge of the NAACP efforts in Jackson, but there is no reason why he could not also serve as Coordinator of the Hinds County Voter Registration and Education Council.

Please be assured of our continuing interest in the registration and education efforts of your community and state.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB:gwc

cc: Mr. Robert Moses
Rev. Robert L. T. Smith
Mrs. Claire C. Harvey

JUN 13 1962

540½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi
June 12, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

We are submitting to you a copy of the approved budget for the Hinds County Voter Registration and Education Council.

Dean Charles Jones of Campbell College in Jackson, Mississippi, will be the Co-ordinator of the project.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Colia Lee Liddell

Colia Liddell
Secretary
Hinds County Voter Registration and Education Council

JUN 13 1962

Budget

For

Hinds County Voter, Registration

and Education Council

June 11 - September 11, 1962 (3 months)

Executive Director, Salary (a) $50 wk.	$800
Secretarial Assistance (a) $30 wk.	480
Training and Mobilization	700
Office Rent, Lights, Water & Furniture	400
Transportation	200
Office Supplies	120
Telephone	100
Misc. Expenses	100
Printings, Mimeographing, Hand Bills, Etc.	100
Total	$3000

Carsie Hall
William A. Tillman
Claire Collins Harvey

Approved by vote

September 11, 1963

Mrs. David G. Bradley, President
League of Women Voters of North Carolina
Room 300, 123 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Bradley:

We have given careful consideration to your inquiry of August 30 pertaining to the publication of a Handbook on State Government. We have concluded that this particular handbook is not sufficiently related to voter registration or voter education to justify a grant from our project in the amount of approximately $5000.

The Voter Education Project would be pleased to consider an application for a grant from the North Carolina League of Women Voters if you can submit something to us that deals more specifically with voter registration or education. You stated that you have in mind putting out a brochure of voter information and that this would be given away wherever possible. This sounds like something which we could very easily support. For your information, we could also support expenses which might be incurred in helping to stimulate people to register and vote.

Please feel free to communicate with us about helping you to plan a proposal to be submitted to our project and you may call us collect should you desire.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

5 Project Proposals Rejected

TO: L. W. Dunbar
J. Minnis

September 5, 1963

FROM: W. A. Branton

I would appreciate it if each of you would examine the attached correspondence of the League of Women Voters of North Carolina and give me your opinions regarding a possible grant for the publication of a handbook on state government.

I would like very much to see VEP make a grant to a LWV but I would much prefer that the grant be in the area of actual voter registration.

What do you think?

Wally:
I would keep at it
chance. However:
1- I have no recommendation regarding amount of money assistance, or whether it would be popular or a reasonable
2- I would be glad to be given to
number of copies we have or may have
every VEP project we have in
in North Carolina
3- I would not commit an until we
they definitely asked. I don't like the
last paragraph of the letter, if at
implies the possibility that the
Board might turn down an
appl. of help from us.

WAB

WAB:jl

Memo from **JACK MINNIS**

September 6, 1963

Wiley:

I am aware in a general way of our desire to secure the participation of LWV in VEP. I'M not sure I understand why we want this, but I understand that we do. If this desire is to be overriding then I suppose the actual content of the booklet is a secondary consideration. If this be the case, then I'd agree with Les in the points he makes.

However, if we are going to be concerned primarily with the content of the work--and with its utility to our projects--then I have some serious reservations about our being associated with the booklet, for the following reasons:

1) It appears to based solely upon research into the constitution and laws of North Carolina. It assumes that the <u>prescriptions</u> of law are a <u>description</u> of political and governmental reality. In my view this assumption is wholly untenable and insupportable. I

Memo from JACK MINNIS

suggest you examine the treatment of juries on pp. 55-56 for an example of the pitfalls of this approach to instruction in public affairs.

2) The treatment of voting, pp. 7-9, suffers, I think, from some serious deficiencies: a) it specifies the 15th and 19th amendments as restrictions on state regulation of voting, but fails to mention Sec. 4, Art. 1. This, however intended, plays into the hands of the Ervins and the Eastlands and the Thurmonds; b) the section on registration makes no mention of the extremely restricted registration times in all but eight or ten counties--these restrictions are certainly material to any consideration of N.C. registration; c) there is no more potent control of the voters over government than bond elections, yet the pamphlet all but dismisses them as unimportant.

In summary, then, if our primary consideration is to be the utility of the book for the projects we support, I think we should decline support. I should not like to be faced with the necessity of defending such a pub-

Memo from **JACK MINNIS**

cation as a VEP product.

August 22, 1963

Mrs. David G. Bradley, President
League of Women Voters of North Carolina
Room 300, 123 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Bradley:

We have received your letter of August 20, and past correspondence between you and Mr. Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Branton is out of the city this week but this file and your most recent letter will be called to his attention upon his return.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Mr. Branton

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

NORTH CAROLINA NATIONAL BANK BUILDING

ROOM 300, 123 WEST MAIN STREET

DURHAM, N. C.

MRS. DAVID G. BRADLEY, PRESIDENT

August 20, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director AUG 21 1963
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I have been working on a handbook of state government, about which there has been an exchange of letters between myself and Mr. Anthony. He informed me that you are in charge of the Voter Education Project and that the correspondence was being turned over to you. For this reason I am writing to enlarge on the information I gave in my first exploratory letter.

The original edition of our Handbook on State Government included about 4,000 copies. It was distributed through the local Leagues, to public schools and libraries, and a few to governmental bodies and individuals. During the past year the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina indicated that they would like to be able to recommend it across the state. We have been unable to fill any orders for more than a year, although the Institute, several school systems, and individuals have sent in orders. It is extremely outdated.

We have been working this summer, in a preliminary way, on content and format. We want to limit it strictly to information on state government, cutting out extraneous information. We also want to eliminate as much current information which might be outdated. We also plan to improve the cover and format. We are also sending it to several persons in the field of education for their review and suggestions.

You can see that the number and the cost will depend on these changes, and on whether we give it away or sell it at cost. In January the state Board set up a goal of 25,000 copies. The estimated cost at that time was $5000, based on a tentative estimate of a printer in Charlotte. The estimate was on the basis of the old handbook. This goal would be unrealistic if we sell it at cost. On the other hand if we give it away there will be no possibility of setting up a revolving fund for future editions, and we would have to go through the whole thing periodically.

We also have in mind for the future a companion piece which would be a brief brochure of voter information, to be given away wherever possible. This would have to be set up as a separate project.

I would like to know a bit more about the possibility of help from the Southern Regional Council, and about the necessary process of application. I will be present the entire project to the board again in late September, and this possibility would be included along with alternative plans.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,
Doris S. Bradley
Mrs. David Bradley, President

WB

August 13, 1963

Mrs. David Bradley
President
League of Women Voters of North Carolina
Room 300, 123 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Bradley:

Through the Voter Education Project, the Southern Regional Council does make modest grants in the field of voter education. Tax exemption is not a prerequisite, so long as the expenditure of the funds meet the requirements of exemption, as publication of the handbook would do. Therefore a grant, if made, could be given directly to the League in North Carolina with the state board having complete freedom in determining how the publication would be distributed.

Decisions on requests are made by Mr. Wiley Branton, director of the Voter Education Project, and his staff. Would you please write him, at this address, indicating the amount of money needed.

Your letter of the 30th and the handbook are being turned over to Mr. Branton. We have considerable admiration for the work of the League and I am certain your request will receive serious consideration.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ROOM 300, 123 WEST MAIN STREET
DURHAM, N. C.

MRS. DAVID G. BRADLEY, PRESIDENT

July 30, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

A field worker for the American Friends Service Committee recently mentioned to me that the Southern Regional Council is concentrating on voter education in North and South Carolina. He suggested that I might contact you with regard to a handbook on state government which the North Carolina League is currently undertaking to revise. The original publication (1954) had a wide circulation, and we are anxious to bring it up to date. We continually receive orders which we cannot fill.

As is usually the case with such efforts, our problem is finding funds for the printing. You may know that contributions to the League are not deductible. The state Board is trying to decide between the alternatives of giving it away or setting up a revolving fund from sales at cost, which would ensure future revisions. We could seek foundation funds, which would go to the League of Women Voters Education Fund, which is deductible. They in turn would commission us to do the publication. In this case we would have to give it away. If we could find funds which did not require deductibility, we could set up the revolving fund.

Is there any possibility that the Council could, and would, support our project? I am sending a copy of the original handbook, under separate cover, and will be glad to answer any questions. We are just now setting up committees to consider format, contents, probable distribution, etc., and to do the research and editing.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Yours truly,

Doil S. Bradley

Mrs. David Bradley
President

December 17, 1963

Mr. C. Frederick Stoerker
Commission on Ecumenical Voluntary
Service Projects
National Student Christian Federation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Stoerker:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 4, in which you state that the Commission on Ecumenical Voluntary Service Projects is interested in developing a summer project in 1964 in Nashville, Tennessee, even though the YWCA does not desire to co-sponsor such a grpgram as it did last year.

The Voter Education Project has limited funds, and we try to give some geographic consideration to the distribution of such funds. Prior to the grant which we made for your summer project last summer, we had made a sizable grant for voter registration work in Nashville. We now have under consideration a request for another grant to a local group for voter registration work in Nashville, and it appears probable that we will make a grant for an early spring registration program in that city.

Under the circumstances, I think it hardly likely that we would agree to make any future grants for registration work in Nashville, Tennessee, during 1964.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

COMMISSION ON ECUMENICAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE PROJECTS

NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION

The United States affiliated member of the World's Student Christian Federation and the Student Movement related to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK • RIVERSIDE 9-2200 • CABLE: UNISTUD

WAB

December 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Commission on Ecumenical Voluntary Service Projects was involved in Nashville, Tennessee in the summer of 1963 in a Voter Education and Registration project, co-sponsored by this office and the YWCA. While joint sponsorship in a second such project in Nashville has not seemed to be desirable for the summer of 1964, the Commission on Ecumenical Voluntary Service Projects is very much interested in developing such a project. It would be particularly grateful for your suggestions, and would also hope very much that financial assistance might again be a possibility for the summer of 1964.

I would hope that your affirmative response might lead to further correspondence and that I might be able to speak with you through a conference sometime early in 1964.

With great appreciation for the work which you are doing, I am

Sincerely,

Fred Stoerker

C. Frederick Stoerker, Director
ECUMENICAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE

CFS/id

The National Student Christian Federation is a continuing organization resulting from the unification of the Interseminary Committee, the Student Volunteer Movement, and the United Student Christian Council.

The Commission on Ecumenical Voluntary Service Projects is also sponsored by the United Christian Youth Movement and is the administrative agency in the United States for the Ecumenical Youth Service Committee of the Youth Department of the World Council of Churches.

January 24, 1964

Mr. James P. Austin
602 North Avenue
Lakes Wales, Florida

Dear Mr. Austin:

Thank you for your letter of January 19. I wish to commend you for your active interest in voter registration.

We work primarily through five national agencies, one of which is the NAACP. As I am sure you know, the registration work in the Lake Wales area has been assigned to the NAACP and we probably will make another assignment to that organization for 1964. I feel certain that your city and surrounding area will get added support from NAACP at a vedy early date.

Thank you for writing to us.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

Project Proposals
rejected

WB

CITRUS GROVES
HOMES
ACREAGE
RENTALS-BONDED
CONVENTIONAL
F.H.A. & G.I. LOANS

Austin Builders and Real Estate
REGISTERED REAL ESTATE BROKER
1900 1ST STREET, N.E.
PHONE CY 4-1816

GENERAL CONTRACTOR
MORTGAGES
BUSINESS
OPPORTUNITIES
NOTARY SERVICE
INVESTMENTS

602 North Avenue
~~Lake Wales, Florida~~
~~WINTER HAVEN, FLORIDA~~

January 19, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street,N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAN 21 1964

Dear Mr. Branton:

Your memorandum on Voter Regiatration dated January 14, was received and read with much interest and concern. I have long been interested in voter registration here in Polk County in general, and at the present time we are conducting a local registration drive here in Lake Wales where I live.
I am a Building Contractor who works out of Winter Haven, But lives here in Lake Wales and have been for the past 38 years. I am also the local president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, (NAACP).
The larger towns in this county are: Lakeland, Winter Haven, Lake Wales, Haines City and Bartow. Each of these cities have on at present a local registration drive in their own towns. In order to do a good job of voter registration in the above mentioned towns we need some help to get more workers interested in doing a real good job.

But the above mentioned cities are not our real problems. Our real problems exit in the smaller towns and outlying areas where there are between twenty (20,000) and 25,000 thousand more negroes who realy need to be reached. If some one could come in here and help us or send some kind of financial help I am certain that we could get most of those people registered. Transportation is our most pressing problem. Foor we must transport registrants 15, 20, 30, and 35 miles in order to register them for the County , State and National elections.

Whatever you can do to help us in this situation please let me know at once. I am willing to serve in any capacity that I can.

{ I was defeated on May 7, 1963 for a seat on our City Commission.

Very truly yours,

James P. Austin

JAMES P. AUSTIN

— ELECT —

James P. Austin

as your

CITY COMMISSIONER

MAY 7, 1963

Businessman 15 years — Resident 38 Years
Religious and Civic Worker
A dedicated public servant vitally interested
in the city's development and growth.

YOUR VOTE IS APPRECIATED

Return address
Southern Conference
Educational Fund Inc
822 Perdido St
New Orleans 12, La

BW
RTB

February 12, 1964

FEB 13 1964

COPY

Mr. Worth Long
Project Director
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
3 1/2 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Long:

Both Doug Harris (who accompanied us on January 31 to the office of the chairman of the Halifax County board of elections and who got a good look at the miserable nature of the entire area) and Reggie Robinson have indicated that they have talked with you regarding the situation in the northeastern "black belt" counties of North Carolina and, in particular, Halifax County. A few developments have occurred there since I wrote Jim Forman on January 29 -- namly, they are centered around the community of Enfield which is the basic focal point of civil rights activity for that whole section of the state:

On February 3, I went with the leaders of the Enfield movement to a city council meeting where the demands of the Negro community -- originally presented to the mayor and city council on June 5, 1963 -- were to be formally answered by the political power structure. (Since June 5, there has been much direct action in the community and although, last fall, an insipid bi-racial committee was set up, it has not yet done anything -- or even pretended to do anything.)

The demands presented by the Enfield movement and discussed again at this meeting of February 3 were basically these: (1) the hiring of Negro police who can arrest white people; (2) civic improvements for the Negro neighborhoods -- improvements in lighting, sewage disposal, and garbage collections; (3) the improvement of civic recreational facilities and the opening up of such to all citizens; (4) the construction of a swimming pool which will be open to all citizens; (5) a town ordinance prohibiting segregation

The mayor and the councilmen indicated that they felt that they had made a few improvements in sewage disposal and garbage collection -- and refused to even consider the other demands. They were particularly adamant in their refusal to hire even one Negro policeman and they

Project Proposals
~~Stuff~~

laughed at the idea of an anti-segregation ordinance. Their attitude was one of total recalcitrance. Police and associated elements were much in evidence in and around the meeting and the feeling in the air was quite akin indeed to, say, a rural community in the Deep South to which the freedom movement is coming.

The Negro community in Enfield is much angered, of course, by the refusal of the power structure to meet the demands. Aggravating the feelings of the people is the fact that various economic pressures of a reprisal nature -- present since the mass demonstrations of last summer and fall -- are now being stepped up, against the leaders of the movement, by the political and economic power structures. There is anger, too, at the Federal government: late last summer, following just one direct action demonstration of many, <u>seventy-odd affidavits</u> attesting to extreme police and vigilante brutality were filed with the Justice Department and, so far, no visible action has been taken. (In Enfield yesterday - February 11 - I talked with a leader of the movement, Mrs. Lillian Cousins Smith, who tells me that - a few hours earlier - she had talked with an FBI man and had asked him what had happened to their affidavits; she received the usual unsatisfactory answers.)

The feeling of general discontent -- stemming from poverty and repression -- is much in evidence all through Halifax County and in the other counties involved in this black-belt section: Bertie, Edgecombe, Northampton, and Warren. Most importantly, the people are ready and willing to go.

Plans are developing well with respect to the organization of Halifax County for concerted and intensive voter registration activity. We have set up a meeting in Enfield for the evening of February 21. Between fifty and one hundred key local leaders and potential leaders, from every section of the county and from every social class bracket, will be present. Moses A. Riddick, Jr., the director of the Nansemond Co., Va. Independent Voters League (a man who himself, as you probably know, has just won a post as county commissioner) has agreed to lead this meeting -- and the emphasis will be on systematic grassroots political organization.

Note! ( )

Also, considerable direct action will be developing in the county within the next few weeks. Aggressive litigation -- such as suits aimed at the rigidly segregated school systems -- will, hopefully, be instituted before too long.

COPY

Halifax County is the key to the black-belt counties of North Carolina. Once matters are really moving in Halifax, the movement will spring forth in the other counties of the section.

The people are really ready. They need -- and would appreciate mightily -- all the help that they can get.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

John R. Salter, Jr.

cc: Mr. Randolph Blackwell
Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden
Dr. Jim Dombrowski
Mr. Douglas Marvin
Mr. Reginald Robinson

COPY

Project Awareness
Phil Dion, Chairman
c/o ASUH Office
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii
March 14, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I should at this time like to repeat a request forwarded to you on February 26, 1964, concerning voter registration projects during the summer of 1964. In that request I outlined information which we felt would be necessary to enlist students from the University of Hawaii for the projects and asked for details concerning:

1. Dates, locations and costs
2. Qualifications of and costs to individual applicants
3. Training of chosen applicants
4. Selection criteria

We presently have sixteen (16) students who are interested in participating in the projects and are certain of more applicants once the necessary information is disseminated. We feel that it will be necessary to begin our program in Hawaii immediately if proper training for the applicants is to be effected.

I should therefore like to request that you forward definite information to me within the next week. This is absolutely necessary if we are to attempt to conduct the program. If it is impossible to forward the information within this time please inform us immediately also. If we are unable to begin the program within the next week we will find it necessary to abandon it.

Respectfully yours,

Phil Dion

Phil Dion, Chairman
Project Awareness

PJD:rap

March 13, 1964

Mr. Phil Dion, Chairman
Project Awareness
c/o ASUH Office
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

Dear Mr. Dion:

Dr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council has referred your letter of February 26 to this office for a reply.

It is true that the Voter Education Project sponsors non-partisan registration programs but I regret to inform you that we limit our activities to eleven southern states and, therefore, could not support a registration program in the state of Hawaii.

If you have questions which you think our project might be of some assistance in providing answers for in connection with any project you might care to sponsor, you may be assured that we will be pleased to share any experiences we have had with you.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

Project Proposals Rejected

WB - file
reply
Irene Hodwin
has had some
recent correspondence
with these people
may be it will
help you understand
this - I don't
at

WB

Project Awareness
Phil Dion, Chairman
c/o ASUH Office
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822
February 26, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The Project Awareness committee is now conducting a recruiting campaign for voter registration projects to be held during the summer of 1964.

We understand the Southern Regional Council sponsers such projects and so would like to request any information you may have, including:

1. qualifications of participants,
2. cost to participants,
3. training and preparation of participants,
4. selection criteria for participants,
5. duration and location of specific projects.

In addition to criteria established by the Southern Regional Council, all Hawaii applicants will be subject to criteria as established by our student government of the University of Hawaii.

Project Awareness will assume the responsibility of conducting primary screening, selecting, and training of all Hawaii delegates and will submit the names and qualifications of selected applicants to the Southern Regional Council for approval.

As we are presently receiving many requests for specific information, we would greatly appreciate an immediate reply.

Sincerely yours,

Phil Dion

Phil Dion, Chairman
Project Awareness

PJD:rap

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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O HWA206 INTL FR HONOLULU 42 24 115P HST VIARCA

MARY GODWIN

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC RM 201 5 FORSYTH STREET NW ATLANTAGA

STUDENT BODY HAS WITHDRAWN SUPPORT AND FINANCIAL BACKING MISSION CANCELLED FOR PRESENT DUE TO LACK OF FUNDS EXPLANATORY LETTER FORTHCOMING

MANY THANKS

PHIL DION CHAIRMAN HAWAII STUDENT PROJECT AWARENESS

201 5.

January 13, 1964

Mr. Phil Dion
1810 University Avenue
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Dion:

Leslie Dunbar asked me to answer your letter concerning the University of Hawaii students' trip to the South.

Mr. Dunbar will be happy to see the students on January 27. If necessary, he could possibly arrange to see them on the 28th.

We are looking forward to their visit.

Sincerely,

Mary Godwin
Secretary to Margaret Long

MG/s

Hawaii Student Project:
Awareness
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii
January 9, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
N.W,, Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Hawaii Student Project: Awareness, an integrated committee of students of the University of Hawaii, has selected a delegation of six members who will tour the southern area of the United States to observe and learn more about its changing social conditions.

We are contacting you to ask if you could grant them an informal interview, discussion period. Chief Judge Elbert Parr Tuttle, United States Court of Appeals, 5th Circuit, recommended that they see you for help and information.

The delegation will be in Atlanta on January 26, 27 and 28, 1964, and would like to see you during the morning hours of either the 27th or the 28th, at your convenience.

We are anxious to hear from you and hope that suitable arrangements can be made. Your prompt attention would be very greatly appreciated.

Can on 27
may be on 28

Sincerely yours,

Phil Dion

Phil Dion
Chairman, Hawaii Student
Project: Awareness

Return to:

Phil Dion
1810 University Ave.
Zip # 96822
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dale Story

Dr. Dale Story
Advisor

March 16, 1964

The Rev. William G. Johnson, Pastor
Bethany Christian Church
80 Burlington Avenue
Bridgeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 5, which was addressed to the Southern Regional Council. In this letter you seek information regarding the establishment of a voter registration program in Cumberland County, New Jersey.

The Voter Education Project restricts its activities to eleven southern states and, therefore, could not consider support of a program anywhere in the state of New Jersey.

I note that you express some interest in the Democratic party and I am, therefore, sending a copy of your letter to Dr. Tinsley Spraggins of the Democratic National Committee with the suggestion that he get in touch with you regarding a voter registration program in your county. I am also sending a copy to Mr. Phil Weightman of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. I feel reasonably certain that either of these gentlemen will be able to offer some assistance in advising you on how to get a registration program going in your county.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Dr. Tinsley Spraggins
Mr. Phil Weightman

Project Proposals Rejected

LWD
WB
Pls reply

Bethany Christian Church

80 Burlington Avenue
BRIDGETON, NEW JERSEY

Pastor
Rev. William G. Johnson
756 E. Commerce Street
Phone 455-2231

Church Clerk
Louis R. Harmon

Church Treasurer
Wilson Morris

Pastor's Steward
Howard Mason

Thursday, March 5
1964

Southern Regional Conference
#5 Pier,
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We, the undersigned, are very much interested in the registration program for our people as outlined by your conference.

We are concerned about the approaching presidential election, primarily expressing interest in the successful accomplishments of the Democratic Party.

We therefore have completed a survey of Cumberland County, in the state of New Jersey. We discovered there is not one clinic established anywhere to instruct people on voter registration, neither is there any oustanding Negro leadership to harness the Negro vote in this area.

When a Negro candidate is presented by one party, the opposing party enters an opponent of color to split the strength of the first candidate thus barring the possible entrance of a Negro into political positions.

We were advised to contact your office to determine through your guidance how to establish a voter registration program in Cumberland County.

Hoping for an early reply from your office, we beg to remain,

Yours truly,
Nathaniel H. Lewin
Nathaniel H. Lewin, (Rev.)

WGJ:pj

William G. Johnson, (Rev.)

April 4, 1964

Mr. Ernest L. Doyle
1506 Franklin Street
Selma, Alabama

Dear Mr. Doyle:

I regret to inform you that the Voter Education Project cannot, at this time, make any grant to the Dallas County Voters Leage, as we do not see any reasonable expectation of substantial Negro registration in Dallas County until the Justice Department is able to win a court decree against your Board of Registrars and it appears that Judge Thomas has recently denied the government's application for an injunction.

As you probably know, we have been giving some help to voter registration work in Dallas County through the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and it is my understanding that they are still working to some extent in Selma.

We try to take a realistic approach to voter registration in every community where we are involved and I cannot helpt but note that your statement that "we can accomplish 10,000 in this drive" sounds very farfetched to me where you have only 450 registered Negro voters and your organization has been in operation for 20 years or more. I would be very much interesting in knowing what it is that $210 per month for the next eight months will enable you to do in Dallas County that has not been possible in the past. Perhaps we are wrong in our decision and we are always willing to reconsider our action but we must have meaningful facts and proposals to work with.

Very truly yours,

WAB:jl

Wiley A. Branton

Project Proposals Rejected

WB
BW

Ernest L. Doyle
1506 Franklin Street
Selma, Alabama
March 25- 1964

MAR 28 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

This will acknowledge the receipt of your letter regarding a request for information of qualification for work going on here in Selma, Alabama.

The Dallas County Voter League has been in operation here for about twenty years or more, it's action is to improve Negroes for Registration, also the Dallas County Voter League has promote a containation of mass meeting for the last several month.

Officers:

Rev. F. D. Reese-- President-1566 Range Street, Selma, Alabama
Mr. Ernest L. Doyle--First Vice President--1506 Franklin St, Selma,
Mr. Ulysses Blackmon-- Secretary--1803 Sylvan Street, Selma, Ala.
Mr. John H. Bunkley--- Treasure--- 172[illegible] Green Street, Selma, Ala.

There are 450 Registered Negroes Voters in Dallas County according to the record published by the Selma Times Journal.

The method I had plan to use was to set up Citizenship School, block system and clinic, I think this will be more effective because of the personal contact with the people, on a fellow through system.

I plan to run this program for eight month, my budget is ~~$310.00~~ $210.00 a month.

I think we can accomplish 10,000 in this drive, I can not give criticism about other Organization conducting program but I can get around it, I hope to hear from you soon.

ELD/lj

Very truly yours,
Ernest L. Doyle
Ernest L. Doyle

Memo from **JEAN LEVINE**

I cannot find
original correspondence.
Please remind me
monday & I will
search further.

April 19, 1962

Mr. John H. Wrighten
Attorney and Counsellor at Law
230 Coming Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Wrighten:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 10 in which you express interest in our Voter Education Project on behalf of the Citizens Committee of Charleston County.

We will be working primarily with five major agencies, but we are reserving some funds for use with local organizations where special circumstances require that we take such action. In South Carolina we know that several organizations plan extensive registration campaigns in many parts of the state, and we have already seen the plans of NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

In view of the fact that we will have limited funds with which to work and the fact that the other organizations appear to plan a concerted campaign in South Carolina, we probably would not be able to make a separate grant to the Citizens Committee of Charleston County at this time. We hope that your organization can coordinate its efforts with the other agencies which will be working in your area.

With kind personal regards,

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

Dictated by Mr. Branton; transcribed in his absence.

TELEPHONES:
OFFICE RAYMOND 3-8102
RESIDENCE TULIP 4-9982

JOHN H. WRIGHTEN
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW

230 COMING STREET
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

April 10, 1962

Attorney Wiley A. Branton
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am sure you do not remember me now, but several years ago we met, I believe at an N.A.A.C.P. Conference. I have learned of your new job, I want to congratulate you on the same, and in the meantime I want you to put South Carolina on the list for consentration on Voters Registration.

We have an organization in Charleston which is in need of funds to carry on its work. If we could receive assistance from your department, we shall be able to do a greater job. We have the Citizens Committee of Charleston County, and I am sure that your organization will consider us.

May I thank you, I remain

Very truly yours,

John H. Wrighten

John H. Wrighten

JHW/ams

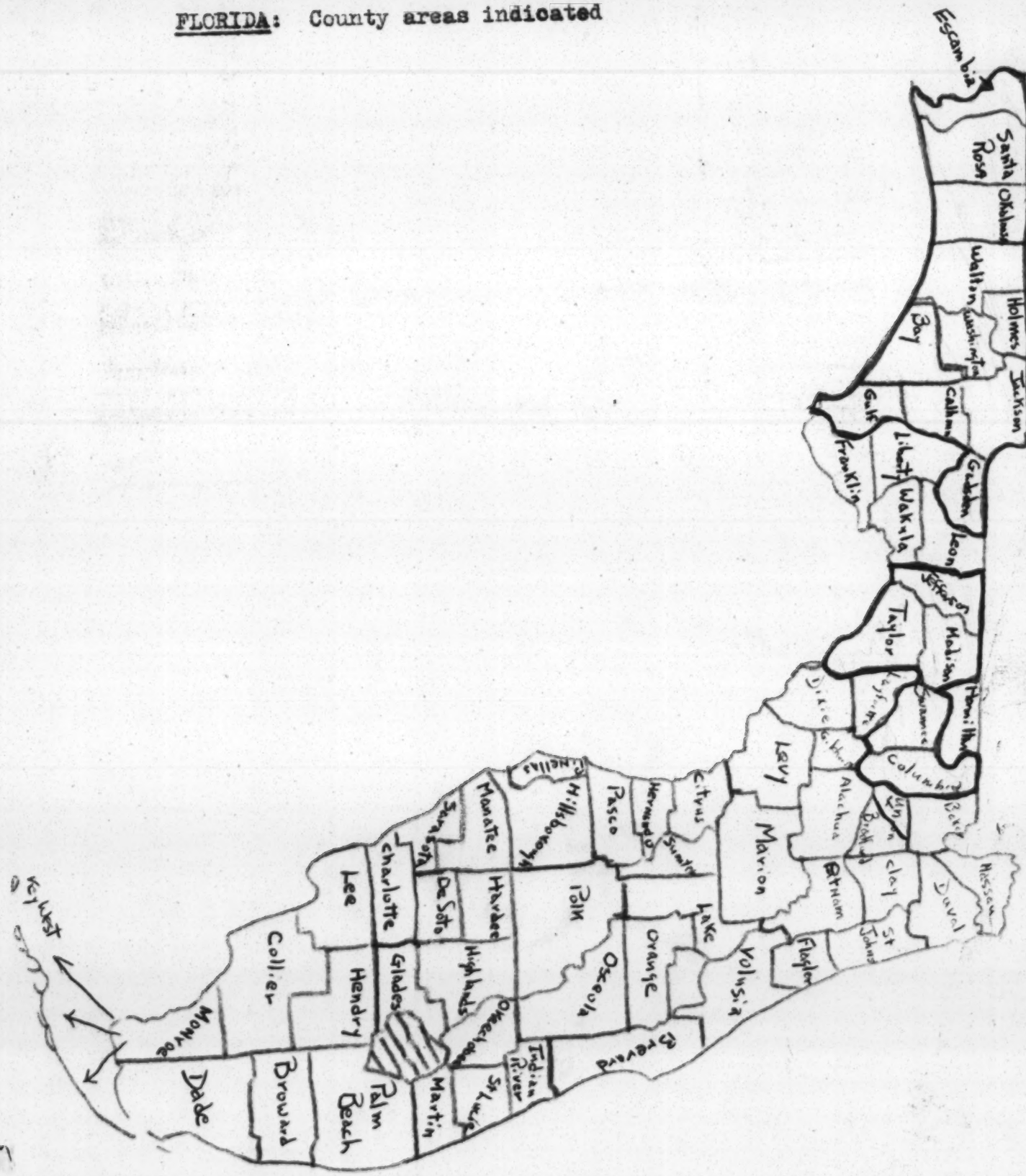
APR 24 1964

PROSPECTUS FOR FLORIDA: SUMMER, 1964

Outlined herein is a tentative summer program for Florida. It includes several types of activities in which we feel CORE could engage most efficiently and most profitably. Ingeneral these activities can be divided into three catagories: (1) a combination of voter education and direct action in certain specific counties discussed in detail below; (2) a program for involving college and university students in CORE activities plus a more extensive servicing of existing chapters in the state; (3) a full time fund raising program for Florida.

In the first section then, a statistical profile of 16 North Florida Counties will be presented with recommendations for program in those counties. In section two we will discuss the extent of the need for a college program and recommend the necessary staff and materials for such a program. Finally, we want to show the existing untapped resources which CORE can utilize in the way of financial support in Florida and suggest a suitable program for obtaining these funds.

FLORIDA: County areas indicated



(1) Voter Education Project and Direct Action Project For 16 North Florida Counties.

The map preceeding indicates the state of Florida with the 16 counties in question outlined in red. These counties fall into two geographic areas, separated by Leon County. All things considered, we are of the opinion that these 16 counties are most appropriate forr a combination voter education--direct action program in North Florida.

There are a number of reasons for the particular choices indicated herein. First, North Florida constitutes the "Porkchop" area of Florida. Due to the third worst apportionment system in the country, Florida contains some fantastic malapportionment situat ions. For example, Jefferson County, which is one of the sixteen under consideration, with a population of 9,543 has the same state senatorial representation as Dade County, with a population of 935,047. Thus the state senate election finds a Jefferson County voter with 100 times the power of the Dade Countian. Despite consistent efforts by many groups in Florida, this poor apportionment system seems doomed to long-life. Thus the registered Negro in North Florida is relatively quite important for some time. A second reason for choosing these counties is that they are felt to be among the most backward and most oppressive racially in the state. As we will show later, six of the sixteen counties are among the 11 worst in the state with regard to per capita income. Further, a large potential of unregistered Negroes exists in this area. Although the percentage of Negro voters seems high, a recent FSU study indicates that these percentages are probably more easily correlated to lack of purging than actual registratation. Finally, most of these counties are 100% segregated.

POPULATION STATISTICS*

COUNTY	POP. NEGRO	POP. WHITE	NEGRO POP. AS % OF TOTAL	TOTAL POPULATION
WAShington	2,175	9,071	18%	11,249
Holmes	452	10,392	04%	10,844
Calhoun	1,189	6,232	16%	7,422
Walton	2,107	13,461	14%	15,576
Bay	9,894	57,080	15%	67,131
Okaloosa	3,972	56,979	07%	61,175
Santa Rosa	2,018	27,384	07%	29,547
Escambia	35,856	137,425	20%	173,829
Columbia	6,070	13,993	30%	220,077
Suwanee	4,064	10,888	27%	14,961
Madison	6,723	7,430	47%	14,154
Taylor	3,234	9,931	23%	13,168
Jefferson	5,641	3,901	59%	9,543
Jackson	11,232	24,966	30%	36,208
Gulf	2,385	7,550	23%	9,937
Gadsden	24,944	17,038	59%	41,989

*As of April 1, 1960: 1962 Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of Florida Counties

REGISTRATION

The number of Negro registrants in Florida increased in the period from 1946 to 1960 from 48, 157 to 163, 128. The percentage of Negroes registered (as a percentage of potential Negro registrants) rose from 14.1% in 1946 to 34.7% in 1960. In 1960 non-whites of voting age constituted 15.2% of the state's voting age population.

The numbrr of Florida counties with over one-fifth of the non-white population of voting age registered rose to 58 in 1960. In 27 of these counties over 50% of the eligible Negro population has registered.

Source: Florida Votes 1920—1962. Institute of Governmental Research. Florida State University.

NONWHITE REGISTRATION STATISTICS—Oct., 1963

COUNTY	COUNTY SEAT	ELIGIBLE	REG.	% REG.	REG. POTENTIAL
Washington	Chipley	1,021	707	69.3	314
Holmes	Bonifay	249	163	65.5	86
Calhoun	Blountstown	582	403	69.2	179
Walton	DeFuniak	1,086	825	76.0	261
Bay	Panama City	4,964	3,246	65.4	1,718
Okaloosa	Crestview	2,097	899	42.9	1,198
Santa Rosa	Milton	1,082	662	61.0	420
Escambia	Pensacola	18,041	10,827	60.0	7,214
Columbia	Lake City	3,122	1,702	54.5	1,420
Suwannee	Live Oak	2,159	610	28.3	1,549
Madison	Madison	3,067	1,147	37.4	1,920
Taylor	Perry	1,724	781	45.3	943
Jefferson	Monticello	2,600	443	17.0	2,157
Jackson	Marianna	5,390	3,602	66.8	1,788
Gulf	Port St. Joe	1,138	622	54.7	516
Gadsden	Quincy	12,261	900*	7.5*	11,361*
				Total	33,044

* minimum approximation

As of 1960, the average percentage registration among whites was 60.5 for all Florida Counties.

It should also be noted that two of the above counties have obvious excess registration as of 1960 figures. Thus Calhoun had a total of 4,680 registered voters and a voting age population of 4,016. Washington County was similarly over-registered. This is due to a failure to purge the books.

INCOME

The per capita income of Florida's counties in 1960 varied from $3,136 (in Hendry County) to $783 (in Calhoun County). Most of the 15 counties listed below are poor counties. Six of the below listed counties are among Florida's 11 poorest counties. Every county is below the state average.

Source: Bureau of Economic and Business Research--University of Florida.

PER CAPITA INCOME

COUNTY	1959	1960	1961	rank in state--1960
Washington	$ 923	$ 944	$ 880	63rd
Holmes	763	784	788	66th
Calhoun	756	779	847	67th
Walton	840	836	928	65th
Bay	1,724	1,529	1,657	31st
Okaloosa	1,695	1,863	1,707	19th
Santa Rosa	1,301	1,345	1,453	37th
Escambia	1,872	1,919	1,875	13th
Columbia	1,297	1,186	1,312	48th
Suwannee	1,247	1,215	1,238	45th
Madison	990	993	962	59th
Taylor	1,390	1,269	1,483	38th
Jefferson	1,176	1,098	1,066	57th
Jackson	1,126	1,134	1,162	52nd
Gulf	1,893	1,902	1,647	14th
Florida	1,960	1,985	1,990	

INCOME SOURCES AS OF 1961

	Manu-	Agri.	Constru.	tran., commun., public util.	finan., real est., insurance	retail, whole-sale	serv., trades, profes.	Government
Florida	14.6	7.2	9.1	7.8	7.8	22.4	19.9	14.1
Washington	8.1	13.0	14.6	6.2	1.2	12.1	10.5	33.4
Holmes	3.8	33.6	3.1	3.2	3.7	12.3	10.9	28.8
Calhoun	14.6	19.2	2.4	.1	4.3	18.2	11.9	28.3
Walton	8.8	12.7	9.4	6.1	4.5	19.6	13.3	25.2
Bay	17.5	.6	7.2	6.1	6.0	24.9	12.6	24.4
Okaloosa	17.2	1.2	5.1	2.8	3.0	12.2	17.8	40.5
Santa Rosa	28.3	9.6	11.4	2.0	3.6	13.4	7.6	23.7
Escambia	28.5	.8	8.2	5.6	4.8	17.1	9.5	25.3
Columbia	12.7	10.9	3.0	5.2	5.4	18.8	11.7	32.0
Suwannee	5.4	33.5	3.1	7.8	4.6	16.0	10.0	18.4
Madison	20.1	31.4	1.5	2.8	2.0	14.7	9.6	16.8
Taylor	49.8	5.2	2.9	3.0	2.6	14.6	7.9	13.5
Jefferson	3.8	39.4	4.9	4.3	2.2	11.6	12.9	18.7
Jackson	8.8	20.9	3.7	5.3	4.0	18.1	13.5	25.0
Gulf	50.9	.8	3.2	7.8	2.6	9.7	13.0	10.5

EDUCATION

With the exceptions of Bay and Escambia Counties where very insignificant and token school integration has occured, schools in the other 14 counties remain totally segregated. The Biennial Report of the State Department of Education stopped reporting certain important statistics by race after 1956. Thus it is impossible here to offer a meaninful comparative study of education with regard to these sixteen counties as compared with the rest of the state.

The only hint as to the situation lies in a 1957-58 record of percent of students failing to be promoted to the next grade by race. In general, these counties showed twice as many non-white children failing to be promoted as white children. The average for the state is slightly less that 2/1.

PARTIAL LIST OF CONTACTS

COUNTY	NAME	OCCUPATION
Washington	Mrs. Annie Mae Herring	beautician
	Mr. Roulax	teacher
Holmes	Mrs. Smith	teacher
	Mrs. Elma McCall	domestic
	The Moultries	undertaker
Calhoun	Rev. Fair	lumber mill
	Mrs. Baker	teacher
Walton	Mrs. Ida Bailey	retired insurance agent
	Miss Katurna Cady	teacher
	Mr. McClaim	carpenter and undertakerr
	Mr. Laird	mechanic
Bay	Rev. A.W. Williams	minister
	Mr. Owens	merchant
	C.C. Washington	principal
Okaloosa	W.D. Hill	chevy agent
Santa Rosa	Mrs. Maude Johnson	teacher
	Rev. Herring	minister
	Mrs. Ruby Face	former insurance agent
Escambia	J.V. Betts	barber
	Dr. Jones	pharmacist
	Mr. Maurice Lucky	Gulf Cleaners
Columbia	Rev. W.P. Jenkins	elder--Lake City district
Suwannee	E.K. Bass	undertaker
Madison	Sumpter Jones, Jr.	merchant and undertaker
	Tommy Miller	merchant
	Rev. James Miller	county farm agent
Taylor	Richard Bell	barber
	Willie Hood	lumber yard
Jefferson	Rev. A.W. Sanders	teacher
	Mr. Tillman	undertaker
Jackson	Miss Willie Hutchinson	
	Rev. H.C. Smith	minister
	Joseph Gibson	head steward
Gulf	Mr. Bobby Twine	principal

PROGRAM

For these sixteen counties we would like to propose a combaination voter education and direct action project. By combination, the following is meant. A direct action program would in some way affect every county, that is, there would be a direct action project either in a county or in a county near enough to affect the attitudes of those nearby. In counties with large registration potentials, concentrated drives would be established to carry through to the October 3 closing of the books.

The two areas, as indicated on the map of Florida, are separated by Leon County. We would suggest that at least five persons work in the Eastern county complex--some in direct action programs and some in voter registration, and at least 7 in the Western area. Where feasible, community offices could be set up. Persons assigned to areas would, of course, live in central points in their areas.

For these areas a number of cars would probably be necessary--this number depending on the people actually available for the project and the areas assigned to them.

Among the goals of this 16 county drive would be increased registration, the setting up of self-sufficient community registration and action units, the opening of registration offices all-day five days a week and one night or Saturday, the purging of books where necessary, and an understanding of non-violent direct action philosophy.

OTHER NEEDED PROGRAMS

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITY WORK: Florida has a number of colleges and universities which are, for the most part, untapped resources for CORE projects. We feel that at least two persons, either an interracial team or one white and one Negro should devote full time this summer to developing CORE groups on or off campus' in the state. There are a number of groups for civil rights in existence at some schools--for example, the Student Group for Equal Rights at the University of Florida, almost all-white, is a recognized campus group. For a time it functioned quite effectively. At Florida A. & M. University, the NAACP College chapter is a recognized group, although the off-campus CORE group has been the active group representing the school. We feel that every college, junior college and university has a great potential, and we feel this potenial should be utilized.

FUND RAISING: A full time CORE fund raiser should be assigned to the state of Florida. We feel that untapped resources more than justify this assignment, and that such a program would more than justify one person working in this area. As the number of CORE chapters grows this summer, counsel will be needed in fund raising. Areas such as Miami will provide unlimited funds for national CORE, for example.

Respectfully Submitted,

Patricia Stephens Due

Patricia Stephens Due
Field Secretary, CORE
Voter Education Project
April 15, 1964

July 8, 1964

Mr. Vernon Mitchell
500½ 9th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Mr. Branton asked that I let you know that we cannot provide assistance to your registration program at this time. He indicated that possibly consideration for a campaign, prior to the September 15 deadline, could be given if a satisfactory program can be developed.

Best wishes for success in your current activity.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

B. I. WHITAKER

DATE 7-2-64

Vernon Mitchell called — about 50 teen-agers working — Registered over 100 today. Biggest problem is providing transportation. Requests decision on proposal. He indicated that he had difficulty getting reimbursed from SCLC before when campaign was conducted through that agency.

Andy Young also called — from St. Augustine. Is returning tonight. Will call you tomorrow.

BW

Please write Vernon Mitchell & tell him that we can not consider his program at this time. We may be able to do something before the Sept 15 deadline IF we can develop a satisfactory program.

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

B. I. WHITAKER

DATE 3-1-64

Wiley,

Vernon Mitchell called on Monday about VEP support for a crash registration programme for Muscogee County and an adjoining county, Talbot. I encouraged him to submit a budget to you, which is attached. He indicates that he has had extensive contact with someone, who name I don't recall, in Talbot County. Upon consultation with this person, he will submit a proposal for Talbot County.

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

THE COLUMBUS NEWS, Inc.

500½ - 9th Street

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

Vernon Mitchell, President

Phone FA 4-3186

JUL 1 1964

June 30, 1964

Mrs. Barbara Whittaker
Southern Regional Council
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whittaker:

I didn't think I would be involved in another Voter Registration Campagin this year, but as it stands, I have no choice.

Under the new Georgia Code, the books will be opened again until July, 21: We are going to try and take advantage of it. Our goal is set for three thousand additional voters to boast our total to 12,000.

We are appealing to your organization for financial aid in our campaign.

You will receive a copy of the Talbot County budget in the very near future.

We shall sincerely appreciate your kindness.

Respectfully yours,

Vernon Mitchell

Vernon Mitchell

Enclosed: proposed budget

File

Proposal Rejected

THE COLUMBUS NEWS, Inc.

500½ - 9th Street

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

Vernon Mitchell, President

Phone FA 4-3186

MUSCOGEE COUNTY VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
Proposed Budget of Crash for Voters Campaign

Starting date: July 3, 1964, thru-July 21, 1964, for three thousand additional Negro voters in Muscogee County

POINTS OF INTEREST

AREAS OF NEGRO CONCENTRATION

BOTTOM AREA-------	3 cars daily -------	$27.00
DOWNTOWN AREA-----	2 cars daily -------	18.00
BEALWOOD----------	2 cars daily -------	18.00
EAST WYNNTON------	3 cars daily -------	27.00
CARVER HEIGHTS----	2 cars daily -------	18.00
KENDRICK SURVY----	1 car daily -------	9.00
UPTOWN AREA-------	2 cars daily -------	18.00
EAST HIGHLAND-----	3 cars daily -------	27.00
WILLIS PLAZA------	2 cars daily -------	18.00
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS	3 cars daily -------	27.00

Total amount $3,312

MISCELLANEOUS

TELEPHONE SERVICE----------	$100.00
OFFICE SPACE (for three weeks)-------	60.00
FOUR FULL TIME WORKERS----------	620.00
PRINTING----------	150.00
TWO MASS MEETINGS(Rent for bldg.)---	26.00
LUNCHES FOR STUDENT VOLUNTEER WORKERS $40.00 daily----------	640.00

Total amount $1,390

Grand total $1,390
3,312
$4,702

August 11, 1964

Mr. Glenn Thureson
1703 N. Vine Street
Chicago 14, Illinois

Dear Mr. Thureson:

In reply to your letter of July 28, 1964, I regret to inform you that we would have no interest in supporting a photographic documentation of the social problems of the South as we are not set up to publish or distribute pictures. The Voter Education Project is in the final phase of its activity, and it is much too late for us to consider photographic documentation.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

LWD ✓ Are you interested in this? - WB NO

we're not set up to publish or distribute pictures

WB —

JUL 30 1964

1703 N. Vine Street
Chicago 14, Illinois
July 28, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

According to Bernard LaFayette of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Regional Council is engaged (at least in part) in documenting and researching the social problems of the South. I have the impression that you rely on the written word in this work. Would you be interested in photographic documentation of these problems and (where applicable) the remedies in progress?

My wife and I (with our new baby) have been invited to participate in the "totebag project" in Brownsville, Tennessee this fall. I am interested in doing a photographic study of that area. However, the subsistence level salaries we will receive from the project will not permit the purchase of photographic supplies. I am therefore seeking cost-basis financial assistance from the Southern Regional Council in the belief that this would be a mutually rewarding arrangement.

I intend to visit briefly in Atlanta sometime between August 10 and 21 to speak with people at Mennonite House and at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference office. If you would be willing to discuss this matter further, I would appreciate your notifying me of the most convenient date. I will have a portfolio of my work with me.

Very sincerely,

Glenn Thureson

Glenn Thureson

~~FOR BU~~

August 25, 1964

Mr. Paul Goodberg
P. O. Box 19188
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Goodberg:

Before we could take action on your proposal of July 27 for a grant to support your program in the Eighth Congressional District of Virginia, we learned that you had abandoned your proposed program, and had returned some of the money which you had previously received.

We now understand that most of your co-workers will be working in the Third Congressional District, and we are about to make a grant to the Crusade for Voters to support their program in the Third District, which proposes to use the services of most of your co-workers.

If these are not the facts, then by all means, let me know at once and bring me up-to-date on the status of your Eighth District.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Project Proposal Rejected

P.O. Box 19188
Washington, D.C. 20036

July 27, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Director, Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

This letter and the enclosed prospectuses are the formal presentation that you asked me to make to the Voter Education Project pursuant to our conversation during the NAACP Convention recently. The campaign prospectus is enclosed for background information. I am sorry that the prospectuses have not reached you sooner but we have been busy setting up our field operations.

The project has meshed very well with Virginia NAACP. Wesley Burroughs, our project director, has developed a good working relationship with Lester Banks and the project has Mr. Bank's support and the support of S. W. Tucker. Last Saturday a meeting was arranged for our project staff to get acquainted with the local chapter presidents of the NAACP in the Eighth Congressional District. The registration drive started in Fredericksburg last Friday and we are expecting to help register most of the Negroes in that city.

The Northern Virginia Voter Education Project has a minimum goal of 10,000 voters. The Project hopes to register 15,000. The only problem we can see at this time is that in some localities the registrars will be unwilling to abide by the new registration requirements. When we find recalcitrant registrars we will have the assistance of NAACP lawyers in obtaining writs of mandamus to force these registrars into accepting any properly qualified citizen. The project is being informally advised by Earl W. Davis, a field director for COPE and we have received encouragement from Dr. Tinsley L. Spraggins, now with the Democratic National Committee and Phillip Weightman, Acting Director for Minorities of National COPE.

The Northern Virginia Voter Education Project is not being publicized and is going about its task quietly. The Project will have no connection with partisan politics and the project's staff will engage solely in voter registration activities.

It is the hope of the Northern Virginia Voter Education Project that the Voter Education Project will see its way clear to contribute $5,000 to our fund drive. We hope you share our view that the success of the project and electorial campaign to replace Judge Smith with a moderate liberal will have far-reaching effects on the South and the Nation.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Goodberg

Paul Goodberg
for the Northern Virginia
Voter Education Project

cc: Lester Banks, Executive
Secretary, Virginia
State Conference, NAACP
Wesley Burroughs, Project
Director, Northern Virginia
Voter Education Project

PROSPECTUS OF THE NORTHERN VIRGINIA VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

N.V.V.E.P.
P.O. Box 19188
Washington, D.C. 20036

THE CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEM

While each passing year has seen the civil rights movement spread and grow stronger, still the movement is failing in its attempt to create basic, as opposed to superficial, changes in our society. Since the Supreme Court's decision in Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954, only .4% of the Negro students in five of the hard core Southern states have been sent to integrated schools. Jobs for Negroes have not yet been found and housing for minority groups still leaves a great deal to be desired.

It is time that the civil rights struggle be taken to the heart of the problem. The heart of the problem is the South's political power to veto national legislation. The civil rights movement has been long criticized for resorting to extra-legal means to achieve its programs. Now is the time to develop legitimate programs to solidify the gains made by extra-legal methods. Intensive voter registration programs should be developed in Congressiional districts where the South's representation is disproportionally high because of the seniority system.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

While nationally most of the civil rights movement has been centered on Mississippi, there are other struggles which will be of equal importance. These are the efforts to register Negro voters. The Northern Virginia Voter Registration Project is one of these very critical projects.

Between Richmond and Washington, D.C., west of the Blue Ridge Mountains, lie twenty counties in North Central Virginia, Virginia's 8th Congressional District. This district has a total population of 400,000---88,000 of which are Negroes. In 1962, 11,255 Negroes were registered to vote in this district, leaving 33,151 eligible Negroes unregistered. With the abolition of the poll tax and the voiding of the Certificate of Residency, registration is, legally speaking, a simple matter. It must also be noted that the registration books will be open until thirty days before this election.

When the Virginia legislature meets this fall, new restrictions on registration will be enacted. This means that for the immediate future, it is critical that an intensive registration drive be conducted this summer and fall to take advantage of a very unique situation.

The 8th Congressional District has been controlled by the Byrd machine and its predecessors for at least 40 years. The prime method the machine has used to stay in power is to exclude from the registration books the majority of potentially eligible voters. In 1960, which was the last time Congressman Howard Smith had opposition, 56,583 votes were cast in the Congressional race. Almost 150,000 citizens who could have voted in an election in another state did not vote in this election. It might also be noted that for Virginia as a whole, 19% of the adults in the state voted in the Presidential election in 1960.

The Northern Virginia Voter Education Project has sent six field workers into the 8th Congressional district to assist local citizens and indifenous organizations in a massive registration drive. Working as an integral part of the ongoing activities of local NAACP groups, the Northern Virginia Voter Education project has a minimum registration goal of 10,000. The staff will be expanded in the near future to eight and each member of the staff has had extensive civil rights experience. The sole task of the field staff is voter registration and education. The project will not conduct or participate in any other form of civil rights activity.

The Northern Virginia Voter Registration Project has the endorsement of

Emile Benoit, the economist, Dr. Michael Harrington of the Community Church of New York City, Harold Taylor, the educator, and Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader. It also has the endorsement of Northern Virginia CORE, National CORE, and the support of the National COPE.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHERN VIRGINIA VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The project organization is:

The Washington office will supervise finances and develop financial support for the project. The treasurer of the project is Linda Johnson and the fund-raiser is Paul Goodberg. No formal expenses are incured by the Washington office.

The Fredericksburg office will be field headquarters for the project and will be responsible for the overall conduct of the effort. The office will be supervised by Project Director Wesley Burroughs and his assistant, Frank MacDougal. (All field staff for this project are from the middle South.) The field staff is being distributed thusly:

1. Fredericksburg office supervised by the project director.
2. Assistant to the project director who will hold regular office hours and will run the office.
3. Staff member responsible for Charlottesville and the counties of Albemarle and Orange. This involves about 12,671 people.
4. Staff member responsible for Caroline, Hanover, Louisa, Goochland, Spotsylvania, King William, and Fluvanna Counties. A total of 31,367 people live in this area.
5. Assistant to staff member described in #4.
6. Staff member responsible for Fauquier, Culpeper, Prince William, and Loudoun Counties. Involving 20,234 people, the area is predominantly white but has large numbers of Negroes.
7. Staff member responsible for Westmoreland, Northumberland, Richmond, Lancaster, and King George Counties. There are 17,797 people living in this area.
8. Assistant to be assigned to an area determined by the need and problems encountered. This man will also have the responsibility of organizing Fredericksburg which has 2,593 Negroes.

NEGRO REGISTRATION IN THE 8TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

Total number of voting age Negroes in 1960--44,406

Total number of registered Negroes in 1962--11,255

COUNTY	NEGROES OF VOTING AGE (1960)	NEGROES REGISTERED (1962)
Albemarle	2,576	780
Caroline	3,210	793
Charlottesville City	3,369	1,406
Culpeper	2,068	488
Fauquier	3,093	500
Fluvanna	1,378	186
Fredericksburg	1,471	906
Goochland	2,312	776
Greene	328	92
Hanover	3,302	811
King George	1,009	263
King William	1,864	345
Lancaster	1,978	no figure
Loudoun	2,239	401
Louisa	2,482	432
Northumberland	2,123	835
Orange	1,429	265
Prince William	2,217	519
Richmond County	1,132	180
Spotsylvania	1,503	640
Stafford	971	440
Westmoreland	2,352	407

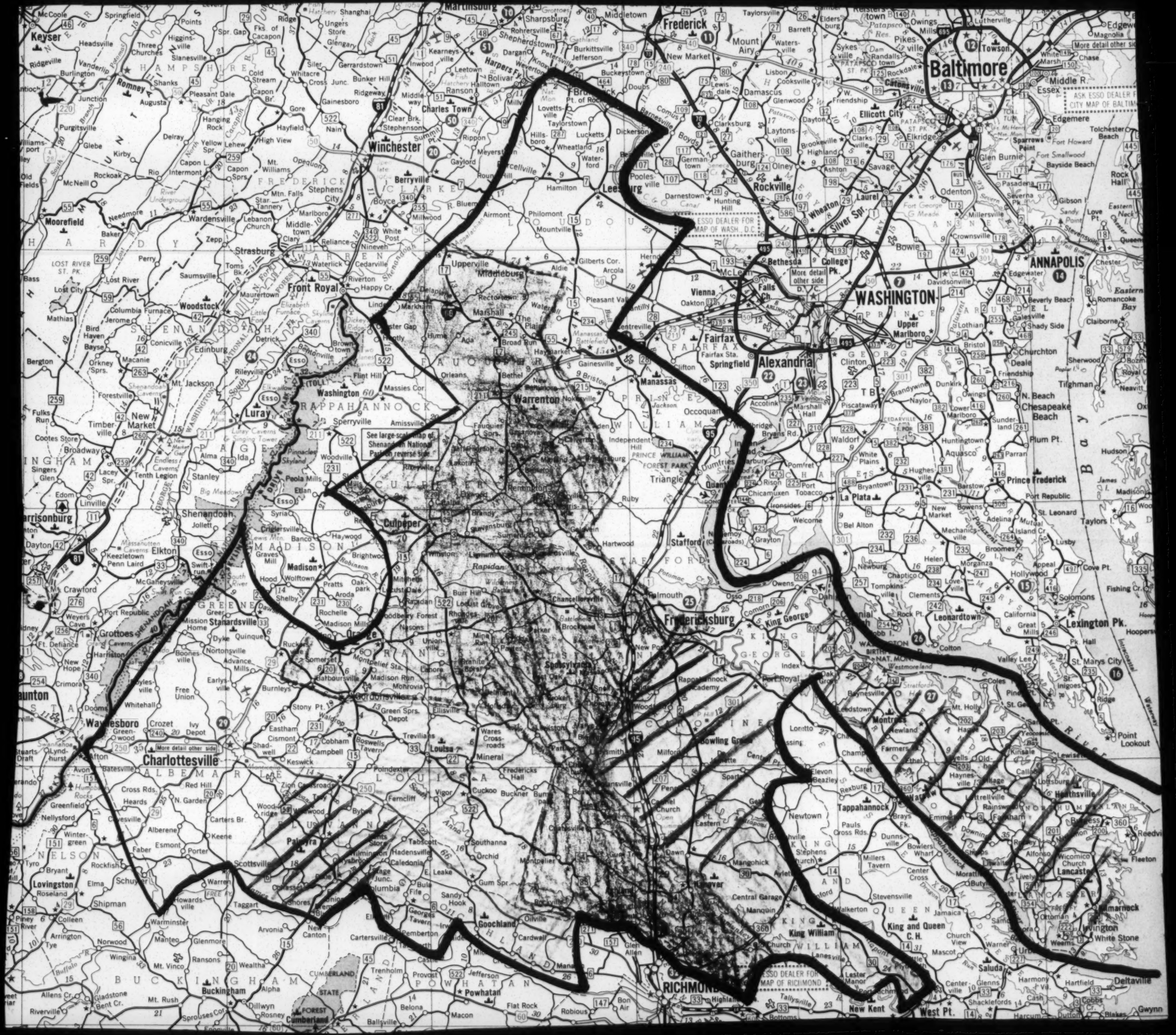
WHAT THE DISTRICT IS LIKE

The district can be divided into four general areas:

1. The three northern counties. Of these three, Prince William is the largest. Prince William has had a 160% increase in population growth since 1950, and has the lowest voting turn out - 18% of any county in the district. This area which was once rural farmland and is now becoming part of suburban Washington.

2. & 3. The blue counties have 20-30% Negro population. The red counties have between 30-49% Negro population. There are more Negroes in these two areas than there have been white voters in recent elections.

4. Albemarle County and Charlottesville are again predominantly white. The University of Virginia is located in Charlottesville.


Baltimore
WASHINGTON
ANNAPOLIS
Frederick
Winchester
Charles Town
Harpers Ferr
Martinsburg
Keyser
Romney
Moorefield
Strasburg
Front Royal
Woodstock
Luray
Washington
Warrenton
Culpeper
Madison
Orange
Fredericksburg
Manassas
Fairfax
Springfield
Alexandria
Rockville
Bethesda
College Pk.
Laurel
Silver Spr.
Leesburg
Berryville
Stanardsville
Waynesboro
Charlottesville
Lovingston
Buckingham
Cumberland
Powhatan
RICHMOND
Goochland
King William
King and Queen C.H.
West Pt.
New Kent
Tappahannock
Montross
Lancaster
Heathsville
Lexington Pk.
Leonardtown
Prince Frederick
Chesapeake Beach
Towson
Ellicott City
Catonsville
Triangle
Stafford
Falmouth
King George
Harrisonburg
Shenandoah
Elkton
Grottoes
Waynesboro
Louisa
Mineral
Bowling Green
Tappahannock
Saluda
Deltaville
Point Lookout
St. Marys City
Solomons
Edgemere
Sparrows Point
Glen Burnie
Pasadena
Severna Pk.
Odenton
Millersville
Crownsville
Bowie
Upper Marlboro
Clinton
Brandywine
Waldorf
Hughesville
Bryantown
La Plata
Port Tobacco
Chicamuxen
Ironsides
Welcome
Bel Alton
Grayton
Newburg
Chaptico
Tompkinsville
Clements
Leonardtown
Colton
Valley Lee
St. Inigoes
Ridge
Mt. Holly
Newland
Farmers
Ethel
Caret
Rexburg
Elevon
Beazley
Newtown
Pauls Cross Rds.
Dunns Ville
Bowlers Wharf
Millers Tavern
Center Cross
Stevensville
Walkerton
Lester Manor
Mangohick
Central Garage
Manquin
Aylett
Dawn
Montpelier
Ashland
Hanover
Doswell
Beaverdam
Ruther Glen
Milford
Bumpass
Mineral
Louisa
Gum Spr.
Sandy Hook
Oilville
Cardwell
Goochland
Fork Union
Scottsville
Palmyra
Cuckoo
Buckner
Fredericks Hall
Vigor
Ferncliff
Southanna
Orchid
Montpelier
Gordonsville
Rapidan
Lignum
Brandy
Remington
Culpeper
Madison
Orange
Somerset
Barboursville
Gordonsville
Ellisville
Green Sprs. Depot
Trevilians
Boswells Tavern
Cobham
Campbell
Shadwell
Keswick
Ivy Depot
Crozet
Greenwood
Afton
Batesville
Avon
Greenfield
Nellysford
Wintergreen
Tyro
Bryant
Rockfish
Schuyler
Elma
Shipman
Roseland
Colleen
Arrington
Tye
Norwood
Wingina
Mt. Vinco
Ransons
Wealtha
Arvonia
New Canton
Cartersville
Columbia
Fife
Bula
Georges Tavern
Remberton
Provost
Jefferson
Belona
Macon
Flat Rock
Robious
Bon Air
Ballsville
Sprouses Cor.
Dillwyn
Rosney
Alpha
Gladstone
Bent Cr.
Allens Cr.
Riverville
Mt. Rush
Warminster
Manteo
Glenmore
Howardsville
Taggart
Warren
Free Ay
Shiloh
Cross Rds.
Heards
N. Garden
Red Hill
Zion Cross Roads
Wood-ridge
Carters Br.
Keene
Alberene
Esmont
Porter
Faber
Tabscott
Hadensville
Caledonia
E. Leake
Bula
Fife
Sandy Hook
Gum Spr.
Oilville
Cardwell
Glen Allen
Lanesville

LEGEND

Counties marked in blue had between 20 and 30% Negro population in 1960.

Counties marked in red had between 30 and 49% Negro population in 1960.

Caroline County, outlined in black, had over 50% Negro population in 1960.

Counties marked with crosshatch have more than 5.7% unemployed.
Lancaster, Northumberland and Westmoreland had nearly 10% or over.

BUDGET

NORTHERN VIRGINIA VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

SALARIES	$10,530

This will provide for five staff workers and three assistants for 4½ months. Staff will be expected to pay for their own expenses out of their salaries.

TRANSPORTATION AND AUTOMOBILES	2,000

Five cars will be needed since the area includes over 100 square miles and most of the population is rural.

OFFICE RENT	250

This is for 4½ months.

PHONE	375

This is for 4½ months.

MAILINGS	4,400 - optional

This will provide for three major mailings to the area allowing about 5¢@ for printing and postage.

OFFICE EXPENSES	200

This is for 4½ months.

TOTAL	$17,755

August 26, 1964

Mr. Albert N. DeMott
1820 Clydesdale Pl., N. W.
Apt. 410
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Mr. DeMott:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 19 in which you express your interest in organizing a voter registration project in Southside Virginia. We congratulate you on your interest, but at such a late date, we would suggest that you try and work with some organization in one of the many areas where active registration programs are now going on.

We have recently made a grant to CORE's national office for a project now being sponsored by Northern Virginia CORE in the Tenth Congressional District of Virginia. Mr. John Robinson is the full-time director, and Mr. Ira Lechner is the registration coordinator. Mr. Lechner can be reached at 2901 N. John Marshall Drive, Arlington 7, Virginia.

We will also have programs going on in Southside Virginia through the Virginia State Conference NAACP and through the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. For work in the Richmond area or Southside Virginia, I would suggest that you talk with Mr. Lester Banks, NAACP Executive Director, 3001 E. Clay Street, Richmond, Virginia (MIlton 4-5678). NAACP will be conducting some programs closer to Washington which you might find of interest.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

Project Proposals
Referred

WAB:bs

WB-
JM
JT

1820 Clydesdale Pl., N.W. -#410
Washington 9, D.C.
August 16, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

AUG 19 1964

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am trying to organize a voter registration ~~in~~ project in Southside Virginia, to be operated by Washington CORE. I have not yet gotten approval of the membership of CORE, but I have gotten enough expression of interest to make me hopeful that I can get the membership to adopt the project. One member of CORE has suggested that you might be able to give me some helpful advice when and if the project is approved. Since the deadline for registration in Virginia is October 3, we will have to move fast, and I am therefore writing you in advance.

For background, we (a committee of three approved by CORE) feel that the end of the poll tax in Federal elections offers real opportunity for increasing the registration of Negroes this year. However, in many Southside counties, the blank sheet form of registration is still used to keep down the number of voters. (There is no printed registration form provided. The ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ registrant must provide the required information in the proper form without any aid from the Registrar. The slightest error can be used to invalidate the registration.) A project involving both knocking on doors and holding classes to teach registrants ~~XX~~ how to make their registrations letter-perfect would seem to offer a real contribution.

My basic plan is to pick an ~~x~~ area in which at least a few local people ~~xxx~~ honestly want such a project. I would not consider ~~xxx~~ starting a project without at least a minimum of local sponsorship, both because it would be futile, and because it might well leave the local people worse off than if we ~~xxx~~ had not meddled. This is particularly important, since Washington CORE does not have any members in a position to live in the community, and the project would have to be handled on a weekend basis (with people going down on Friday nights and returning on Sunday afternoon). I would plan to go next weekend to whatever place we pick, for the purpose of making contacts and preliminary plans. I would expect to meet particularly with sypathetic ministers, and I ~~x~~ would to get a local sponsor to take me around to beer halls and lunch counters, where I could get acquainted with the local people and, perhaps more important, give them a chance to look me over and decide whether they wanted to trust me. The following weekend would be spent in detailed planning, and I would hope to have the project really moving on Labor Day weekend, giving us a month for the hard work.

In addition to actual voter registration work, I would hope to be able to train local leadership, and perhaps organize a CORE chapter. These last would be secondary, and would depend on the local situation and the way in which events moved. In any event, it would be essential to keep the project basically local in leadership as well as workers. The role of the Washington people, I think, would be primarily as catalysts and as sources of information and supplies. In view of the distance involved the number of participants would undoubtedly be small, although I would hope to be able to get a fairly large group of doorbell ringers for at least one weekend. (Or rather door knockers -- I doubt people in the areas I have in mind normally have doorbells.)

My own background is, frankly, not the best as far as experience is concerned. I did, however, spend July and August in Cambridge last year, and have a fairly good picture of what the Negro community in a small southern town in like, and the kind of people they respond to. I have also had a little experience in voter registration, both in Washington last spring and in Rochester, N. Y. a few years ago.

I realize my need for advice, and I would appreciate any help you can give. The project could be either extremely fruitful or disastrous, depending on how it is handled.

Very truly yours

Albert N. DeMott

Albert N. DeMott

August 28, 1964

Mr. Lawrence Guyot, Director
507 Mobile Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Guyot:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 6 requesting a grant for voter registration programs in the Fifth Congressional District of Mississippi. We have delayed replying to your request in the hope that we could give some support to your cause.

Upon careful review of our entire Mississippi program, we have concluded that we cannot make a grant at this time in support of any of your projects. As you know, we have invested rather large sums for voter registration in Mississippi since we were first organized, and we decided several months ago to terminate support in that state and concentrate our activities for the remainder of our program where meaningful results could be expected.

The deadline for registration for voting in the November general election was July 3 for Mississippi, and this means that any person who was not registered at that time cannot vote in November. It is possible that VEP might give some support for registration activity in Mississippi after the November election, but this is something which has not been worked out.

I would appreciate it if you would bring us up-to-date on what the registration results have been during the past six months in Hattiesburg.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Project Proposals Rejected
Green

WB

June 30, 1964
507 Mobile Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

JUL 6 1964

Attroney Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georiga 3033

Dear Mr. Branton:

This is request the finanical support of the Voter Education Project for a voter registration campaign in four counties, in which we feel that we can in fact register a large number of applicants. These counties are Jones, Forrest, Jackson, and Harrison All of which are in the fifth district.

The Summer Project conducted by COFO will limited itself to Voter Registration and Community Education. This will in fact assist in the overall Voter Registration Project that we have planned.

Our relationship with the local chapters of the N.A.A.C.P. has been one of complete cooperation with the exception of Jones County.

We feel that we can operate in Gulfport, Biloxi, Laurel, Pass Christian, Pasagoula Moss Point and Hattiesburg.

We intend to operate on the assumption that we will not have to face the usual degree of intimidations.

We are requesting $2,500 in order to operate as effectively as possible on these seven projects for the next two months.

Mrs. Shelia Miachels will be responsible for receipts, vouchers, and etc. I have attempt to make her aware of the policy of the Voter Education Project. Pre haps more information is necessary.

I think that I need not express the need for money with which to operate. I think both of our experience in Greenwood bears this out.

Yours truly,

Lawerence T. Guyot

Lawerence T. Guyot
Director, Fifth District

Project proposal Rejected

August 28, 1964

Mr. George P. Lawrence
103 Gilmer Avenue, N. W.
Roanoke, Virginia

Dear Mr. Lawrence:

Subsequent to my letter to you of August 17, 1964, we received a request from the Virginia State Conference of NAACP for a grant in support of a registration program in several Virginia cities, including some in your area. Because of the fact that we are anxious to get something going before the October deadline, we have decided to conduct any VEP programs in your area through NAACP, and regret that we will not be able to consider further the proposal which you sent to us.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Proposal rejected

WB

August 17, 1964

Mr. George P. Lawrence
103 Gilmer Avenue, N. W.
Roanoke, Virginia

Dear Mr. Lawrence:

Thank you for your letter of August 7 in which you enclose a copy of the proposal which you had previously sent to Dr. Tinsley Spraggins.

I explained to you on the phone that we had received a request earlier from Mr. Thornhill in Lynchburg, and in order not to delay that program any longer, we have decided to make a direct grant to his organization for work in that city.

Before VEP can consider your proposal further, we need to know what organization you would be representing, as we can only make a grant to an agency or organization. If the organization wants to work out something to use your services as director, then we would have no objection to this, but we would not be in the position to make a grant to an individual.

I am out of the city at the moment, and I am dictating this letter to you on the phone, but expect to be back in Atlanta by Friday of this week. Please let me hear from you.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Proposal rejected!
Yellow green

MEMBER OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BAR

PHONES:
OFFICE DIAMOND 3-7161
RESIDENCE DIAMOND 3-6135

GEORGE P. LAWRENCE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
103 GILMER AVENUE, N. W.
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

AUG 8 1964

August 7, 1964

Wiley Branton, Esq.
Director of
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Pursuant to our conversation I am sending you the plan and information I furnished Mr. Spraggins.

I contemplate operation in cities of Clifton Forge, Covington, Lynchburg, Radford and Roanoke City; and, in the county seat of Alleghany, Bedford, Botetourt, Campbell, Floyd, Montgomery, Radford and Roanoke.

I hope to hear from you at an early date.

Very truly yours,

George P. Lawrence

George P. Lawrence

GPL/aja

Enclosure: As stated

August 5, 1964

Mr. Tinsley Spraggins
Deputy Director
Voter Registration
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Spraggins:

As promised, I am writing you concerning a projected plan to recruit mainly Negro voter registrants in the 6th Congressional District of Virginia.

To clear the air, I wish tosay that I have been well known in the 6th District as a leading Republican.

The recent events in San Francisco and the tactics of the last few years to insure the coronation of Barry Goldwater, has sickened me; particularly, because of the short sightedness of the so-called moderate wing of Republican Party.

I do not like to drift from pillow to post politically, but I feel your project is worthy of notice and action b our people - and it is sorely needed.

I can in all good conscience strive my utmost to get a real project in this district, to increase the Negro electorate.

However at this time I feel no desire to enter partisan politics.

Now to the business at hand.

Attached hereto is OPERATION THE SIXTH.

This is how the job can be done, with a good chance of success.

Please remember I am thinking in terms of an entire Congressional District, which includes eight counties and five cities.

As you will see through the plan I am contemplating an assistant, a Mr. A. Byron Smith, a prominent Negro Democrat of Roanoke, Virginia.

We must travel to these strategic areas set up organizations, conduct workers schools and establish a record keep-system.

We must have office space (preferably in a church) with part time personnel for secretarial service.

Thus time, travel, housekeeping expense and registration drive paraphernalia will be our principal expense.

It is estimated that in the remaining working six (6) weeks to deadline October 3rd the following expenses will be incurred.

- Budget -

Paraphernalia:	
Rental typewriter as needed	
Mimeograph service	
Paper, postage, letterheads, etc.	$1,000.00
Housekeeping expense:	
Part rental office space	
Part time secretarial help	
Incentive prizes	$1,500.00
Travel Expense	500.00
Per Diem Compensation:	
For two persons (2)	$3,750.00
Total	$6,750.00

Paradoxically if we had more time the costs could be less but remember these projected costs are to execute a crash program.

Please study our attached proposed plan, and let me know your wishes in this matter.

Very truly yours,

George P. Lawrence

GPL/aja

Enclosure: As stated

OPERATION THE SIXTH

I. Mission:

To increase the Negro electorate of the Sixth Congressional District of Virginia

II. Need:

Our Negro registrants are woefully low in every community due in part to lack of personal interest and prior reluctance of the major political parties to aid such a cause.

We have eight counties and five cities with a Negro population of ..... 51,248.

III. General Plan:

A. To establish in each city and county seat a non-partisan voter registration drive committee. The base of the committee must be broadened from the regular political hacks -(my knowledge of this area particularly with P.T.A. workers can be most helpful) and social, civic and church clubs should be encouraged to work.

B. No big mass meetings are contemplated in the beginning to prevent a white backlash counter-drive - but a Victory celebration is a must.

C. We must establish in each area headquarter an office to secure the names from the registrars of non registrants. These offices are to be manned in the main by volunteers with one or two, as size of activity dictates, part time secretaries.

D. We will establish forms and record keeping systems to avoid duplication of effort. We must be able to use local committee names and persons,in each area we will act as coordinators and trainors.

E. Each area must establish in centives - simple scrolls of recognition to new voters, valuable household appliance type prizes for best workers. No money must be passed except to part time workers, rentals and to an occassional helpful ministers - and that for some church fund.

IV. Method:

A. Broadside:

As soon as we establish a steering committee in any locality, we will give certain ones prepared letters to local editor or radio and TV statement citing the need to increase voter registration. We want a new face even if we have to create one. No mention of contemplated drive.

B. Doorbell:

Divide community into area, cities into blocks and work-

ers will personally visit families to encourage them to vote. We must have a "Mobile Squad", that will transport people to registrars office. This should be financed locally. Each area office should give workers names of non registrants only.

C. Telephone Call:

Housewives can be given prepared names lists and conversations to either follow up on Doorbell visits or if by necessity to act instead of a personal visit. This is not the best method and must not be used alone - We will time it's introduction to workers to insure this so-called gossipy approach will not be used.

V. Misscellaneous:

A. Table of organization:

This will be set up in each area tailored for that area, the assigned responsibilities will be carefully supervised and we will make weekly confidential reports as to efficiency of workers and/or officers. These tables will be furnished you for compaign purposes.

B. Workers Schools:

We will personnally conduct workers. Schools, we will prepare our own visual aids and if you have some of your own, if suitable we will be glad to use them.

We will assemble worker kits, eiq. containing duplicate non registrant lists, copy of registration sheet, tally cards to show contacts and progress report cards.

C. Victory mass meeting we should honor the youngest, oldest and latest resident and largest family registerd in area.

D. CAUTION:

Any outside agency helping us must understand that they should not initially take any credit for this drive, as I will not either, this must appear to be a spontaneous act of local citizens.

September 28, 1964

Mr. Detroit Lee
125 Haggins Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Lee:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letters of September 22 and 25 together with the attachments regarding your political race for Probate Judge of Macon County, Alabama.

I wish to congratulate you on offering yourself as a candidate for public office and regret to inform you that the Voter Education Project cannot contribute or assist in political campaigns in any manner whatsoever.

We have been contributing to the voter registration and education program of the Tuskegee Civic Association for more than a year, and I note that you claim membership with that group. We are very proud of the leadership of TCA and of the results which they have brought in the area of voter registration and education in Macon County. We will continue our support to TCA for the remainder of the VEP program, but we cannot contribute to a partisan political campaign.

With best wishes for a successful campaign.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs
cc: Dr. John Morsell

WB/
JM

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
125 Haggins Street
September 25, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SEP 28 1964

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am enclosing some additional campaign material that I am using in my campaign.

I thought it might be of interest to you in whatever way that you may use it to help us.

Yours very truly,

Detroit Lee

Detroit Lee

3 Incls.

Project Proposal
Rejected

WB/
JM

SEP 23 1964

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
125 Haggins Street
September 22, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Your immediate attention is invited to the enclosures herewith.

In view of the letter enclosed, dated September 15th from the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People, if only you could come to Tuskegee on a speaking engagement or send someone from your office should be of much help to us.

On our September 15th, City run-off election, we managed to get two of our Negro councilmen elected but still with only about one-half of our citizens eligible to vote voted. Therefore, for our November 3rd election we still see the need of encouragement and guidance for our voters who are eligible to come out and vote to do so. As you so well know that ballots not used or used unwisely are synonymous to ballots casted for our enemy.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours very truly,

Detroit Lee

Detroit Lee

Enclosures

Project Proposal Rejected

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
125 Huggins Street
September 7, 1964

Dr. Roy Wilkins, President
National Association For The
Advancement of Colored People
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Wilkins:

Your consideration is called to the information enclosed.

Your records should indicate that I was the organizer and first president of the Tuskegee Institute Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. I further plan to aid in the revitalization of our local branch here just as soon as the courts finish the case and return a favorable verdict for us to continue our operation in Ala.

What can you, your organization or friends do or will do to help US in our Campaign funds and vote appeal? Can or will you send funds and/or resource personnel, speakers, etc. to help US accomplish our goal in the interest of our community and nation?

We need more available, professional knowledge to understand what is happening to the power structure, white and black, in Tuskegee. We need an accurate appraisal of our situation so that we may do the best thing for our people and lay an example for other communities similarly situated. We need this help especially in time for our November 3, 1964 general election when we have five (5) Negro candidates opposing white candidates.

We are on the threshold of victory but as the children in the wilderness we could wander another unnecessary, span of time. There are some of us, many of us, who do not agree in toto with this power structure who apparently wants more time and believes in tokenism. There are those of us who feel that we should cross over into the Promise Land NOW. But some of our people need encouragement and guidance.

With a two to one majority of Negro voters in the August 11th City election all of our eight (8) Negro candidates in the field almost lost out in the first election. Only two of the Negro candidates barely won through to a run-off for September 15th. There were several reason for this situation. One reason was due mostly to our power structure endorsing at the last moment, Monday night, before the election on Tuesday, white candidates who did not meet the approval of the masses. Some of the white candidates were endorsed against our Negro candidates where most of our Negro candidates were much more qualified for the positions than the white candidates. This seems to have brought confusion and consternation among our Negro voters and less than half of them did not bother to vote at all and stayed away from the polls. Therefore, we are not too sure that our two remaining Negro candidates who are not our best, will win in the run-off. We think this blunder will be a tragic one.

Approximately ninety-five (95%) of the white voters voted solid for the white candidates and had it not been for our poll watchers who insured a fairer count of the ballots the white candidates most likely would have swept the entire election on the first run.

There is much work to be done to relieve the Negro voters of their apathy, confusion and consternation with our old power structure. Therefore, we think outside help, so to speak, is needed to help us get over the hump.

Please let me have a favorable reply from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours very truly,

Detroit Lee

Encls.:
1. Brochure
2. Community appeal letter and attachments.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

September 15, 1964

Mr. Detroit Lee
125 Haggins Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Lee:

This will acknowledge your letter of September 7, which was referred to me in Mr. Wilkins' absence.

Unfortunately, the Association is not in a position to offer any financial or other direct assistance to the voter registration campaign. This does not mean that we do not appreciate the urgency of this project. Our inability to assist is due primarily to legal restrictions still placed upon us. Although we hope in the very near future to be able to reorganize in the state, we have not received this clearance yet.

In view of the importance of this voter registration campaign, I suggest that you write directly to:

Mr. Wiley Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

It is very possible that the Southern Regional Council may be able to provide some assistance.

We do hope that the campaign will be highly successful as this is a crucial election year.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

John A. Morsell
John A. Morsell
Assistant to the
Executive Secretary

JAM/eb

October 19, 1964

Mrs. Mary Jamieson
1520 N. Market Street
Opelousas, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Jamieson:

I apologize for the long delay in answering your letter of August 21, but I had hoped each week that VEP might be in a position to make the educational grant which you had requested. We definitely cannot support your project, and regret that it took so long for us to inform you of that fact.

With every good wish for success in your local efforts, I am,

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Project Proposals
Rejected

MARION OVERTON WHITE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
NOTARY PUBLIC
1520 N. MARKET ST.
OPELOUSAS, LOUISIANA

PHONES 942-3027
926-3238

August 21, A.D. 1964

Wiley A. Branton
Room 206
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

AUG 24 1964

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for your letter of August 11. I have written to Mr. Patton as you suggested, and have asked him for advice and materials.

At the present time, the Opelousas NAACP is devoting all its efforts to a voter registration drive which is being carried on by volunteer workers, individual contributions, and our very limited NAACP funds.

However, we are interested not only in getting out the vote, but in the long-range goal of educating the voter. Ten teachers in the community have pledged their assistance in a program of voter-education which would include classes in the structure of government, the legislative process, the Constitution, political parties, the rights and duties of citizens, and literacy instruction for those who need it.

To carry on such a program we will need financial aid. The facilities of the community civic center will be available to us for classroom space, free of charge. We would like to offer our teachers a small salary of $5 per night, for one night a week. In a six week course, then, it would cost us $300 to pay the ten teachers. We would approximate the cost of materials (books for the literacy instruction, charts and pamphlets for the other classes) at $200.

I would like to apply to the "Voter Education Project" of the Southern Regional Council for a grant of $500 to carry on this program of voter education.

Mr. Alexander Marshall will take charge of this program. All correspondence should be sent to him at the above address: c/o Marion O. White, 1520 N. Market St., Opelousas, La..

Yours gratefully,

Mary Jamieson

Mary Jamieson

Bryanale Dupont

August 11, 1964

Ms. Mary Jamieson
c/o Marion O. White
1520 N. Market Street
Opelousas, Louisiana

Dear Ms. Jamieson:

We wish to congratulate you and your co-workers for starting a voter registration drive as indicated in your letter of July 20.

I would suggest that you direct all inquiries in regard to voter registration to Mr. W. C. Patton, Field Director for voter registration for NAACP, 234 Hernando Street, Memphis, Tennessee, as he works very closely with us and supervises NAACP registration programs in your area.

I understand that the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has been active in your city, and I would like to know what they have been doing in registration, if you know.

With every good wish for a successful drive, I am

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Requests for Info

WB-
JM.

c/o Marion O. White
1520 N. Market St.
Opelousas, La .
July, 20, A. D. 1964

JUL 22 1964

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

The Opelousas NAACP is running a voter registration drive, and we would appreciate it very much if you would put us on the mailing list for your Voter Education Project newsletter. We would also be thankful for any other material you might have that would be of any help.

We are mailing you a copy of our data sheet and procedure for workers in order that you can read them and give us your approval or criticism.

Y ours gratefully,

Mary Jamieson

Mary Jamieson

PROCEDURE FOR WORKERS

1. Introduce self : "I am _____. I'm here to interest you in registering to vote. May I come in?"

2. Fill out data sheet: address, phone, names of members of family over 21; Registered: yes ___ no ___

3. If registered, stress importance of voting this fall. Move on to next House.

4. If not registered, explain reason for voting, responsibility and privilege of voting, power of vote.

5. Ask if person or persons will go over test and procedure.

6. Ask if literate. If not ask if person wishes instruction. Check on data sheet.

7. Go over test. Read aloud and point out answers.

8. Leave copy of application to be studied.

9. Tell where registrar's office is, hours, procedure.

10. Set date for return visit, and write on data sheet.

11. Be sure data sheet is completely filled out. Make return visit without fail at time planned!!

12. Offer transportation only if requested! Check on data sheet.

13. Do not force yourself on anyone! Good will is your best door-opener!

DO NOT DISCUSS SPECIFIC CANDIDATES OR ISSUES!

****

DATA SHEET

Address _____

_____

Phone _____

Left copy of form _____
Instruction given _____
Desires literacy instruction _____
Transportation requested _____
Date of return visit _____
Date will register _____

		Registered		Will Register	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Names (People over 21)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

****

Address _____

_____

Phone _____

Left copy of form _____
Instruction given _____
Desires literacy instruction _____
Transportation requested _____
Date of return visit _____
Date will register _____

		Registered		Will Register	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Names	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

****

Address _____

_____

Phone _____

Left copy of form _____
Instruction given _____
Desires literacy instruction _____
Transportation requested _____
Date of return visit _____
Date will register _____

		Registered		Will Register	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Names (People over 21)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

October 19, 1964

Mr. Jesse Hill, Jr.
All Citizens Registration Committee
c/o Atlanta Life Insurance Company
148 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Hill:

This will acknowledge receipt of your proposal of October 15, 1964, in which you seek a grant in support of a "Get-Out-The-Vote" project for hospital patients and handicapped people.

This will also confirm our telephone conversation of this date, in which I informed you that VEP cannot support this proposal, even though we think that it has considerable merit.

Very truly yours,

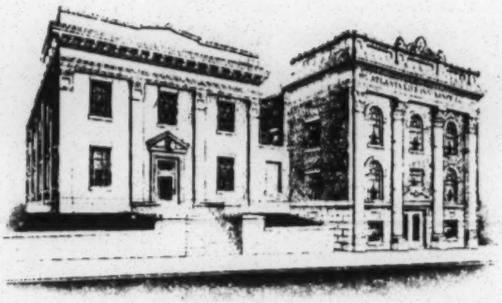
Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Project proposal Rejected

WB
JM

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS
A. F. HERNDON
FOUNDER
N. B. HERNDON
PRESIDENT-TREASURER
E. M. MARTIN
VICE PRESIDENT-SECRETARY
W. H. SMITH
VICE PRESIDENT
F. A. TOOMER
VICE PRESIDENT-AUDITOR
GEO. W. LEE
DISTRICT MANAGER



G. E. DELORME
DISTRICT MANAGER
CHAS. W. GREENE
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DR. H. L. LANG
MEDICAL DIRECTOR
P. H. WILLARD
DISTRICT MANAGER
JESSE HILL, JR.
ACTUARY
E. L. SIMON
DIRECTOR OF AGENCIES

148 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
P. O. BOX 897
ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

October 15, 1964

To: Voter Education Project, Attorney Wiley Branton, Director

From: All-Citizens Registration Committee, Jesse Hill, Jr., Chairman

Subject: Special Get Out The Vote Project For Hospital Patients And Other Handicap.

Atlanta, Georgia is considered one of the most progressive cities in our nation. However, in the exercise of the important citizenship right and privilege of voting, in recent years this city has left a lot to be desired. In recent bond elections that were promoted and advertised 15% of the citizens controlled the bond decision. In primaries this year less than 40% of the total registered voters went to the polls. In these same primaries 55% of the Negro registered voters went to the polls and only 35% of the white voters casted their votes. Note that Negroes had a 20% higher voting percentage than whites. Normally, the Negro voting percentage is only 10% higher than whites. (based on elections of 1960, 1961 and 1962)

We feel that more citizens will be inspired to vote if we can bring into sharper and more dramatic focus the urgency and importance of voting in November.

This project will enable us to survey local Hospitals, Clinics, Physicians and Convalescing Homes in order to make arrangements to transport wheelchair patients and persons confined to bed to the polls on election day. We also intend to help process "absentee ballots" for those patients doctors will not permit to leave their beds.

We also intend to publish in advance of November 3rd, pictures of wheelchair and other hospital patients making reservations for their trips to the polls. We hope that this great effort on the part of the ill and handicap will stir or motivate healthy citizens and raise the percentage of voter turnout. We hereby request that you approve our proposed budget attached and make grant accordingly.

Jesse Hill, Jr., Chairman of the Committee, will personally coordinate the project with no salary or compensation.

Bryant Reynolds

BUDGET FOR SPECIAL GET OUT THE VOTE PROJECT

1.	Office Rent	$ 75.00
2.	Telephone Service	100.00
3.	Office Clerical Staff 1 Full-Time Secretary from 8:30 to 5:30(2½ weeks @ $50.00) 1 Part-Time Secretary (5PM to 9PM - 2½ weeks @ $30.00)	200.00
4.	Transportation (Note: Much of transportation may be donated by several Undertaking Establishments, in any event excess funds will be returned)	175.00
5.	Publicity (We hope to get most or all publicity free, but often token advertisement is needed to open up media)	150.00
6.	Postage	30.00
7.	Office Supplies	75.00
8.	Private Duty Nurses (2 Registered Nurses available on Election Day)	40.00
9.	Physicians On Call (Doctors of Atlanta Medical Association will be on call for emergencies)	- No Charge Services Free
10.	2 College Students, Field Workers Assistants @ $25.00 for One Week.	50.00
	Total	$895.00

October 19, 1964

Mr. Hosea L. Williams
SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thank you for sharing with me a copy of your proposed South-wide "Get-Out-The-Vote" campaign, which was submitted for you by the Rev. Andrew J. Young.

Because of the partisan nature of this campaign, the Voter Educatipn Project will not be in a position to participate in this program in any way whatsoever.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Project proposals
Legitel

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

WBV
JM

OCT 9 1964
Spec. Del.

September 4, 1964

To: Rev. Andrew J. Young, Executive Assistant, SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Telephone 522-1420, Atlanta, Ga.

From: Hosea L. Williams, Director, Voter Registration, SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Subject: Proposed Southwide Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign and Budget for the November, 1964 General Election

For 12 Southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Lousiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, we have contacts with:

- 225 active voter registration organizations
- 560 inactive voter registration groups
- 216 active affiliates of S.C.L.C.
- 219 active adult citizenship schools (averaging 15 students each)
- 1060 inactive (temporarily) adult citizenship school classes (trained 12,271 students)
- 5 state bi-partisan political organizations and 4 non-partisan political organizations.

This gives us 669 active, 1,060 inactive (temporarily) and 560 inactive - a total of 2,289 organizational or group contacts across the south to carry out an effective, productive Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign.

Staff-wise, we have the experienced services of 34 full-time paid workers (3executive staff members, 10 state field secretaries, 16 field assistants, 3 field workers and 3 office secretaries).

The proposed Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign includes:

1. First, corresponding by mail with the President, Chairman, Minister or Head of each of the 2,289 organizational or group contacts. This correspondence will include:

-A brief, strongly worded, personal letter to the effect that unless you and your organization see to it that every Negro and right-thinking white person in your community go to the polls and vote on Election Day, all of our freedom will be set back 50 years and our living standards will be ruined because Goldwater will be elected as President of our country;

-Two folding brochures (one explaining why we must turn out the largest percentage of our registered voters in the history of this country and the other brochure will explain how to carry out an effective Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign;

-A kit containing a leaflet that should be distributed the night before the election; a citizenship sermon for local ministers;

-A handbill explaining how to promote and conduct a community mass meeting, suggesting how to promote political awareness (citizenship movies, television and radio programs, fish fries or weiner roasts, mothers' march for peace and freedom;

-A memorandum explaining how you can effectively be used in a Get-Out-To-Vote Campaign and a stamped, self-addressed envelope accompanied by a blank. By checking this blank, one will be able to express his or her interests in participating in the Southwide Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign and will also be able to request the services of our paid staff (personally), speakers bulk amounts of leaflets, citizenship movies and financial help.

The cost of the above operation (first correspondence) would be $1,243.35 (mailing $343.35, material $900.00).

2. A personal visit will be made by one of the staff members to each of the leadership receiving the first correspondence. Due to complacency and apathy, each of the leaders on the mailing list will be visited at least once by a staff member. If the visited group accepts the program by return mail, the visiting staff member will personally deliver all requested materials, discuss the program and offer to help in any possible way. In cases where the program has not been accepted, the staff member will take likely needed materials but his main responsibility will be to sell the program.

This part of the program (first personal visits) will cost $9,700.00 (travel $6,800 materials $2,900).

3. Directing state, area or community Get-Out-The-Vote Campaigns by our paid staff members will be done upone request by state, area or community organizations after I evaluate the necessity and need for such arrangements.

This operation will allow $10,780.00 (room and board $1,787.00, telephones $1,200.00, transportation $3,800.00, materials $1,500.00 and entertainment $2,500.00).

4. One of the mail services our paid staff will perform for every community will be mass meeting speakers. Not only will our paid staff speak at mass meetings all over the south, but speakers from other organizations and other walks of life will be used.

This operation will allow $2,900.00 (honoraria for mass meeting speakers other than our paid staff $1,700.00, travel $1,200.00).

5. The political structure of South Carolina necessitates three full-time paid staff workers. Each worker will be responsible for 2 congressional districts each. These workers will coordinate the political abilities of the already established political organizations and 27 adult citizenship schools operating in South Carolina's 49 counties.

6. One state-wide meeting will be called in each state for the respective leaders of that particular state. These meetings will be used to explain the way the Southwide Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign functions to stimulate activity, distribute material, explain whatever services are available and to make sure all persons concerned fully understand the one and only one objective (to assure maximum defeat of Goldwater) of the Southwide Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign. The state meetings will also explain that this total operation (SOUTHWIDE GET-OUT-THE-VOTE CAMPAIGN) has no other object than to get the total vote to fight a common enemy (GOLDWATER).

The total proposed budget for the above proposed program is $24,630.35.

* * *

A PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR A FIFTEEN MONTH
INTENSIFIED VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE IN PEACH
COUNTY, BEGINNING NOVEMBER, 1964

PERSONNEL

The personnel for this drive will consist of a program coordinator, adult leaders, and student block workers.

STUDENT BLOCK WORKERS

Experience has shown that college students of the Fort Valley community can be highly effective in voter registration. Interest among students in working with voter registration is high. Therefore, a sufficient number of students might be selected on the basis of interest, enthusiasm, tactfulness, expression, dedication, and knowledge of the importance of registration and voting to make the individual contact with citizens. These selected block workers will then be taught special techniques and approaches by persons well qualified to teach methods which have proved most successful in voter registration.

ADULT LEADERS

One to three persons in each section of the city and outlying areas will supervise student workers. These adult leaders will have the necessary motivation, interest in, and acquaintance with problems in voter registration. They will offer "on the spot" supervision and counsel to student block workers, and will arrange transportation for those citizens needing this service. The adult leaders will also work very closely with the program coordinator to insure uniformity of the program throughout the county.

PROGRAM COORDINATOR

The program coordinator will have supervision over all activities in voter education and registration. He will check periodically with adult leaders on success and problems, offer suggestions and personal assistance where needed, and receive and compile information gathered by block workers on each individual citizen.

Such information will be filed alphabetically by section and street, by the coordinator. In short, it will be largely the responsibility of the program coordinator to see to it that this drive does not lag, and that its goals are achieved. The coordinator will meet regularly with the Executive Council and keep it informed of the progress being made.

GENERAL PROCEDURE

Block workers will contact citizens individually or in family groups in a house to house canvass in an attempt to develop through tactful, yet dynamic means and understanding, and an appreciation for the importance of voting in our Democratic Society. They will, in as far as possible, dispell fogyish ideas relative to voting, answer questions, and offer explanations to show the values of voting to the individual, the community, the nation, and posterity.

The following list is indicative of the kind of information to be obtained from each citizen:

1. Name_____ 2. Address_____

3. Telephone NUmber_____ 4. Approximate Age_____

5. Vocation or Profession_____

6. Employment Status_____

7. Registration Status_____

8. Last election in which he voted_____

9. Highest Grade Completed_____ 10. Reading Ability_____

11. Interest in further education_____

12. Attitude on registration and voting_____

13. Health_____

14. Plans for registration_____

Desire transportation_____ Date_____ Time_____

15. Comments_____

Special consideration for those identified as needing Literacy Education.

1. Investigate possibility of securing Federal funds for Literacy Education.

2. If Federal funds are not available, set up program using teachers who volunteer their services.

BUDGET

Salary of program coordinator	$1000.00
Supplies	150.00
Capital Outlay	250.00
Transportation	350.00
Postage	75.00
Honorarium and Citations	250.00
Contingency	$2300.00

October 27, 1964

Mr. Houston Stallworth, Chairman
Voter Education Commission
P. O. Box 97 - State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stallworth:

I have read with interest your letter and proposal of October 23 in which you outline a proposed fifteen-month voter registration and education drive in Peach County, Georgia. I wish to commend you and your co-workers for your interest in continuing such a vitally needed activity.

As presently contemplated, the VEP will not be making any more grants for voter registration or education, as that part of our program ended on October 24, 1964. We are now in the process of writing our final report which will take us a few months, and we expect to be completely out of business by early spring.

Thank you for inviting us to your dinner on November 1, but it will not be possible for any one from our staff to come down on that date.

I note that I am to be the Omega Achievement Day speaker at your college on Sunday, November 8, and perhaps I will get a chance to talk with you personally at that time.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

project proposals
Projects

WB
JM

OCT 26 1964

VOTER EDUCATION COMMISSION
P. O. Box 97 - State College
Fort Valley, Georgia
October 23, 1964

???

Attorney Riley Blanton, Director
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Attorney Blanton:

Voter Education Commission, Fort Valley and Peach County is undertaking a second voter education and registration drive. We plan to make this drive more intensive and extensive than former efforts. I am enclosing a prospectus of the drive asking you to please give us your comment and suggestions on this plan.

We are planning a special fund raising effort in the form of a dinner to be held at Camp John Hope on Sunday, November 1 at 6 P.M. We would like to take this opportunity to invite you or some member of your staff to attend this dinner.

Funds in excess of what we can raise through this and similar efforts will be needed to conduct this project. We would, therefore, like to know whether your agency has funds for which we may apply for this purpose.

We look forward to your reply and trust that you can be with us on November 1.

Very truly yours,

Houston Stallworth

Houston Stallworth, Chairman
VOTER EDUCATION COMMISSION

HS:ejg

Project Proposal
Negotiated

File:
Proposals Rejected

INTRODUCTION

Howard W. Smith is the 81-year-old chairman of the House Rules Committee and a corner stone of the Dixiecrat coalition in Congress. In Smith's 34 years in the House he has earned a national reputation for his remarkable ability to weaken and kill liberal legislation and bring the Executive Branch to its knees. Smith's chairmanship gives him control over the flow of legislation to the floor of the House and on many occasions has used his position with brilliant tactical success.

Smith has not had a serious challenge for his seat in 20 years and the myth of his invincibility has grown to absurd proportions. Until now moderates and liberals have been content to sit around waiting for his death. Fortunately the climate in Virginia is changing and a young moderately liberal lawyer named F. Cauldwell Bagley is running as an Independent against Smith in the general election in November.

Smith is a symbol and key figure in the Byrd machine's control over Virginia and is undoubtedly a major symbol of the South's refusal to grant basic human rights to all citizens. By building a coalition of Negroes, labor and moderate and liberal whites, Smith can be replaced--with a Congressman who represents the New South--through a campaign that dramatically points the way to meaningful political activity and alliances in the South.

VIRGINIA'S POLITICS

The Byrd machine, which was preceded by the Glass machine, is one of the oldest and most thoroughly controlled oligarchies in America. The machine shows a sense of honor, avoids open venality, and has a degree of sensitivity to public opinion.

The machine's power rests on a restricted electorate, competent management of the state government, control of the mass media and banking institutions, and the political advantages gained by almost half a century of dominance over Virginia.

Virginia has an efficient machine which is staffed by highly respected citizens. The machine abhors scandal and takes pride in its honesty and respectability. Consequently, opposition has had little political hay.

Virginia has had a smaller percentage of voter turnout than any other state in the union. On the average between the years of 1925-45, only 11.5% of those over 21 voted. In the 1960 Presidential election, 19% of the adults voted, or 764,312 votes were cast from a total population of 3,966,949.

Byrd's power partly rests in his control of Virginia's Compensation Board. The Board fixes the salaries of principal county officials and makes allowances for their expenses. The board has power over Byrd's county officials who are Commonwealth Attorney, Treasurer, Commissioner of Revenue, Clerk of the Circuit Court and Sheriff. The Clerk of the Circuit Court is an eight-year tenure and he normally is the kingpin of the county machine.

Byrd's other hold on the state is his control of appointments to the courts, especially the circuit court. The Judge of the Circuit Court appoints the electoral board which assumes organizational control over electorial machinery; the local School Trustee Electoral Board which appoints the local school board; and the local board of public welfare. The Circuit Judge also exercises other important administrative functions. Local leaders are thus bound to the state machine by the Compensation Board's control of the pursestrings, by the tie they have via the Circuit

Judge with both Richmond and the local government and by Senator Byrd's own leadership. Extensive state patronage cements the machine's strength.

The machine has been challenged in the past and has lost. The most notable case was that of Representative John W. Flannagan, Jr., of the 9th Congressional District. Flannagan won because of personal popularity and his union following from the mines and railroads in his district.

ATTEMPTS TO DILUTE SMITH'S POWER

In the past, attempts have been made to reduce Smith's power in the House Rules Committee or bypass his obstructionism. After 1948 liberals in the House compromised their attempt to weaken Smith's influence by trying to circumvent his committee with the 21 Day Rule. The rule was repealed in 1951 after Republican gains in the House.

After failing to dump Colmer in 1961 President Kennedy had the Rules Committee enlarged from 12 to 15. Smith thwarted this attempt to pack his committee and is still able to come up with 8 to 7 majorities.

The discharge petition has proven to be an awkward way to bring legislation to the floor and Calendar Wednesday is honored for its lack of use.

HOW SMITH CAN BE BEATEN

The 8th District traditionally has been considered a bastion of conservatism and an area that the Byrd machine can always count on for support. Most of the district is still typical of rural Virginia. Caroline County, the most underpopulated county in the district, has 23 people per square mile. In Green County, 51.5% of the families earn under $3,000 per year. Unemployment in Lancaster, Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties is consistently over 10%.

A casual survey of the area will indicate that most of the lower part of the district is a depressed area. The county school systems which, in some cases have token integration, have standards far from acceptable, and Government figures do not start to tell the story of poverty and underemployment. Most counties in the district discourage economic development and most aspects of local governmental activity are geared toward aiding the oligarchy. Federal aid has been offered to the district but in most cases Smith has effectively opposed it.

The upper part of the district (Prince William, Loudoun and Stafford Counties) is different from most of the rest of the district. In this area there is a high population concentration, economic activity and moderate and liberal sentiment. Prince William County now has roughly 70,000 people--or a 160% increase in population since 1950--making it the most populous county in the district. There, building permits increased from $7,493,212 in 1959 to $22,234,087 in 1963 and Prince William was the only important county in which Kennedy did well. Loudoun and Stafford Counties parallel the situation in Prince William.

The rapid pace of development in these three counties is a result of the Government installations in and around this area and an overflow from the Virginia suburbs of Washington. Approximately half of the population in this area is from North of the Mason-Dixon line and most of the new residents are living in suburban housing.

The Bagley campaign will concentrate in these three key counties and in Charlottesville and Fredericksburg. In these places Smith is weakest and Bagley will find his most receptive audiences. Through a massive voter registration drive we expect to add over 10,000 new white voters there with about 80% voting for Bagley.

Bagley will have a hard-hitting grass roots campaign around the general theme: time for a change. He will emphasize the need for economic development and will make specific proposals to increase tourism in this very historic part of Virginia. He will emphasize the machine's control, Smith's age and voting record, the need for better schools and employment opportunities, and will urge that every citizen be given the right to vote and equal treatment under the law.

It must be pointed out that Goldwater will run very strongly in Virginia and the intense political battle in the Presidential race will help overcome some of the apathy in the district. This is also the first year in memory in which every Byrd congressman will have opposition.

At this time there are over 11,000 Negroes on the books and we expect to add at least another 10,000 through an intense registration campaign. Probably 95% of the Negro vote will be for Bagley. We also expect 2,000-4,000 labor votes after a registration drive in the more liberal locals.

On the basis of past elections Bagley is starting off with an

anti-Smith vote of approximately 10,000. Smith has never polled over 42,809; his district now has 200,000 potentially eligible voters. Through massive white and Negro registration drives, the protest vote, the Negro vote, and the union vote, Smith will be beaten this fall.

Smith is famous for his back porch campaigns and he is now to old to campaign if he wanted to. In all these years, Smith has sent out one mailing to his constituents and his machine is old and dormant. The young vigorous challenger has real voter appeal--Bagley can articulate the issues, excite large numbers of voters and bring a creative approach to campaigning.

A: BASIC PROGRAM

July 24 to Oct.12	Extensive grass roots contact with voters. In this stage of the campaign Bagley will try mot to alert the machine to the seriousness of his challenge.
Oct. 12 to Nov. 3	Intensified tours by Bagley supplemented by advertising on radio and in the local press. Many people in the district know the machine is dying. These fence sitters will respond to the national attention we will help focus on the campaign.

B: BASIC ORGANIZATION

Part I

July 30 - October 3

As mentioned earlier, in the 1960 Presidential election 19% of Virginia's adult population voted. In the district's most populated county, Prince William, 18.4% voted in the 1960 Presidential election. Prince William now has a population of roughly 70,000. Loudoun County, which now has roughly 30,000, had a 33.1% turnout and Stafford County, now with roughly 20,000 had a 28.9% turnout in the 1960 Presidential election.

Since the Supreme Court's recent action on Virginia's Certificate of Residency and the abolition of the poll tax the only requirement to register is a one-year residency in the State. In some cases local registrars will refuse to enroll voters but writs of mandamus can be obtained easily.

The Virginia Registration Project is working intensely in Prince William, Stafford and Loudoun Counties and in Charlottesville and Fredericksburg to register white citizens. Headquarters for the project is Manassas, Prince William County. The project has an initial staff of five and is setting up local, broadly based registration committees which will stimulate the public to register. The staff will work closely with these local committees and will assist civic and fraternal groups in registering their members. A mailing is being prepared for all registered box holders in the district giving the following information:

Voter's Guide

1. Qualifications for voting
2. Registration: How; Where (A map for getting to the registrar's house)
3. Certificate of residency
4. Poll tax--Its end

(continued)

Voter's Guide (continued)

5. Deadline
6. Moving and your registration
7. Voting: Time - place - how (ballot, machine, absentee voting)

Issued by League of Women Voters
(Approval pending)

After the mailing will be a follow-up door-to-door canvassing of key areas. When registration ends on October 3 the momentum and organization developed by the Virginia Registration Project will be meshed with the Bagley campaign.

Part II

In the red and blue areas on the enclosed map there is a heavy concentration of Negro citizens. The district has 88,000 Negroes and, as of 1962, 11,255 were registered to vote. There are roughly 33,000 additional Negro votes that could be obtained through a massive voter registration drive.

The Northern Virginia Voter Education Project has been formed to register a minimum of 10,000 Negroes in the 8th District. We expect that the project, which will have no formal contact with the Bagley campaign, will be able to register approximately 13,000-15,000. The project is meant to supplement and aid the indigenous civil rights activity that has been conducted for many years in this area by the NAACP.

The Northern Virginia Voter Education Project now has six field workers. The staff, which is from the middle South, will be expanded to eight by August 1. (A detailed prospectus on the project is available from Northern Virginia Voter Education Project, P.O. Box 19188, Washington, D.C. 20036.)

Part III

The 8th District comprises 20 counties and two incorporated cities, Charlottesville and Fredericksburg. In each of these counties and cities and in the major towns a committe for Bagley will be formed. These committees will have local officers and the assistance of our full-time staff.

Campaign headquarters is in Dumfries, Prince William County. The headquarters is directed by the campaign manager, the staff coordinator, and a female administrative assistant who will assist Mrs. Bagley with Women for Bagley. The campaign manager, who is yet to be named, will be from Virginia aristocracy and will handle Virginia fund raising, advise on political problems and travel with the candidate.

A full-time office is being set up in Manassas, Prince William County. This office will coordinate the campaign in the three key counties of Loudoun, Prince William and Stafford. Similar offices are being set up in Fredericksburg, Charlottesville, Warrenton, Ashland and Heathsville. A Washington office is being maintained on an informal basis to handle fund raising and national press contacts.

At the height of the campaign, Bagley will have a field staff of ten. The staff is to stay in the background giving professional advice and assistance to local Bagley committees and local campaign workers. Moderate and moderate-liberal organizational development is at an early stage in most areas of the district and the staff will concentrate on building long-term local organizations.

To contact the public Bagley will employ standard methods: teas, advertising, rallies, mailings, etc. The campaign, which is emphasizing grass roots campaigning, will also use:

A. A traveling bluegrass band to create a crowd for an informal speech, and

B. A non-partisan slide show, "Virginia, America's Commonwealth," that will be shown to civic and fraternal groups. The presentation will discuss Virginia's historic place in the Nation and the present state of affairs in Virginia.

Part IV

The district as of 1963, has 3,563 members of the AFL-CIO concentrated in Fredericksburg, Charlottesville, and West Point. A full-time staff worker with prior trade union experience has been assigned to work with the liberal locals. Office space is being provided by the 2,000-man textile local (TWUA) in Fredericksburg and close coordination is being developed with local COPE committees. Union locals are being assisted with voter registration and it is hoped that union members will go out into their communities as volunteer voter registration and campaign workers.

# # # #

Seven colleges are in or near the district. In selected areas, students will be called on to do voter registration canvassing and poll watching.

Pop. Residences % Families Earning

WHAT IS THE DISTRICT LIKE

COUNTY	POPULATION 1940	1950	% Increase 1940-50	1960	% Increase 1950-60	% Non White	Absolute NonWhite	% 18-64 years of age	Median Income	% Unemployed	Votes in 1956 D.	R.	Total	Votes in 1960 D. Kennedy	R. Nixon	Total	Adults Not Voting 1960	% Voting
Albemarle	24,652	26,662	8.2	30,635	16.2	14.9	4,545	56.8	$4,516	2.5%	1,412	2,508	3,920	2,102	3,135	5,272	13,619	27.9%
Caroline	13,945	12,471	-10.6	12,725	2.0	52.6	6,594	53.8	3,025	5.8	853	907	1,760	1,483	864	2,367	5,395	30.5
Charlottesville 1	19,400	25,969	33.9	29,427	13.3	19.0	4,561	60.7	5,192	3.1	1,431	791	3,982	2,894	3,651	6,628	11,322	36.9
Culpeper	13,365	13,242	-0.9	15,088	13.9	27.5	4,039	51.9	3,661	2.9	966	1,502	2,468	1,332	1,630	2,971	6,232	32.3
Fauqueir	21,039	21,248	1.0	24,066	13.3	26.0	6,229	51.9	3,929	2.5	1,567	2,112	3,679	1,958	2,123	4,094	10,506	27.9
Fluvanna	7,088	7,121	0.5	7,227	1.5	37.7	2,722	50.8	3,223	7.8	417	734	1,151	614	763	1,398	3,018	31.6
Fredericksburg 1	10,066	12,158	20.8	13,639	12.2	19.1	2,593	63.0	5,305	3.5	1,405	1,882	3,287	1,326	1,566	2,915	5,405	35.8
Goochland	8,454	8,934	5.7	9,206	3.0	48.2	4,432	53.7	2,925	1.6	508	748	1,256	862	851	1,749	3,867	31.2
Greene	5,218	4,745	9.1	4,715	-0.6	12.4	684	51.2	5,305	3.2	246	539	785	314	573	892	7,984	31.1
Hanover	18,500	21,985	18.8	27,550 4	25.3	25.4	6,960	54.1	5,012	2.0	1,109	2,272	3,381	2,023	3,020	5,005	11,721	30.2
King George	5,431	6,710	23.5	7,243	7.9	27.1	1.950	52.8	4,803	2.9	563	655	1,218	717	685	1,410	3,008	32.0
King William	7,855	7,589	-3.4	7,563	-0.3	47.1	3,352	52.1	3,913	2.8	357	887	1,244	745	793	1,549	3,064	33.6
Lancester	8,786	8,640	-1.7	9,174	6.2	39.7	3,635	52.4	3,382	10.8	373	1,380	1,681	895	1,340	2,250	3,346	40.3

	Pop.			Residences														% Families Farming
Loudoun	20,291	21,147	4.2	24,549	16.1	17.7	4,335	52.0	4,460	2.0	1,960	2,489	4,449	2,399	2,526	4,954	10,021	33.1
Louise	13,665	12,826	-6.1	12,959	1.0	39.9	5,145	49.9	3,084	2.9	795	1,152	1,947	1,244	1,170	2,456	5,447	31.0
Northumberland	10,463	10,012	-4.3	10,185	1.7	42.7	4,343	51.3	3,241	10.9	428	1,191	1,619	858	1,340	2,211	4,002	35.7
Orange	12,649	12,755	0.8	12,900	1.1	22.4	2,881	52.2	3,831	2.7	794	1,344	2,138	1,108	1,413	2,683	5,266	33.2
Prince William	17,738	22,612	27.5	50,164	121.8 [2]	8.2	5,631	55.4	5,468	3.3	1,851	2,023	3,874	2,987	2,624	5,629	24,961	18.4
Richmond	6,634	6,189	-6.7	6,375	3.0	34.8	2,213	53.8	3,352	6.7	247	761	1,008	425	801	1,233	2,656	31.8
Spotsylvania	9,905	11,920	20.3	13,819	15.9	22.8	3,162	40.1	4,375	3.1	993	1,244	2,237	1,482	1,288	2,799	5,631	33.2
Stafford	9,548	11,902	24.7	16,876 [3]	41.8	11.7	1,954	54.3	4,821	3.2	978	1,563	2,541	1,494	1,447	2,965	7,329	28.9
Westmoreland	9,512	10,148	6.7	11,042	1.4	46.8	5,166	48.6	3,450	9.6	695	1,033	1,728	1,034	1,176	2,129	4,517	32.8
TOTALS											199480	2971700	4966500	30296	34779	65653	152388	30.1%

Notes: 1. Incorporated town.

2. Prince William's increase for its rural population during this period was 69.5%. The population for the entire county is now about 70,000, which gives it a growth of 40% since 1960. Fairfax County during 1950-1960 had a growth in urban population of 695.4% and an increase of 179% for the entire population. Prince William's growth from 1950-1960 was as follows: Dumfries, 17,452 - 9,388; Manasses, 15,946 - 5,559; and Occoquan, 6,659 - 2,374 (This includes only the most active areas).

3. Staffords growth from 1950-1960 was as follows: Aquia, 5,119 - 3,943 and Falmouth 7,093 - 4,033.

4. Hanover's growth from 1950 - 1960 was: Ashland, 11,111 - 9,353 and Henry, 10,843 - 7,247.

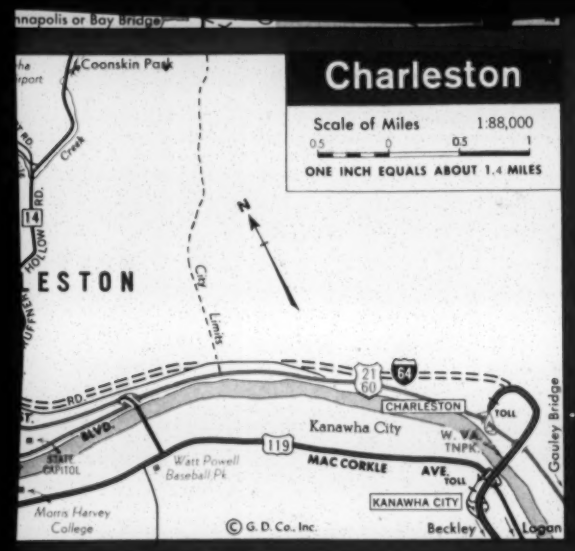
5. Smith's votes are as follows:

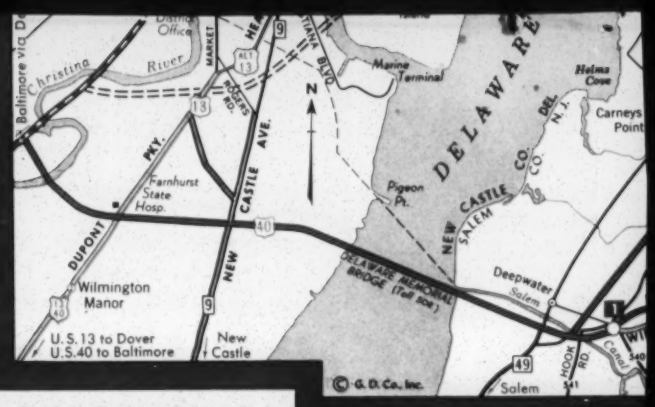
1958	1960	1962
23,815	42,809/13,410	20,931

The 1960 opposition was Taylor. He ran as a Republican. His campaign was managed by Bagley.

County	1960 Pop.	Pop. per sq. mile	Residences: Urban (%)	Residences: Rural Farm (%)	Non-White (%)	No. of Families	Median Income (per yr.)	% Families Earning: Under $3,000 per yr.	% Families Earning: Over $10,000 per yr.
Albemarle	30,969	42	14.0	7.7	14.9	7,137	4,516	32.8	13.4
Caroline	12,725	23	--	18.9	52.6	2,819	3,658	38.9	6.0
Culpeper	15,088	39	--	20.6	27.5	3,607	3,661	40.9	7.3
Fauquier	24,066	37	14.6	27.0	26.0	5,586	3,929	36.1	9.0
Fluvanna	7,227	26	--	25.9	37.7	1,640	3,223	47.4	2.7
Goochland	9,206	32	--	19.6	48.2	1,822	3,313	45.4	4.6
Greene	4,715	31	--	31.3	12.4	1,015	2,925	51.5	2.1
Hanover	27,550	59	10.1	15.8	25.4	6,511	5,012	25.4	10.8
King George	7,243	41	--	13.3	27.1	1,777	4,803	26.1	10.5
King William	7,563	27	--	21.4	47.1	1,817	3,913	38.1	10.9
Lancaster	9,174	65	--	12.2	39.7	2,368	3,382	44.1	7.2
Loudoun	24,549	48	11.7	23.6	17.7	5,789	4,460	32.1	12.7
Louisa	12,959	25	--	25.6	39.9	3,048	3,084	48.8	4.1
Northumberland	10,185	51	--	18.5	42.7	2,534	3,241	46.1	5.2
Orange	12,900	36	22.9	20.1	22.4	3,187	3,831	38.4	5.5
Prince William	50,164	145	23.6	4.3	8.2	11,174	5,468	18.0	11.0
Richmond	6,375	33	--	27.4	34.8	1,585	3,352	43.5	3.7
Spotsylvania	13,819	34	--	14.8	22.8	3,387	4,375	28.1	4.3
Stafford	16,876	62	--	6.3	11.7	4,210	4,821	23.5	6.8
Westmoreland	11,042	47	--	20.3	46.8	2,569	3,051	49.3	4.7
STATE	3,966,949	100	55.6	10.0	20.8	954,720	4,964	27.9	13.2
Lowest Co.	4,715	23	10.1	6.3	11.7	1,015	2,925	18.0	2.1
Highest Co.	50,164	145	23.6	31.3	48.2	11,174	5,468	51.5	13.4

Cumberland
Hagerstown
Frederick
Baltimore
Westminster
Martinsburg
Winchester
Berryville
Charles Town
Harpers Ferry
Brunswick
Leesburg
Rockville
Bethesda
College Pk.
WASHINGTON
ANNAPOLIS
Alexandria
Fairfax
Springfield
Manassas
Warrenton
Culpeper
Fredericksburg
Spotsylvania
Gordonsville
Charlottesville
Waynesboro
Staunton
Front Royal
Luray
Shenandoah
Madison
Orange
Louisa
Powhatan
RICHMOND
Hanover
Ashland
Goochland
King William
King and Queen C.H.
Tappahannock
Lancaster
Kilmarnock
Irvington
Heathsville
Reedville
Colonial Beach
Leonardtown
Prince Frederick
Chesapeake Beach
Salisbury
Cambridge
Easton
Oxford
St. Michaels
Chestertown
Centreville
Denton
Princess Anne
Crisfield
Pocomoke City
Snow Hill
Berlin
Ocean City
Cape Charles
Onancock
Chincoteague
Tangier
Cape Henry
Cape Charles
Lexington Pk.
Point Lookout
Solomons
Cove Pt.
Fishing Cr.
Hooper I.
Taylors I.
Madison
Woolford
Hudson
Cambridge
Bay
Chesapeake
Eastern
Romancoke
Claiborne
Tilghman
Neavitt
Bozman
Royal Oak
Bellevue
Deltaville
Gwynn
Saluda
Harmony
Hartfield
Cobbs Cr.
Cash
Shacklefords
Center Ville
Glenns
Lusby
Appeal
Hollywood
Mutual
Island Cr.
St. Leonard
Port Republic
Prince Frederick
Huntingtown
Aquasco
Parran
Plum Pt.
Sunderland
Lower Marlboro
Dunkirk
Owings
Naylor
Brandywine
Upper Marlboro
Clinton
Deale
Friendship
Churchton
Galesville
Shady Side
Beverly Beach
Edgewater
Davidsonville
Crownsville
Millersville
Odenton
Pasadena
Severna Pk.
Glen Burnie
Linthicum
Brooklyn
Curtis Bay
Brooklyn Park
Pikesville
Reisterstown
Owings Mills
Lutherville
Towson
Cockeysville
Glyndon
Hampstead
Manchester
Lineboro
Freedom
Norrisville
Parkton
Shawsville
Jarrettsville
Monkton
Bel Air
Aberdeen
Edgewood
Magnolia
Joppa
Chase
Middle R.
Essex
Edgemere
Sparrows Pt.
Fort Howard
Fort Smallwood
Bayside Beach
Rock Hall
Tolchester Beach
Chestertown
Pomona
Gibson I.
Love Pt.
Eastern Neck
Queenstown
Stevensville
Grasonville
Chester
Bowie
Laurel
Savage
Jessup
Elkridge
Ellicott City
Catonsville
Dundalk





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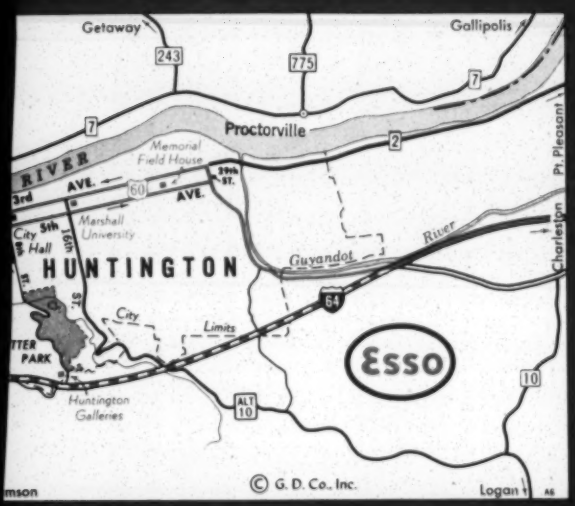
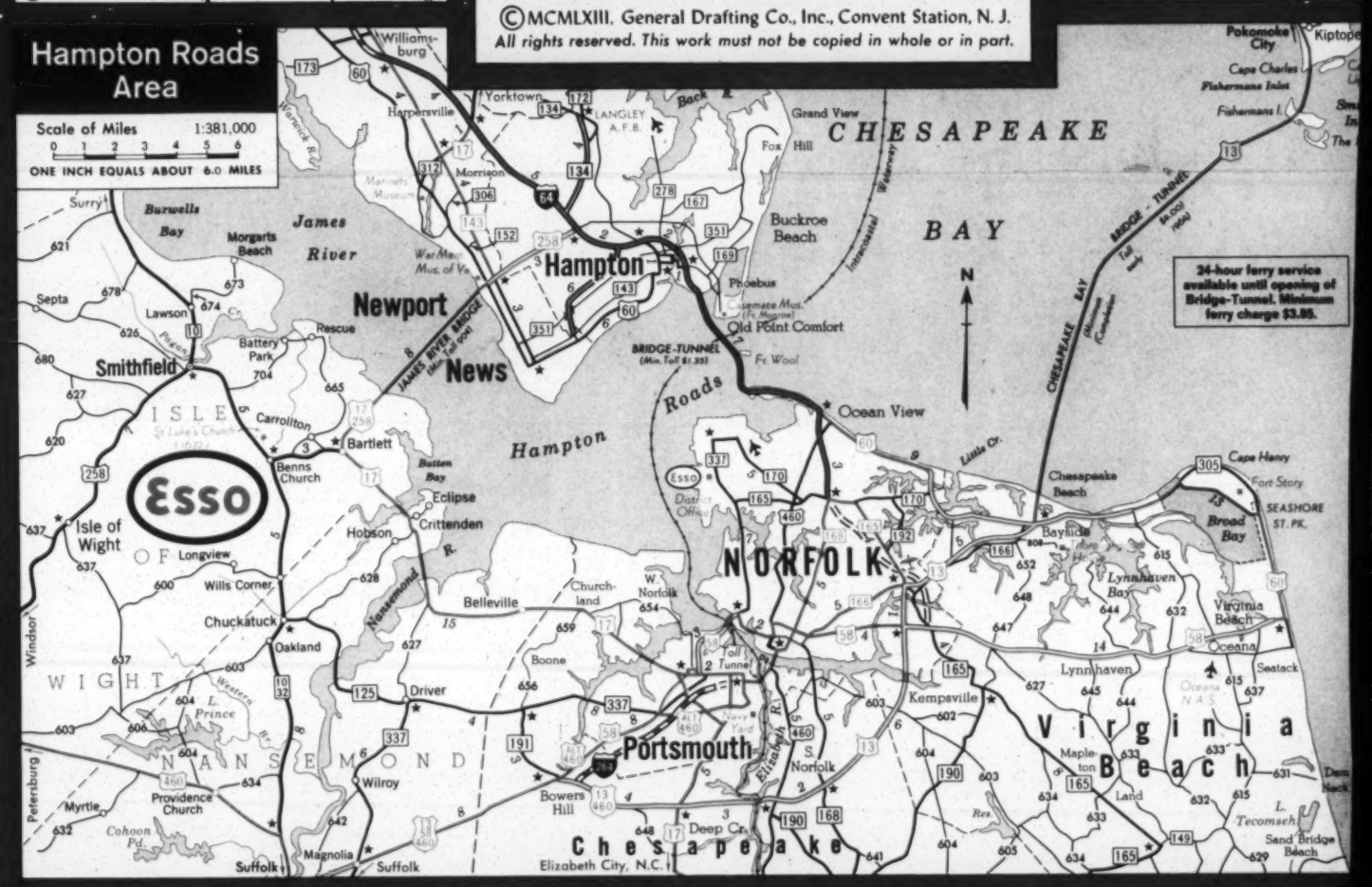




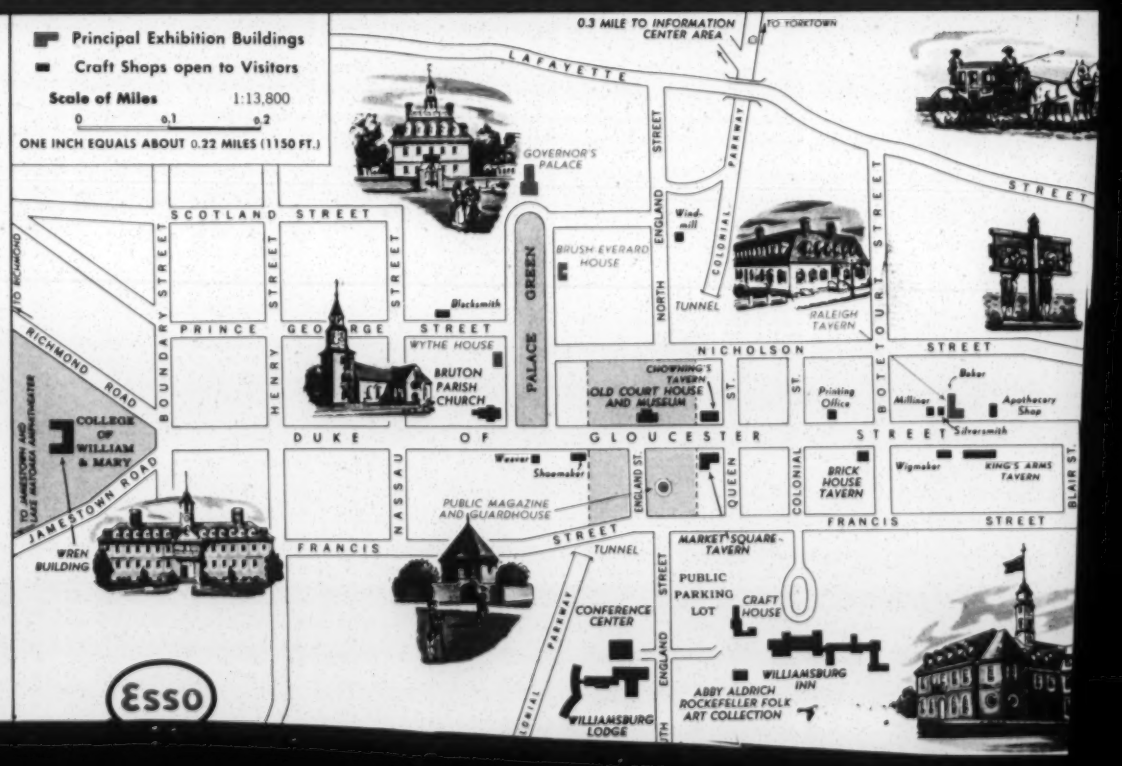
COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

An authentic glimpse of life in Colonial America is provided in a visit to restored Williamsburg, Virginia's capital from 1699 to 1779.

At the Information Center films depicting 18th-century life are shown throughout the day. Here tickets, 50c-$3, are sold for the principal exhibition buildings: Capitol, Governor's Palace, Raleigh Tavern, Public Gaol, Magazine and Guardhouse, Wythe House and Brush-Everard House. All are open 9-5 summer, 10-5 winter. Most imposing of the restored or reconstructed buildings are the Governor's Palace (1706-1720) and the Capitol. Also of note are Bruton Parish Church, the Old Court House and the Wren Building.

Eleven craft shops are open free weekdays; seven on Sundays. The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection is open free Tues.-Sun. noon-9.

From mid-March to No-



LEGEND

Counties marked in blue had between 20 & 30 % Negro population in 1960.

Counties marked in red had between 30 & 49% Negro population in 1960.

Caroline County, outlined in black, had over 50% Negro population in 1960.

Counties marked with crosshatch have more than 5.7% unemployed. Lancaster, Northumberland and Westmoreland had nearly 10% or over.

SMITH'S OPPONENT

Running against Smith will be Floyd Caldwell Bagley, a criminal lawyer in Dumfries, Prince William County. Retired after twenty years in the Marine Corps, Bagley obtained his law degree from American University Law School and was admitted to the Virginia Bar in 1955. He is a member of the Dumfries TB Association, Little League, PTA, belongs to fraternal organizations and is a member of the Board of his Methodist Church. In 1961 he ran for the Virginia House of Delegates from Prince William and Stafford counties as a Republican and won 40% of the votes. In 1963 he ran as an Independent for Commonwealth Attorney for Prince William County and lost by only 14 votes.

The 42 year old son of an automobile mechanic, F. Caldwell Bagley is a combat veteran of both World War II and Korea. He is a charter member of the Triangle and Stafford Lodges, Loyal Order of Moose; a Mason; a member of the American Legion; the Lions Club; and belongs to the Eastern Prince William Civic Association. He resides in Dumfries with his wife, Beverly, and their three children.

BUDGET (Approximate)

Campaign Expenses	
Mailings - - - -	$20,000
Radio - - - - -	8,000
Newspapers - - -	10,000
Office Expenses - - - -	5,000
Salaries - - - - - - - - -	20,760
Total - - - - - - - - - -	$63,760

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

5/15/64

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

May 14, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

SCLC has contributed toward registering quite a few Negro voters throughout Georgia during the past three years and as we approach an election period we are quite concerned that some program in voter education be conducted on a statewide basis.

We propose to conduct a two day statewide conference for leaders from approximately 70 of Georgia's 159 counties. The purpose of this conference is to familiarize these leaders with techniques of getting out the vote, of interviewing candidates, of teaching the duties of election officials, and of establishing county political guidance and patronage committees which will unite the Negro community and avoid the corrupt politics which has been practiced in the past in many of these areas.

The specific content of this workshop would be worked out with the VEP Staff, and we would hope that the entire VEP staff would serve as faculty for this occasion. SCLC would also provide the services of our staff in training and follow-up. However, Mr. John Calhoun has worked on a per diem basis during the past year and we would hope that his salary would be included in the grant. SCLC finds itself in dire financial straights and can barely maintain those persons who are on full-time staff.

The full time staff who are available for follow-up to this conference are: Mr. Hosea Williams, Rev. Samuel Wells, Mr. Willie Bolden, Rev. Fred Bennette, and Miss Laverne Graham. In addition to this some of the funds requested for office and staff would be used to give a stipend to persons such as Bill Randall, Toombs McLendon and or A. C. Touchstone who might meet with counties in their areas to aid them in carrying out the plans proceeding from the conference. We feel justified in asking this of VEP since we have supported VEP projects with staff through the year and have even neglected to deduct the 15% allowed in VEP grants for administrative overhead this past year.

In the event that it is necessary to cut this request, I would think that the addition of fund raising techniques into the workshops would perhaps compensate for the $5,000 (item no. II - Travel and Expenses for 100 counties). This would enable each county to raise the necessary funds within her borders and not excessively tax the state program.

Again let me specify that we are asking VEP staff to develop with us the type of Voter Education Conference which imparts much needed information to citizens of this state. There are many examples such as Liberty and Peach Counties where just a minimum of information might have made a significant difference in the lives of the Negro citizens. It is our hope that we might together share this type of information across Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

Andy

Andrew J. Young
Program Director

AJY:es

June 2, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

Re: Proposed Workshop in Political Education

In a period when Negro voting strength in the state of Georgia is estimated at 275,000 or 21.1 per cent of an estimated total of 1,300,000, it seems appropriate that there be some effort made to engage in widespread political education. If the objectives of freedom from racial discrimination and equality under law and the Constitution are to be achieved, Negroes must exercise the balance of political power which they hold. It appears that the SCLC has recognized this need as evidenced by the proposal recently presented to VEP through its Statewide Registration Committee. The intent of this memo is to comment on the proposal as submitted.

As this program is perceived by the writer, its objectives would be four-fold:

1. To develop a working program which can be used, with modification, in every voting district in the state.

2. To help participants develop an awareness and appreciation for practical politics, the ability to analyze public issues, and a willingness to undertake responsible leadership roles in public affairs.

3. To provide instruction in use of various voting devices (machines, ballots).

4. To instruct in methods and techniques useful in promoting participation on election day.

It would appear that at least one representative should be invited from each county, with urban communities also sending representation. The U. S. Congressional District chairmen would be included in this listing. (See attached list for possible invitees.)

Methods used to achieve these goals would include lectures, discussion groups, audio-visual aids, panel discussions, and demonstrations. Additionally, a kit of materials might be prepared for the conferees. Most importantly, there would be follow-up visits by the district

coordinators and field workers.

I would recommend financing the political education program as proposed by the Statewide Registration Committee of SCLC.

B.I.W.
Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Attachments:

Precinct Worker's Manual
Letter samples
List of possible workshop participants
Suggested Agenda

AGENDA FOR WORKSHOP IN POLITICAL EDUCATION

Friday:

9 - 10:15 a. m.	Setting the Stage - program, scope, organization, scope; introduction of staff.
10:15-10:30 a.m.	Coffee Break
10:30-12:15 p.m.	Film "Right Now", if available with appropriate introductory remarks and discussion period.
1:30-4:00 p.m.	Organizing for political education.

A. At county level.
B. Voting district or precinct level.
C. Role of U. S. Congressional District chairmen.
D. Role of SCLC field staff.
E. Recruiting volunteer workers.
F. Preparation of card files on registration voters.
G. Organization of committees.
   1. Telephone
   2. Transportation
   3. Baby sitters
   4. Poll-watchers
H. Financing

4 - 6 p. m.	Problems Clinic - Opportunity to share, in small groups, problems with which help is needed.
6 p. m.	Dinner

Saturday:

9-10:30 a.m.	Getting out the vote - Panel Discussion Mrs. Johnson - Birmingham, Alabama Mr. Mitchell - Macon County, Alabama Mr. Riddick - Nansemond County, Virginia Mr. Appling - Peach County, Georgia Mr. Baggs - Liberty County, Georgia
10:30 a.m.	Coffee Break
10:45-12:30 p.m.	Use of voting machines - voting split tickets, etc.
12:30-1:30 p.m.	Lunch

1:30-3:30 p. m.	Evaluation of workshop Summation - Dismissal
3:30-6 p.m.	Opportunity for consultaion with staff.

S T A T E W I D E R E G I S T R A T I O N C O M M I T T E E
243 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May 21, 1964

Dear Chairman:

You will find enclosed a copy of a letter planned to be addressed to specified leaders in your district regarding a political education program. There is also attached a list of these persons whom we propose to invite to participate as workshop leaders if the program is approved. Please make the necessary contacts and recommend one person from each county.

The idea is to have the person to participate in the Atlanta Clinic. He or she would then be responsible for conducting the program at the county-wide, as well as, the precinct or voting district level. In this way we would hope to reach every possible voter before we become involved in the 1964 political campaigns.

Kindly communicate to us at once any suggestions or recommendations you have in regard to the selections or the program. Certainly we would hope that you would also participate in the Atlanta Clinic June 5-6. Please fill out and return the enclosed form by May 28, so that we may have your recommendations before making final selections.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Calhoun, Chairman
STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
GA. DIRECTOR, VOTER REGISTRATION, SCLC

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION ON VOTER EDUCATION CLINIC

To: Statewide Registration Committee
243 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

____ I will attend the Voter Education Clinic in Atlanta

____ I will not be able to participate in the workshop

I recommend the following persons for the Clinic: (One for each county)

COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS

Other Recommendations _____

_____

_____

Signed _____ Address _____

S T A T E W I D E R E G I S T R A T I O N C O M M I T T E E
243 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia

May 21, 1964

Dear Fellow Citizen:

The present political situation and lack of benefits received in the past, make it almost imperative that we launch upon a statewide program of political education.

You are therefore invited to attend a non-partisan workshop on:

1. How to mark ballots, as well as, how to use voting machines.
2. How to vote for a "write-in" candidate.
3. How to vote an "absentee" ballot.
4. How to vote in referendums and on bond issues.
5. How to participate in a two-party primary.
6. How to get out the largest possible vote in a county.
7. How to make and use job and other opportunities for our people.

These sessions will be held from 3:00 P. M. Friday, June 5, thru Saturday, June 6, at the Waluhaje Apartments, 239 West Lake Ave., N. W., Atlanta. All expenses to and from the Clinic, as well as, living expenses here, will be paid for one person from each county on a selective basis from those who respond promptly.

The plan is to train one hundred persons from various sections of the state, who will return to their sections and conduct similar workshops, on a voluntary basis, county by county, during the coming weeks. The number of new registered voters, the importance of all voters being able to vote intelligently and getting results from our votes, warrant your participation, if you should be named for your county.

If you cannot attend in person, please get together with other leaders and designate a person who is qualified and will sacrifice the time to help in educating the voters. Inasmuch as the number of participants must be limited to 100, and we hope, from 100 counties, please fill out and return the form below at once.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Calhoun, Chairman
STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
GA. DIRECTOR, VOTER-REGISTRATION, SCLC

TO: THE STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
243 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA, GA.

_____ I would serve as a workshop leader in my county or section.
_____ I can attend the non-partisan Clinic June 5-6, 1964, in Atlanta, Ga.
_____ I will not be able to attend the Clinic, but recommend the following person:

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

SIGNED _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ COUNTY _____ TELEPHONE _____

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC

PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS - VOTER EDUCATION CLINIC - 1964

MAY 20 1964

DIST.	COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY AND STATE
I	16 Counties	To Be Selected by Rosen Williams		Savannah, Ga.
II	List 2 follows page 1			
III	Talbot	John T. Little	P. O. Box 23	Talbotton, Ga.
		Henry Lamar	Lamar Funeral Home	Talbotton, Ga.
	Sumter	Dan Harris	536 Jefferson	Americus, Ga.
	Harris	Harrison Miller	P. O. Box 2	Hamilton, Ga.
		Theodore Bowen	McMiller Park P. O. Box 23	Hamilton, Ga.
	Marion	John Storey	P. O. Box 23	Buena Vista, Ga.
		Rev. G. C. McCarter	General Delivery	Buena Vista, Ga.
	Chattahoochee	Rev. R. C. Carter	P. O. Box 15	Cusseta, Ga.
	Peach	Theodore A. Appling	307 E. Church St.,	Ft. Valley, Ga.
		A. J. Edwards	313 Preston St.	Ft. Valley, Ga.
	Muscogee	Mrs. Blanche Rose	500½ Ninth St.	Columbus, Ga.
		Vernon Mitchell	500½ Ninth St.	Columbus, Ga.
		Geo. W. Ford	933 6th Ave.	Columbus, Ga.
	Crawford	Mr. Willie B. Bentley	P. O. Box 169	Roberta, Ga.
		Mrs. Mattie P. Stroud	Rt. 1, Box 137	Musella, Ga.
	Dooly	Mr. H. J. Chaney	Route 1	Vandilla, Ga.
		Mr. Alvie Goss	Route 3	Vienna, Ga.
	Houston	Mr. John Moody	County Agent Box 305	Perry, Ga.
		Samuel D. Smith	Rt. 1, Box 229	Warner Robins, Ga.
	Macon	Mr. A. M. Fields	General Delivery	Montezuma, Ga.
		James R. Felton	P. O. Box 201	Marshallville, Ga.
	Pulaski	Fred Miller	Rt. 1	Finleyson, Ga.
	Schley	Mr. F. D. Harrold, Principal	John H. Lewis High School	Ellaville, Ga.
	Taylor	J. T. Rowe	General Delivery	Butler, Ga.
		John W. Montfort	Rt. 2	Butler, Ga.
	Twiggs	Freddie Lewis	Rt. 1, Box 120	Jeffersonville, Ga
		Mr. Forrest Butler	Rt. 2, Box 119	Jeffersonville, Ga
	Webster	Carl Scott	P. O. Box 853	Plains, Ga.
		Walter Solomon	General Delivery	Plains, Ga.
		George W. Nealy	Rt. 1, Box 215	Richland, Ga.
	Wilkinson	[illegible]	P. O. [illegible]	Irwinton, Ga.
		Mr. L. S. Mallory	Rt. 1 Haverton	Irwinton, Ga.

STATE[illegible]E REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCL[illegible]

PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS - VOTER EDUCATION CLINIC - 1964

DIST.	COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY AND STATE
II	Colquitt	J. H. Roberson	506 First Avenue, NW	Moultrie, Ga.
		H. E. Daniels	805 Fifth Street, NW	Moultrie, Ga.
		Oliver Strong	Strong Funeral Home	Moultrie, Ga.
	Tift	Johnnie McMillian	1301 S. Central	Tifton, Ga.
		Solomon Dimon	815 S. Park	Tifton, Ga.
	Crisp	Aaron Reid	Reid Rib Shack	Cordele, Ga.
		J. S. Tripp	18th Ave., & 9th St.	Cordele, Ga.
	Thomas	Vergil Williams	c/o Rev. A. M. Threatt	Thomasville, Ga.
		J. B. Martin	c/o Rev. A. M. Threatt	Thomasville, Ga.
	Worth	Mrs. Lumpkin	803 Franklin Avenue	Sylvester, Ga.
		Mr. Saddler	J. W. Holley High School	Sylvester, Ga.
	Dougherty	Mr. Slater King	1304 S. Cleveland Ave.	Albany, Ga.
		Rev. S. B. Wells	321 Merritt Street	Albany, Ga.
		Mr. Thomas Chatman	903 Dorsett Avenue	Albany, Ga.
	Terrell	Mrs. Carolyn Daniels	601 First Avenue	Dawson, Ga.
		D. U. Pullum	Route 1, Box 159	Dawson, Ga.
	Miller	James E. Merritt	c/o Bethale School	Colquitt, Ga.
		Mr. Coy Relford	General Delivery	Colquitt, Ga.
	Mitchell	Mr. Carroll	Jester Funeral Home 115 Lincoln Street	Camilla, Ga.
		Mrs. Slader	89 Lincoln Street	Camilla, Ga.
	Baker	Mr. Miller Walter	Route 2, Box 133	Newton, Ga.
		L. H. Hall	Route 2, Box 84	Newton, Ga.
	Brooks	Frank Thomas	513 N. Warren	Quitman, Ga.
		Mr. L. L. Chisholm	Shoe Shop Forsyth Street	Quitman, Ga.
	Decatur	H. S. Dimon	1307 Planter Street	Bainbridge, Ga.
		Rev. Moses Pleasure	Clay Street	Bainbridge, Ga.
	Grady	Mr. McCloud Earnest	200 Second Ave., NW	Cairo, Ga.
		Rev. H. Flours	226 8th Street, SW	Cairo, Ga.
	Seminole	Mr. Graham	General Delivery	Donalsonville, Ga.
		Leroy Simpson	General Delivery	Donalsonville, Ga.
	Randolph	Mr. Perkins	Independant Funeral Home 225 Villa Nova Street	Cuthbert, Ga.
		Jacob Freeney	P. O. Box 124	Cuthbert, Ga.
		Ulysses Davis	301 Reed St.	Cuthbert, Ga.
	Turner	Mr. Willie H. Banks	406 Washington St.	Ashburn, Ga.

DIST.	COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY AND STATE
II	Turner	Charlie Giddens	211 Jefferson Street	Ashburn, Ga.
	Clay	Mr. J. C. Cudgel	Box 276	Fort Gaines, Ga.
		Mr. James Clark	Box 486 310 E. Green	Fort Gaines, Ga.
	Quitman	Mr. Williams Wims	Route 1, Box 128	Georgetown, Ga.
		Robert J. Davis	Kaigler Training School	Georgetown, Ga.
	Calhoun	Mr. Fred Oliver	P. O. Box 36	Morgan, Ga.
		Mr. Lee Foster	General Delivery	Morgan, Ga.
	Early	A. R. Hubbard	Apt. 33	Blakely, Ga.
		C. C. Mosely	RFD 5, Box 128	Blakely, Ga.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC

PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS - VOTER EDUCATION CLINIC - 1964

DIST.	COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY AND STATE
IV	DeKalb	Miss Rosetta Williams	204 Marshall Street	Decatur, Ga.
	Rockdale	Miss Violet Giles	190 N. Railroad St.	Conyers, Ga.
		Charles Darien	249 Main St.	Conyers, Ga.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC

PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS - VOTER EDUCATION CLINIC - 1964

DIST.	COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY AND STATE
VI	Bibb	Miss Mary Montford	Rt. 1, Riverside Dr.	Macon, Ga.
		Mr. William P. Randall	845 Forsyth St.	Macon, Ga.
		Mr. Louis H. Wynn	855 Clinton Rd.	Macon, Ga.
	Butts	Archie Ross	Rt. 1, Box 22	Flovilla, Ga.
		Abe Tremier, Undertaker		Jackson, Ga.
	Carroll	Grady Gamble	605 King Street	Carrollton, Ga.
		Mr. C. B. Ward	P. O. Box 235	Carrollton, Ga.
	Clayton	Mr. C. L. Henderson	128 Watterson St.	Jonesboro, Ga.
		Rev. C. W. Grant	General Delivery	Forrest Park, Ga.
	Coweta	William H. Harrison	17 Pinson St.	Newnan, Ga.
		Dr. W. D. Brown	General Delivery	Newnan, Ga.
	Fayette	Miss Thelma Akers	General Delivery	Fayetteville, Ga.
		Mr. W. T. Pinson	General Delivery	Fayetteville, Ga.
	Heard	Mr. L. W. Davis	Rt. 1	Franklin, Ga.
		Felton Ramsley, Principal	Mary Johnson High School	Franklin, Ga.
	Henry	James Lemon, Chm.	General Delivery	McDonough, Ga.
		Miss Mary Helen Lemon	Rt. 1, Box 103	McDonough, Ga.
	Jones	Alonza Barfield	Rt. 2, Box 97	Gray, Ga.
	Lamar	Judge Collier	10th Fourth St.	Barnesville, Ga.
		Amos Whatley	14 Jenkins St.	Barnesville, Ga.
	Meriweather	John T. Reeves	Rt. 1, Box 316	Hogansville, Ga.
		Mr. R. D. Hill	Box 37	Greenville, Ga.
	Monroe	Mr. T. R. Clements	General Delivery	Forsyth, Ga.
		Mr. W. R. Wright	Wright Funeral Home	Forsyth, Ga.
	Pike	Della Hall	P. O. Box 96	Concord, Ga.
		Mr. D. F. Glover	Box 272	Zebulon, Ga.
	Spalding	Mr. C. W. Daniels	P. O. Box 557	Griffin, Ga.
		Frances Gresham	829 East Solomon	Griffin, Ga.
	Troup	Carey Hughley	P. O. Box 72	La Grange, Ga.
		Miss Lucinda Glanton	47 Popular	Hogansville, Ga.
	Upson	George W. Greene	506 Bethel St.	Thomaston, Ga.
		Robert J. Reeves	810 Kelsey Street	Thomaston, Ga.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC

PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS - VOTER EDUCATION CLINIC - 1964

DIST.	COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY AND STATE
VII	Bartow	Rev. Rosamond Kay	4 Conant St.	Cartersville, Ga.
	Whitfield	William J. Willis, Sr.	425 4th Avenue	Dalton, Ga.
	Cobb	Aaron Guthbert	403 Cole Street	Marietta, Ga.
		Mrs. Essie L. Dinsmore	Rt. 5, Box 217	Marietta, Ga.
		Mrs. M. J. Woods	304 Sheppard Street	Marietta, Ga.
	Floyd	Mr. E. G. Hinton	701 East 1st St.	Rome, Ga.
		Rev. Clarence Tuggle	6 Gibbons St.	Rome, Ga.
	Gordon	Mr. C. H. Hunt	527 Cothcalwoga St.	Calhoun, Ga.
		Miss Daphne Tate	Rt. 1, Box 312	Calhoun, Ga.
	Polk	Rev. Calvin Williams	Rt. 1, Box 48	Rockmart, Ga.

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STANTON MFG.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC

PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS - VOTER EDUCATION CLINIC - 1964

DIST.	COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY AND STATE
VIII	Appling	Mr. J. B. Isom	Baxley General Delivery	Baxley, Ga.
		William L. Strippling	209 Washington St.	Baxley, Ga.
	Atkinson	Mr. I. O. Johnson	General Delivery	Pearson, Ga.
	Ben Hill	Rev. F. R. Rowe	P. O. Box 603	Fitzgerald, Ga.
	Berrien	Mr. J. H. Black	1302 E. Bugess Ave.	Nashville, Ga.
	Brantley	Rev. Levaniel Hicks	Rt. 1, Box 10	Waynesville, Ga.
		Mr. B. I. Shipman	P. O. Box 13	Alapaha, Ga.
		Mr. W. C. Murchison	Rt. 1, Box 15	Waynesville, Ga.
	Camden	Aaron Weston	Rt. 1, Box 10	Woodbine, Ga.
	Clinch	Mr. L. S. Glencamp	500 Gaskin St.	Homerville, Ga.
		Pearlie Steele	102 Wilson St.	Homerville, Ga.
	Coffee	Thomas J. Groom	1301 Leader St.	Douglas, Ga.
	Cook	Rev. J. W. Mays	208 Cherry Street	Adel, Ga.
	Dodge	Norman Coley, Jr.	Rt. 6, Box 10	Eastman, Ga.
		Barney Spivey	Rt. 6, Box 10	Eastman, Ga.
	Glynn	Rev. J. C. Hope	General Delivery	Brunswick, Ga.
	Irwin	Earnest Davis	600 E. 6th St.	Ocilla, Ga.
		Curtis Davis	General Delivery	Ocilla, Ga.
	Jeff Davis	Miss Gloria Gaines	106 Acker St.	Hazelhurst, Ga.
	Lanier	Rev. & Mrs. C. W. Williamson	General Delivery	Lakeland, Ga.
	Lowndes	Mr. C. G. Hall	724 Jackson St.	Valdosta, Ga.
		Dr. Walter Lang, Jr.	904 W. Magnolia	Valdosta, Ga.
	Pierce	Mr. I. J. White	4 Central Avenue	Blackshear, Ga.
	Telifair	Abe C. Allen	109 E. Anderson St.	McRae, Ga.
		Mrs. Mamie Lou Smith	Rt. 1, Box 143	Jacksonville, Ga.
	Ware	Miss Ronzie Smith	703 Butler St.	Waycross, Ga.
		Miss Willie Mae Richardson	P. O. Box 579	Waycross, Ga.
		Mr. J. N. Adams	991 Folks St.	Waycross, Ga.
		Mr. P. B. McCoy	1021 Blackwell St.	Waycross, Ga.
	Wayne	Rev. G. H. Green	280 6th St.	Jesup, Georgia
	Wilcox	Mr. J. L. Johnson	Rt. 1, Box 19	Pine View, Ga.
		Will Stokes	General Delivery	Abbeville, Ga.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC

PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS - VOTER EDUCATION CLINIC - 1964

DIST.	COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY AND STATE
IX	Barrow	Mr. P. M. Morrow	Route 1	Bethlehem, Ga.
	Gwinnett	W. A. Watson, Principal	Buford Colored High School 10 Reservior St.	Buford, Ga.
		Willis C. Hodinson	300 Roberts St.	Buford, Ga.
	Habersham	James Gibson	110 Soque St.	Cornelia, Ga.
		Mary Turk	10 Third St.	Cornelia, Ga.
	Hall	Mr. Maynard Brown	407 E. Myrtle St.	Gainesville, Ga.
		Ulysess Rays, Principal	Fair Street High School	Gainesville, Ga.
	Jackson	Rev. W. D. Cash	General Delivery	Jefferson, Ga.
		Grover Stapler	633 Pidgeon St.	Commerce, Ga.
	Stephens	Rev. H. H. Delaney	329 Franklin St.	Toccoa, Ga.

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STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC

PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS - VOTER EDUCATION CLINIC - 1964

DIST.	COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY AND STATE
X	Bladwin	Willie Rivins	833 McIntosh Street	Milledgeville, Ga.
	Clarke	Mr. Erin Gardner	1459 East Broad St.	Athens, Ga.
		Rev. R. B. Hawk	1267 W. Hancock Ave.	Athens, Ga.
	Columbia	Walker Dent	Dent Road	Appling, Ga.
		Mrs. Thelma Manning	Rt. 5, Box 189	Martinez, Ga.
	Greene	Mr. Gresham Geter	General Delivery	Union Point, Ga.
		Eli J. Jackson	P. O. Box 176	Greensboro, Ga.
	Jasper	Rev. L. R. Harris	General Delivery	Machens, Ga.
		Mrs. Cosendena Vanburn	37 South Warren St.	Monticello, Ga.
	Jefferson	Mr. Odell Hannah	516 West 8th St.	Louisville, Ga.
		Kenneth Jackson	West St., Box 10	Louisville, Ga.
	Morgan	Mr. G. C. Williams	P. O. Box 371	Madison, Ga.
		Mrs. Olivia Williams	P. O. Box 371	Madison, Ga.
	Newton	Mr. G. C. Standord	RFD 1, Box 75	Mansfield, Ga.
		Buck Lindsey	717 Walnut Street	Covington, Ga.
	Oconee	Charles D. Bell	Rt. 1, Box 4	Watkinsonville, Ga.
	Oglethorpe	Mr. A. Jackson	RFD 14	Maxey, Ga.
		Mr. Hogan Smith	Rt. 1, Box 47	Carlton, Ga.
	Putnam	James Baker	RFD 1	Eatonton, Ga.
		Mr. C. W. Evans	P. O. Box 483	Eatonton, Ga.
	Richmond	Rev. C. S. Hamilton	1224 Gwinnett St.	Augusta, GA.
		Atty. John D. Watkins	1007 Ninth St.	Augusta, Ga.
	Walton	Thomas Callahan	General Delivery	Social Circle, Ga.
		Daniel W. Young	Box 319	Monroe, Ga.
	Washington	Mr. Comer Braswell	309 East Elder St.	Sandersville, Ga.
		Rev. W. B. Steward	310 Hill Crest St.	Sandersville, Ga.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

S. C. L. C.

PRECINCT WORKER'S MANUAL

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC

How to Become a Successful Precinct Leader

I To win, the precinct or, voting district, leader must organize to:

A. Intelligently, the year round, sell potential voters on the importance of voting and at every opportunity.
B. Get the right people registered.
C. See that they vote - Primaries, elections, referendums, bond elections.
D. See to it that benefits come from voting - Jobs, services, etc.
E. Keep active all the year round - Work on community problems.

II The leader must have helpers in every city block and every rural section - PUT EVERYONE TO WORK! - How? By giving everybody something to do:

A. Getting acquainted with every person.
B. Registering favorable potential voters.
C. Asking neighbors to meet candidates.
D. Getting voters to the polls.
E. Getting absentee voters voted.
F. Baby-sitting for voters.
G. Serving at the polls as watchers.
H. Becoming working members of civic and political clubs.
I. Helping to sell the idea of donating money.
J. Writing letters to editors.
K. Arranging neighborhood, coffees, teas, study groups, action committees, etc.
L. Doing telephoning, systematically for attendance at meetings, rallies, etc.
M. Participating in rallies, fund raising events, political forums.
N. Studying and discussing issues of the day.
O. Finding out and working for citizens' complaints.
P. Attending public hearings, public board meetings, etc. and making reports.

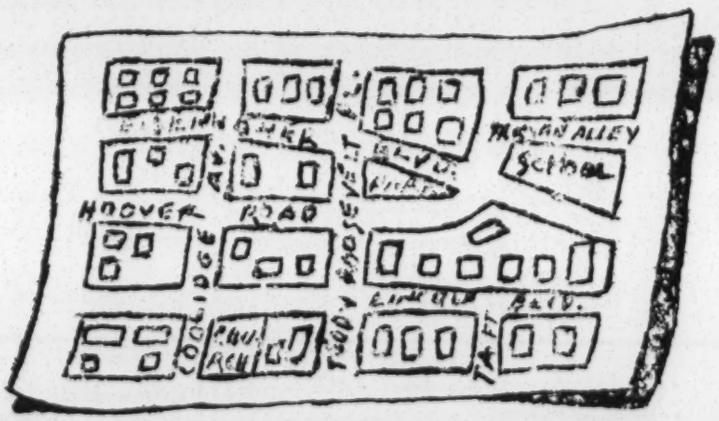
III Make a map of your precinct or voting district:

A. Names of streets.

B. Who lives where

1. House numbers and telephone numbers.
2. Families living at each house.
3. Length of residence.

C. Assign block numbers for easy reference.



IV Know the people

A. Know who is old enough and otherwise qualified to vote.
B. Know the affiliation or "leanings" of <u>every</u> potential voter in <u>every</u> house.
C. Arrange this information for handy use.

V Build and maintain a card file

A. File by streets and numbers.

B. Keep it up to date.

Address Name Telephone (Other needed information)

3x5

VI Train sound leadership

A. Don't "hog" it all

B. Build up several persons to places of leadership

1. Let them act for you at times.
2. Give them minor responsibilities over others as block workers, committee chairmen, etc.

C. Let the best one take your place when you move up or reach the peak of effectiveness.

D. You keep on being a worker.

VII Help build candidates

A. Help pick them and help get them around.

1. Candidates are most effective as they talk to PTA's, Boy Scouts, Service Clubs in off season months.
2. Candidates need strong boosters in every precinct. Help <u>find</u> candidates, get them to run, get them active, get them elected.

B. Keep in touch with them after election.

1. Help the elected onces keep campaign promises, they may be candidates for reelection.
2. If they lose, help the best ones to correct mistakes for another election or post.

VIII Sell the idea of giving money regularly.

A. Get a "buck" or a pledge and you'll get a vote.

. Let everyone in on this phase of activities.

1. Be sure every person is solicited regularly.
2. Develop everyone as a dues paying, card carrier.
3. Have you signed and sent in your pledge?

IX Welcome the newcomers

A. Get to them as soon as it's polite-offer help-invite them to neighborhood get-acquanited groups.
B. Old-fashioned friendliness can raise your favorable precinct vote by 10%.
C. Most elections are won or lost by a 5% margin.

X Now you are ready for election day - Do these things on that most important day:

A. Establish a watcher in (or near) the polling place with your card file.
B. Have watcher "Pull the Card" of each voter as he votes; mark "voted" for future reference.
C. About 3:00 P. M. pick up part of cards who have not voted.
D. Call them by phone-remind and help them vote.
E. Return cards to polling place, exchange for others not voted and call them.
F. Repeat the process until every voter has voted. There is no other way to win.
G. Watch the counting of votes.
H. See "Get Out the Vote" instructions for auxiliary activities.

XI Celebrate your victory

A. If your candidates are successful.
B. If you gained a dozen or more votes this time in your precinct, over last time - YOU WON!
C. Have a victory party for workers every time.
D. Visit other headquarters on election night, accompanied by workers.

XII Coordinate these suggestions with our:

A. "Get Out the Vote" Instructions.
B. "Bread and Meat" Objectives.
C. Roles of Public Officials.
D. Public Relations - Voter Registration Program.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - S. C. L. C.

"GETTING OUT THE VOTE"

The Voter-Registration Program in your area will be as dead as a doornail if the Qualified Voters STAY AT HOME on election day. Don't take it for granted that people are going to vote. Act Now!! After election day will be too late.

Don't use the shotgun technique, find out who is qualified to vote and aim all of our efforts straight at the qualified VOTER.

A. Secure a list of registered voters from the registrar's office; Look up telephone numbers.

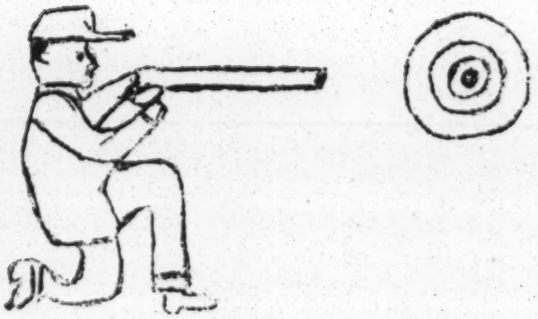
1. Prepare a personal contact card and a poll watcher's card for each qualified Voter. By use of carbon paper they can be prepared at one time from the Voter's List.

a. The contact card is the card used by volunteer block leaders to make personnal contact with each voter.

b. On this card, in the following order, put the voter's address, name (last name first), and phone number.

CONTACT CARD
201 Smith St.
Doe, John
PL 3-9184

3" X 5"



2. Now divide these cards according to addresses into units of no more than eight (8) each. (ex. if eight (8) voters live in the 200 block of Smith Street, take these persons' cards and wrap a rubber band around them. Now you have a unit of cards).

3. Find a volunteer voter in this unit who will contact the other seven (7) voters in the 200 block Smith St. (You will be suprised to find out that a simple phone call is all that is needed sometimes to secure a good volunteer.)

B. Select enough poll watchers to cover every voting place all day. The poll watcher's card is used by the poll watchers at each voting place.

1. This card (carbon copy of contact card) should contain, in the following order: address, name (last name first), and phone number.

3" X 5"

POLL WATCHERS CARD
201 Smith St.
Doe, John
PL 3-9184

2. These cards should be filed in alphabetical order according to precinct of voting districts (A shoe box makes a good file).

3. These cards will be used at the polls by the poll watchers. They will pull the Voters' cards as they come to the polls and notify their headquarters about tardy voters.

C. Divide the voters list into groups of 25 to 50 voters, assign one list to each telephone worker to call twice, once the week before election, and a second time the day before election.

ORGANIZATION

I. VOTING DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS AND CHAIRMAN

Each precinct or voting district should have a headquarters (someone's home will do) and a Precinct or District Chairman.

1. Headquarters --- a base for the "get out the vote project."

2. Headquarters Chairman --- it is duty of the Headquarters Chairman to direct operations.

3. Plan to give voting instructions at headquarters and in meetings.

II. WORKERS NEEDED ON ELECTION DAY

1. Cars for transportation (2 cars on call at the Voting District Headquarters).

2. Baby sitters (2 each on call at the Baby Sitters Headquarters).

3. Poll watchers (2 watchers each on two hour shifts). It will be the duty of these workers to report to headquarters the names of tardy voters. Headquarters in turn will contact these voters and get them to the polls. (Use your block workers).

4. Telephone workers, one for every 25 numbers, to call mostly in the evening.

5. Refreshment Committee -- this committee will furnish punch, cold drinks, cookies, coffee, donuts, etc., to the workers.

III. Time is short, adapt this information to fit your needs, but above all, it is important that you GET STATRED. No alibis after election, put ACTION into your Voter Registration Program.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Be sure to notify all voters as to the opening and closing hours of the polls. Urge voters to cast their ballots before foing to work. TOO EARLY is better than TOO LATE.

Rec'd 6/5/64

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

243 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA

June 4, 1964

Dear Chairman:

You will find enclosed a copy of a letter addressed to specified leaders in your district regarding a political education program. There is also attached a list of these persons, from which workshop leaders will be selected. Please make the necessary contacts and recommend one person from each county.

The idea is to have the person to participate in the Atlanta Clinic. He or she would then be responsible for conducting the program at the county-wide, as well as, the precinct or voting district level. In this way we would hope to reach every possible voter before we become involved in the 1964 political campaigns.

Kindly communicate to us at once any suggestions or recommendations you have in regard to the selections or the program. Certainly we would hope that you would also participate in the Atlanta Clinic, June 12-14. Please fill out and return the enclosed form by June 9, 1964 so that we may have your recommendations before making final selections.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Calhoun

J. H. Calhoun, Chairman
STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
GA. DIRECTOR, VOTER REGISTRATION, SCLC

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION ON VOTER EDUCATION CLINIC

To: Statewide Registration Committee
243 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

_____ I will attend the Voter Education Clinic in Atlanta

_____ I will not be able to participate in the workshop

I recommend the following persons for the Clinic: (one for each county)

COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS

Other Recommendations _____

_____

_____

Signed _____ Address _____

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
243 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia

June 4, 1964

Dear Fellow Citizen:

The present political situation and lack of benefits received in the past, make it almost imperative that we launch upon a statewide program of political education.

You are therefore invited to attend a non-partisan workshop on:

1. How to mark ballots, as well as, how to use voting machines.
2. How to vote for a "write-in" candidate.
3. How to vote an "absentee" ballot.
4. How to vote in referendums and on bond issues.
5. How to participate in a two-party primary.
6. How to make an use job and other opportunities for our people.

These sessions will be held from 3:00 P. M. Friday, June 12, thru Sunday morning, June 14, at the Waluhaje Apartments, 239 West Lake Ave., NW, Atlanta. All expenses to and from the Clinic, as well as, living expenses here, will be paid for one person from each county on a selective basis from those who respond promptly.

The plan is to train one hundred persons from various sections of the state, who will return to their sections and conduct similar workshops, on a voluntary basis, county by county, during the coming weeks. The number of new registered voters, the importance of all voters being able to vote intelligently and getting results from our votes, warrant your participation, if you should be named for your county.

If you cannot attend in person, please get together with other leaders and designate a person who is qualified and will sacrifice the time to help in educating the voters. Inasmuch as the number of participants must be limited to 100, and we hope, from 100 counties, please fill out and return the form below at once.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Calhoun

J. H. Calhoun, Chairman
STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
GA. DIRECTOR, VOTER-REGISTRATION, SCLC

TO: THE STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
243 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA, GA.

_____ I will serve as a workshop leader in my county or section if selected.
_____ I can attend the non-partisan Clinic June 12-14, in Atlanta, Ga., if chosen.
_____ I will not be able to attend the Clinic, but recommend the following persons:

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

SIGNED _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ COUNTY _____ TELEPHONE _____

GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

334 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia

June 4, 1964

Dear Fellow Citizen:

At the request of Senator Leroy Johnson and Rev. Andrew Young, we are asking you to attend a leadership Conference, Wednesday, June 10, 1964 at 1:00 P. M., in B. B. Beamon's Restaurant, 235 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga.

Inasmuch as this will be a luncheon meeting it is requested that you make a reservation by filling out and returning the form below. The purpose of this meeting will be to devise ways and means of securing jobs and other services from the State Government. Senator Johnson is particularly anxious to have present at this or a late meeting, leaders who are particular friends of members of the General Assembly.

This is proposed as a statewide leadership conference and travel expenses to and from the meeting will be paid for those who attend. Please send in your reply by Monday, June 8. Plans for the Political Education Clinic scheduled for June 12-14 will also be discussed.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Calhoun

J. H. Calhoun, Chairman
STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
Co-Chairman, GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE

Wm. P. Randall

Wm. P. Randall
Co-Chairman, GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE

TO: GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE
334 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

_____ I will attend the Leadership Conference in Atlanta on June 10, 1964.

_____ I will not be able to attend the meeting, but will be represented by:

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

SIGNED _____ ADDRESS _____

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC
SUGGESTED AGENDA - WORKSHOP ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
WALUHAJE BALLROOM - JUNE 12-14, 1964

Friday - June 12 - Waluhaje Ballroom - Registration

3:00 PM - 4:15 PM Setting the Stage - Program, scope, Organization scope; introduction of staff.

4:15 PM - 6:00 PM Film: "Right Now," if available, with appropriate introductory remarks and discussion period.

6:00 PM - 7:30 PM Dinner - Waluhaje Dining Room - Speaker, Mr. Theodore Appling, Fort Valley, Peach County, Ga.

7:30 PM - 9:30 PM Why Register and Vote - Bread and Meat Objectives - Roles of Public Officials - State Employment

Saturday - June 13

8:30 AM - 10:00 AM Breakfast - Waluhaje Dining Room - Speaker, Mrs. _____ Johnson, Birmingham, Jefferson County, Ala.

10:00 AM - 12:30 PM Organizing for Political Education - Waluhaje Ballroom

A. At the County Level.
B. At the Voting District or Precinct Level.
C. Role of the U. S. Congressional District Chairman.
D. Role of the SCLC Field Staff.
E. Recruiting Volunteer Workers.
F. Preparation of Card Files on Registered Voters.
G. Organization of Committees.
1. Telephone
2. Transportation
3. Baby Sitters
4. Poll Watchers
H. Financing.

12;30 PM - 12:45 PM Coffee Break

12:45 PM - 1:45 PM Problems Clinic - Opportunity to share, in small groups, problems with which help is needed.

1:45 PM - 3:30 PM Lunch - Waluhaje Dining Room - Speaker, Mr. _____ Mitchell, Tuskegee, Macon County, Ala.

3:30 PM - 5:30 PM Voting Procedures

A. Use of Voting Machines
B. How to Mark Ballots
C. Absentee Ballots
D. Write-in Ballots
E. Voting "Split" Tickets
F. Bond Issues and Referendums

5:30 PM - 7:00 PM. Dinner - Waluhaje Dining Room - Speaker, Mr._____ Riddick, Suffolk, Nansemond County, Va.

7:00 PM - 8:00 PM Panel Discussion - Getting out the Vote - Dining Room

Sunday - June 14

8:30 AM - 9:30 AM Breakfast - Waluhaje Dining Room - Speaker, Mr._____ Baggs, Liberty County, Ga.

9:30 AM - 10:30 AM Summation O- Evaluation of Workshop

243 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
June 6, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

JUN 8 - 1964

Dear Mr. Branton:

Pursuant to the several telephone conversations, conferences and exchanges of material, I am enclosing herewith an estimate of the cost of the workshop which is scheduled to be held at the Waluhaje Apartments, June 12-14, 1964 and a suggested agenda:

I Place - Waluhaje Apartments, 239 West Lake Avenue, N. W., Atlanta

A. Waluhaje Ballroom for sessions. $ 50.00
B. Waluhaje Dining Room for Meals.

II Lodging

A. Waluhaje Apartments

1. Rates - $5.00 per night per person
2. Facilities - Tentative - 2 nights
   a. 13 double rooms 26 persons
   b. 4 Large Triple rooms 12 "
   c. 3 Suites (Possible) 12 "
   d. 4 Single Rooms 4 " Total 54 Persons
3. Estimated Cost 540.00

B. Morris Brown College - Quadrangle

1. Rates - $3.50 per night per person
2. 25 double rooms - 50 Persons
3. Estimated cost 350.00

III Meals - Waluhaje Dining Room

A. 2 Breakfasts - Saturday and Sunday	@ $1.03	$206.00	
B. 1 Coffe Break - Saturday	.30	30.00	
C. 1 Luncheon - Saturday	.85	85.00	
D. 2 Dinners - Friday	2.50	250.00	
Saturday	2.00	200.00	
		$771.00	
E. Tax and Service		100.23	871.23
			$1,811.23

As you will recall, the estimated budget on this phase of the Political Education program was $2,000.00. Your attention is also invited to the fact that we propose to use paid, instead of volunteer supervisors or co-ordinators.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Calhoun

J. H. CALHOUN, Chairman
Statewide Registration Committee
Ga. Director, Voter-Registration, SCLC

Cc Messrs. Young, Blackwell, Mrs. Whitaker

~~Projects Pending~~

June 15, 1964

Mr. J. H. Calhoun, Chairman
Statewide Registration Committee
243 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Georgia Voter
RE: Registration Program

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

In order that there will be no misunderstanding regarding the position of the Voter Education Project with reference to the proposed statewide registration program, I decided to put my views into writing.

When VEP was established, it was the intention of all concerned that VEP funds would be used to supplement the programs of participating agencies. While many agencies have continued to raise money locally for registration programs, it appears that there has been almost no effort at fund raising in the Atlanta community, or in the state of Georgia. The Statewide Registration Committee had been operating for quite some time when VEP was organized, and they were getting money from various organizations to support the program. It now appears that nothing is being done unless funds come directly or indirectly from VEP. This is tragic, and does not speak well for the idea of an ongoing continuing program when VEP ends this year.

VEP must, at all times, maintain a non-partisan program in order to protect our tax exemption, and we must scrutinize much more closely a voter education program than we would a registration program, as the latter is more easily susceptible to partisan influence. This is the reason that we should have as detailed a proposal as possible in considering any request for a strictly voter education program, and we need to know exactly what is going to be done, and who is going to

participate. Obviously, we need this information in sufficient time to reach a decision concerning a grant.

By way of review of your proposal, our files reflect the following:

On May 8, 1964, there was hand delivered to the VEP office, a budget seeking $11,000 for a voter education project, $ 4,000 of which was earmarked for a May 22-23 meeting in Atlanta, involving approximately 100 persons. There was no program, or any other information included with the budget other than a copy of the invitational letter to people over the state. On May 13, we received a copy of your program for the first time, but since this request came from you rather from SCLC, we informed you immediately that we wanted to know the attitude of SCLC regarding this request. On May 15, I received a letter from the Rev. Andrew Young supporting your request generally, and in a telephone conversation, he agreed that the actual details of the program needed to be worked out, and that you should not attempt to have a program as early as May 22, and that you should seek to have it at a later date after the details had been worked out. On May 20, we received a list from you of the prospective participants for the Atlanta conference, and I then asked Mrs. Whitaker, our Research Assistant, to study the entire proposal and make some recommendations. On June 2, Mrs. Whitaker made a recommendation that we generally support a political education program, and I conferred with her about the matter and suggested to her that your item for transportation seemed to me to be too high; that you should attempt to get ITC or old Gammon for your meeting so as to reduce the housing cost, and that you try to arrange your meetings so that we would only have to house the participants one night.

On June 5, we received a copy of your letter of June 4 to the district chairmen inviting people to attend an Atlanta clinic on June 12-14. Since VEP had not approved any budget for such a meeting, and you appeared to allow only a week for your county leaders to find out who could attend and get the information back to you, we concluded that this was something that you were not asking VEP to support. I had further reason to think that this was a non-VEP program because of the

fact that another letter was attached inviting key people to attend a leadership conference in Atlanta on June 10 at which time travel expenses were to be paid, and there was also included a copy of, "The Republican Southern Challenge" which clearly is partisan. I was in New York on June 8 when your letter of June 6 arrived, and upon my return the next day, I discovered for the first time that you were asking VEP to pay for your statewide clinic scheduled for June 12-14. At this time, I did not know what had happened to my suggestion regarding the use of ITC or some other place, and I noted that the program would require participants to arrive on Friday and leave on Sunday, which would involve two nights lodging. I immediately called you and was informed that ITC and the other places were not available, and the Waluhaje and Morris Brown were the best housing arrangements you could make. Your program called for dinner speakers on Friday and Saturday, a luncheon speaker on Saturday, and breakfast speakers on Saturday and Sunday, and when I talked with you on the phone on June 10, I learned not a single one of these speakers had at that time been invited, even though the meeting was just a couple of days off. Mrs. Whitaker tells me that she agreed to write letters in support of this invitation to the proposed speakers (particularly the out-of-state ones), but she did not learn of your plans for a June 12 meeting until June 5. You apparently had agreed when we were talking last Wednesday that sufficient planning had not gone into the program, and informed me that you would cancel it.

We still feel that this could be a good program, but it will require careful planning and thought. In order that you and SCLC will know what you can expect from VEP, I can tell you now that we are willing to approve a tentative grant in an amount not to exceed $3,000 in support of a statewide conference in Atlanta to train leaders from seventy to one hundred counties who agree to go back to their respective communities and train others in political education on a non-partisan basis. The program which you have previously outlined is all right to use with the exception of the fact that it should involve only two days, rather than a period of three days. Effort should still be made to secure less costly housing,

and these participants and speakers should have more than a one-week notice, particularly your speakers. Upon satisfactory assurances to me that this kind of program is being planned, we can issue our check to SCLC.

The last phase of your proposal has to do with travel and expense money for county leaders, and while we have not reached any decision regarding this phase of your program, I want to make it clear that our approval of the first phase as described above in no way implies any commitment that we will support the second phase. VEP is primarily a research program, and if the performance of your district chairmen in failing to give us the two progress reports which were required following the "Citizenship Clinics" is any indication of what we can expect in the way of progress reports if we support Phase Two, I can tell you now that we will not support it. I would hope that I can have sufficient notice of your statewide conferences so that I can arrange my own schedule to be present and make a personal plea and explanation regarding the reports which we would want.

The other problem as I see it in connection with Phase Two is the fact that we must have some clear understanding of who is going to be in charge of this part of the program. Since the program has already been delayed several weeks, it is obvious that you will be involved in partisan politics very shortly, and there will be no one supervising the program, unless SCLC is going to designate someone who will really get the job done. I have strong feelings at the moment that such follow-up work as might be done by the people who will participate in the Atlanta conference ought to be supported by the local community, or from funds other than VEP's, but I am completely open-minded regarding a grant if I can be assured of some effective direction of the program.

This letter has been unusually lenghhy, but I consider it more in the nature of a memo for our research files, that is why it is perhaps more than I normally insert in a letter. Let me assure you of my personal admiration for your great contribution to the cause of voter registration in the state of Georgia, and any criticism which I have offered has come from a deep sense of obligation to protect and maintain the objectives of VEP, and I must consider these objectives as

paramount to the specific plans and objectives of our participating agencies.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

cc: The Rev. Andrew Young

MAY 13 1964 bWr Return to WB

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SCLC
SUMMARY OF SUGGESTED POLITICAL EDUCATION PROGRAM - MAY 15 - JULY 15, 1964

I Two-day political education clinic

A. Staff meeting May 18 to outline program and make assignments for discussions

1. Director, J. H. Calhoun, Chairman, Statewide Registration Committee

2. Field Staff

a. Hosea Williams, Savannah
b. Rev. Samuel A. Wells, Albany
c. Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Atlanta
d. Theodore Appling, Fort Valley
e. Toombs McLendon, Washington

3. Resource persons

a. Rev. Andfew Young, SCLC
b. Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, SCLC
c. Mrs. Barbara Whitaker, VEP
d. Randolph Blackwell, VEP

B. Workshop - Staff - Friday, May 22 to Sunday, May 24, 1964 - 100 PERSONS

1. Place - Waluhaje Apartments

a. Lodging for 50 persons
b. Others to be assigned downtown

2. Bamboo Room, Waluhaje for meetings

3. Meals - Waluhaje Dining Room

II Suggested Program - Assignments to be made from staff and resource persons

A. How to get out the vote - Organization

1. Get out the vote instructions

2. Materials

a. 3x5 cards
b. File boxes
c. Other supplies

B. How to mark ballots in Georgia

1. Sample ballots
2. Excepps from Georgia law

C. How to use voting machines

1. Photographs of voting machines with their pointers
2. Small scale model voting machines
3. Material on referendum voting

D. How to "write-in" votes

1. On paper ballots
2. On voting machines
3. Excerps from Georgia law

E. How to vote an absentee ballot

1. Sample absentee ballots
2. Excerps from Georgia law

F. Field activities

1. One workshop participant to be responsible for each county

2. County wide workshops - One in each county

a. Invite representative leaders from each voting district.
b. Call in field staff and other county leaders to lead discussions
c. Follow same program as outlined for staff workshop

3. Voting district workshops

a. Participants in county-wide workshop to conduct them
b. Invite all registered voters in the voting district

4. County workshop programs to be supervised by field staff

III Periods of concentration for field work

A. Preparation and assembling of materials May 25 to May 31

B. County workshops - June 1-15

C. Voting district clinics - June 16-July 15

From J. H. Calhoun

Hand delivered
5/8/64

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - S. C. L. C.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT - MAY 12 - JULY 15, 1964 - SUGGESTED BUDGET

I	Statewide Workshop - Atlanta, Ga., May 23, 1964		
	A. Travel 100 persons, round trip	$2,000.00	
	B. Lodging " " 2 nights	1,200.00	
	C. Meals " " @ 1.50	750.00	
	D. Rental - Meeting Rooms	50.00	
		4,000.00	$ 4,000.00
II	Travel and Expenses - 100 Counties		
	A. Travel @ $25.00 each 100	$2,500.00	
	B. Organization Expense 100 Counties	2,500.00	5,000.00
III	Office and Staff -		
	A. Director and Assistants	$1,500.00	
	B. Clerical	300.00	
	C. Material and Supplies	100.00	
	D. Telephone and Telegraph	100.00	
	E. Travel	200.00	1,700.00
			$10,700.00
IV	Contingencies		300.00
			$11,000.00

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

243 Auburn Avenue, N. E., At Atlanta, Georgia

May 8, 1964

Dear Fellow Citizen:

The political implications of 1964 make it almost imperative that we launch upon a statewide program of political education.

You are therefore invited and urged to participate in a non-partisan workshop to discuss such subjects as:

1. How to mark ballots, as well as, how to use voting machines.
2. How to vote for a "write-in" candidate.
3. How to vote an "absentee" ballot.
4. How to vote in referendums and on bond issues.
5. How to participate in a two-party primary.
6. How to get out the largest possible vote in a county.

These sessions will be held from 7:00 P. M. Friday, May 22, thru Saturday, May 23 at the Waluhaje Apartments, 239 West Lake Avenue, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. All expenses to and from the Clinic, as well as, living expenses here, will be paid.

The plan is to train one hundred persons from various sections of the state, who will return to their sections and conduct similar workshops, on a voluntary basis, county by county, during the coming weeks. The number of new registered voters, as well as, the importance of all voters being able to vote intelligently, warrants your participation.

If you cannot attend in person, please designate a person to take your place, whom you feel is qualified and will sacrifice the time to help in educating our voters. Inasmuch as the number of participants must be limited to 100, and we hope, in as many counties, you are urged to fill out and return the form below.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. CALHOUN, CHAIRMAN
STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
Ga. Director, Voter-Registration, SCLC

TO: THE STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
243 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

____ I will attend the non-partisam Clinic on May 22-23, 1964, in Atlanta, Ga.
____ I will not be able to attend the Clinic, but recommend the following person:

Name_____ Address_____

Signed_____ Address_____

City_____ County_____ Telephonw_____

Special 'How to Win' Edition

The Republican
SOUTHERN
CHALLENGE

EDITORS
FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT

Published by the Republican National Committee, Southern Division, 1625 Eye St. N.W., Washington, D. C.

Organization is Key to Victory

"Party organization is about nine-tenths of the battle . . . So, when you ask on what grounds I predict a Republican victory this fall, I reply that we have the organization—the organization we didn't have in 1960."

That was the key to a talk by Republican National Committee Chairman William E. Miller in a recent appearance before the National Press Club. The chairman went on to state that "In the House of Representatives and in state and local contests, I also anticipate a strong Repubican upsurge this year. We will be trying in more areas, especially in the South."

After suffering a one-vote-a-precinct loss in 1960, Republicans have concentrated on building stronger precinct organizations. Much has been accomplished, but more work remains and more helpers are needed. "Challenge" this month is a "precinct leader's handbook," to help accomplish that job.

With the 1960 results still fresh in mind, few persons need to be convinced of the importance of precinct organization. But the lesson is retaught every campaign. Just last month, in heavily Democratic Bowie, Md., a Republican was elected mayor —by one vote.

Perhaps the most repeated question in politics is the query of the concerned citizen who asks, "How can I help?" The answer is contained in these pages. Only two things remain: Pick up the telephone and notify your local GO-Party leader that you want to help, and get a comfortable pair of walking shoes.

Precinct Manual—Page 4

More Candidates, Workers Are Results of MORE Plan

By Raymond V. Humphreys
Director of Education and Training
Republican National Committee

If "Help Wanted" ads had been printed in every newspaper and placards bearing the same message had been placed on the front doors of every Republican headquar-

(Continued on Page 3)

To Receive Southern Challenge Each Month, See Page 7

CITIZENS NON-PARTISAN VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

March 22, 1960

Dear Citizen:

In connection with recent developments in our community VOTER REGISTRATION has a very important role to play. At a mass meeting held at Bethel A.M.E. Church on March 14, I was appointed by the body of people present to convene respresentive individuals from across the community for the purpose of organizing a CITY-WIDE NON-PARTISAN VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN.

It is not necessary for me to comment upon the merits of a crusade for Voter Registration. The simple fact that less than 25% of the Nashvillians eligible to vote are registered is indicative of the great need for our campaign.

You are requested, therefore, to attend our organizational meeting along with another representative from your organization to be held at the 18th Avenue Community Center, Tuesday Evening March 29, at 7:30 P.M. The Key citizens from all of Nashville will be present. We are looking forward to you and your organizational representative being there.

Yours in the spirit of
greater Voter Registration,

Vivian W. Henderson

Vivian W. Henderson
Temporary Chairman

VWH/mh

Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

P. S. 18th Avenue Community Center, Tuesday, March 29th, 7:30 P.M.

PLEASE BE PRESENT

BLOCK WORKERS REPORT SHEET

PRECINCT _____ WARD _____

STREET _____ FROM _____ TO _____

BLOCK WORKER _____

ADDRESS _____ TELEPHONE _____

NUMBER.	NAME	PHONE	RESISTERED Yes or No	NEED TRANSPORTATION	

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Rec'd 9/21

September 19, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Doctor Dunbar~~ Leslie:

Last night I had an opportunity to read through your memorandum of September 13 with regard to the voter registration project. I like what you are proposing very much and have no suggestions to make. I think this is an unusually splendid opportunity for SRC to co-ordinate an effort in which we are all tremendously interested.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

Pending

December 13, 1961

Mr. Victor Weingarten
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Weingarten:

I am glad you were able to reach the Amsterdam News and to effect the agreement you have. As I understand it this means a Friday release. This has not usually been a good day for us but in this case, where we are not eager for space, it is all right.

I believe I told you, the plan is that our announcement of the project will be fairly brief and unexciting. This would be followed two or three days later by a joint announcement from the other agencies; for this, the hope would be to get as much attention as possible and I believe that a Sunday or Monday release, probably Monday, would be best. I assume that your agreement with the Amsterdam News does not affect this.

This would seem to me to be so because after SRC's announcement, the story is out and a paper can do as much as it wants. The joint announcement from the other agencies will be a follow-up, a call, a statement of intentions.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

VICTOR WEINGARTEN *Public Relations*

10 EAST 44TH STREET · NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 2-0283

DECEMBER 11, 1961

MR. LESTER DUNBAR
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, NW
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR MR. DUNBAR:

WE HAVE BEEN HAVING A TRYING TIME HERE WITH THE AMSTERDAM NEWS, WHICH HAS PIECED TOGETHER, FROM A VARIETY OF SOURCES, THE BULK OF THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT AND THE FOUNDATION'S ROLE IN IT.

FINALLY, AFTER MUCH CONVERSATION WITH JAMES BOOKER, THEIR REPORTER, AND JAMES HICKS, THEIR EDITOR, WE HAVE WORKED OUT AN AGREEMENT THAT THEY WOULD NOT BREAK THEIR STORY PREMATURELY AND WOULD ALSO KEEP THE DONOR'S NAME ANONYMOUS.

IN RETURN FOR THIS AGREEMENT, I TOLD THEM THAT THE STORY, WHEN RELEASED, WOULD COME FROM YOUR OFFICE AND THAT I WOULD ASK YOU TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT THEY WERE NOT BEATEN ON THEIR OWN STORY.

WHEN YOU ARE READY TO RELEASE THE STORY,THEREFORE, WOULD YOU PLEASE BEAR MR. BOOKER AND HIS PAPER IN MIND. THEIR DEADLINE IS TUESDAY FOR FRIDAY PUBLICATION. WHEN THE STORY IS RELEASED, THEREFORE, WILL YOU PLEASE SEE THAT THEY HAVE IT IN AMPLE TIME TO MAKE THEIR FRIDAY EDITION. THEY ARE NOT SEEKING AN EXCLUSIVE FOR IT. THEY DO WANT ASSURANCE THAT THE RELEASE DATE WILL COINCIDE WITH THEIR PUBLICATION DATE.

I BELIEVE THIS IS FAIR AND REASONABLE INASMUCH AS THEY COULD HAVE PRINTED THE STORY-VIRTUALLY 100% CORRECTLY-THIS PAST WEEK.

I WOULD APPRECIATE ANY STEPS YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES CAN TAKE TO ASSURE THIS. IF, FOR ANY REASON, YOU BELIEVE YOU CANNOT DO SO, PLEASE LET ME KNOW SO THAT I CAN TALK WITH THEM AGAIN, AND EXPLAIN ANY DIFFICULTIES THIS MIGHT MEAN FOR YOU WHICH WOULD PREVENT COMPLIANCE. I WOULD NOT WANT THEM TO FEEL THAT EITHER THE FOUNDATION OR I HAVE MISLED THEM OR BROKEN OUR PROMISE TO THEM.

WITH BEST WISHES,

CORDIALLY,

Vic Weingarten

VICTOR WEINGARTEN

Publicity

January 2, 1962

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

First, let me tell you that Wiley A. Branton has accepted the job of Project Director. He has already begun work, on a part time basis, and as soon as he can close down his law office in Pine Bluff will be here full time. He expects that this will be before February.

Second, Wiley will be grateful for your suggestions of qualified persons to fill the two Field Consultant positions we had planned. If you have names to suggest, please communicate directly with him at his present address: 119 East Barraque Street, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Third, George Barrett, of Nashville, will during the next 6-8 weeks assist Wiley in getting the program started.

Fourth, I have to apologize to you for being slow in sending out the draft of the public announcement. A number of problems, however, had to be thought out. The draft is enclosed now, and we would appreciate your comments as soon as you conveniently can consider and respond to the draft.

There are several points which should be noted. One is that we have decided that our original plan of issuing an announcement will not work. We now think that your joint announcement should be the first public word, and that we shall make no separate announcement.

I believe you were wise in deciding that there should be no press conference. That decision creates, however, a mechanical

problem which has to be solved. The announcement has to come from some place - there has to be an office which reporters can call for further information. We think there is value in the announcement coming out of the South.

Will you please let us know your views? Our recommendation to you is that the announcement be released from the Southern Field Division of the National Urban League. If this were done, it would be desirable for Whitney Young to come down at the time of the release.

We shall follow our earlier plan, and hold an on-the-record discussion with the press, at the time of the announcement, in order to background interested reporters on our role.

In the draft we have listed your and the other organizations in order of age. In the last paragraph we have listed your and the other names alphabetically.

The statement of principles was hard to compose. I hope you will study it carefully.

After your criticisms, suggestions, etc. are received, we'll get on the phone with each of you until there is common agreement.

The lawyers seem to think that Treasury will have ruled by mid-January. Hopefully, the announcement can be issued before the end of this month. In the meantime, we should all do what we can to keep the story from spreading.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
cc: M. Rich

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Publicity

Clearcopy Onion Skin

MEMORANDA

January 2, 1962

TO: John Wheeler
Wiley Branton
George Barrett
Harold Fleming
Victor Weingarten

FROM: Leslie W. Dunbar

The same letter as enclosed was sent to N.A.A.C.P., National Urban League, C.O.R.E., the S.C.L.C., and S.N.C.C.

I would be very grateful to have frank criticisms or suggestions from you.

(Draft)

The Voter Education Project has been established by the Southern Regional Council to study voter registration in southern states.

The Project, which is expected to continue for two years, will be devoted to a study of the factors which cause southern voting participation to lag behind national levels. It will give major emphasis to analyzing the most effective means for enlarging the southern electorate.

The Voter Education Project is designed to use the experience of various persons and groups concerned with low voting in the South. Assurances of support and cooperation have, therefore, been obtained from several agencies, and funds will be made available to them to cover the costs of their contributions. These agencies will conduct registration drives, and the methods and results will be analyzed and evaluated by the Project. The Council expects to publish ~~review~~ conclusions of the study in 1964. The Voter Project also aims to become a non-partisan clearing house for ideas and information, and will serve in this way all those agencies and groups working for a more democratic franchise in the South.

Director of the Project will be Mr. Wiley A. Branton. In order to head the Project, Mr. Branton will leave his law practice in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, where he has also served as attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. Mr. Branton graduated from Arkansas A.M. & N. College and the school of Law of the University of Arkansas.

(draft)

The Voter Education Project has been established by the Southern Regional Council ~~for the~~ to study ~~of~~ voter registration in southern states.

The Project, which is expected to continue for two years, will be devoted to a study of the factors which cause southern voting participation to lag behind national levels. It will give major emphasis to analyzing the most effective means for enlarging the southern electorate.

The Voter Education Project is designed to ~~draw upon~~ use the experience ~~already accumulated by~~ of various persons and groups ~~who have been~~ concerned with ~~the problem of~~ low voting in the South. Assurances of support and cooperation have, therefore, been obtained from several agencies, and funds will be made available to them to cover the costs of their contributions. These agencies will conduct registration drives, and the methods and results will be analyzed and evaluated by the Project. The Council hopes to publish conclusions of the study ~~conclusions of the study will be published, it is anticipated~~, in 1964. ~~It is hoped that~~ the Voter Education Project ~~will~~ also aims to become ~~also~~ a non-partisan clearing house for ideas and information, and will serve in this way all those agencies and groups working for a more democratic franchise in the South.

Director of the Project will be Mr. Wiley A. Branton. ~~In order to head the Project~~, Mr. Branton will leave his law practice in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, where he has also served as ~~the~~ attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. Mr. Branton graduated from Arkansas A.M.& N. College and the school of Law of the University of Arkansas.

Voter Registration

CONFIDENTIAL

January 5, 1962

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Lucas:

As you know, a united drive to increase voter registration in the South is about to get underway. There is now being circulated among the five agencies most directly involved drafts of a news release and a statement of aims. For obvious reasons, these are confidential at this point but copies are enclosed for your information.

Through the Voter Education Project the Southern Regional Council will participate in this effort. We do so because we are convinced that one of the most vital potentials for change lies within the area of increased registration and voting on the part of all of the region's citizens. We also feel that this will, if successfully executed, greatly enrich the whole of American life.

It has occurred to us that these five agencies would be greatly strengthened by having the aims of this voter registration program endorsed by those national agencies whose commitment and interest in the general field of human relations is well known. Such an endorsement very likely should be a part of the news release announcing the drive. Certainly, we number the American Jewish Committee among that group and would like with this letter to invite your consideration of this suggestion.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

January 5, 1962

Mr. Will Maslow, Director
Department of Public Affairs
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Maslow:

As you know, a united drive to increase voter registration in the South is about to get underway. There is now being circulated among the five agencies most directly involved drafts of a news release and a statement of aims. For obvious reasons, these are confidential at this point but copies are enclosed for your information.

Through the Voter Education Project the Southern Regional Council will participate in this effort. We do so because we are convinced that one of the most vital potentials for change lies within the area of increased registration and voting on the part of all of the region's citizens. We also feel that this will, if successfully executed, greatly enrich the whole of American life.

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With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

January 5, 1962

Mrs. Dudley Moore, Director
Department of Community Service -USA
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Moore:

As you know, a united drive to increase voter registration in the South is about to get underway. There is now being circulated among the five agencies most directly involved drafts of a news release and a statement of aims. For obvious reasons, these are confidential at this point but copies are enclosed for your information.

Through the Voter Education Project the Southern Regional Council will participate in this effort. We do so because we are convinced that one of the most vital potentials for change lies within the area of increased registration and voting on the part of all of the region's citizens. We also feel that this will, if successfully executed, greatly enrich the whole of American life.

It has occurred to us that these five agencies would be greatly strengthened by having the aims of this voter registration program endorsed by those national agencies whose commitment and interest in the general field of human relations is well known. Such an endorsement very likely should be a part of the news release announcing the drive. Certainly, we number the Unitarian Service Committee among that group and would like with this letter to invite your consideration of this suggestion.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

January 5, 1962

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Fairfax:

As you know, a united drive to increase voter registration in the South is about to get underway. There is now being circulated among the five agencies most directly involved drafts of a news release and a statement of aims. For obvious reasons, these are confidential at this point but copies are enclosed for your information.

Through the Voter Education Project the Southern Regional Council will participate in this effort. We do so because we are convinced that one of the most vital potentials for change lies within the area of increased registration and voting on the part of all of the region's citizens. We also feel that this will, if successfully executed, greatly enrich the whole of American life.

It has occurred to us that these five agencies would be greatly strengthened by having the aims of this voter registration program endorsed by those national agencies whose commitment and interest in the general field of human relations is well known. Such an endorsement very likely should be a part of the news release announcing the drive. Certainly, we number the American Friends Service Committee among that group and would like with this letter to invite your consideration of this suggestion.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

January 5, 1962

The Rev. John B. Morris
Executive Director
The Episcopal Society for Cultural
and Racial Unity
Room 200, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Morris:

As you know, a united drive to increase voter registration in the South is about to get underway. There is now being circulated among the five agencies most directly involved drafts of a news release and a statement of aims. For obvious reasons, these are confidential at this point but copies are enclosed for your information.

Through the Voter Education Project the Southern Regional Council will participate in this effort. We do so because we are convinced that one of the most vital potentials for change lies within the area of increased registration and voting on the part of all of the region's citizens. We also feel that this will, if successfully executed, greatly enrich the whole of American life.

It has occurred to us that these five agencies would be greatly strengthened by having the aims of this voter registration program endorsed by those national agencies whose commitment and interest in the general field of human relations is well known. Such an endorsement very likely should be a part of the news release announcing the drive. Certainly, we number the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity among that group and would like with this letter to invite your consideration of this suggestion.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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Marvin Rich
community relations director

James Farmer
national director

January 9, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have read with much interest your letter of January 2nd and the draft of the public announcement which you enclosed. We approve of the draft as prepared by you. We also approve of your recommendation that the announcement be released from the Southern Field Division of the National Urban League, and that Whitney Young come down at the time of the release. The statement of principles also meets with our approval. I think it is a good statement.

I am pleased to know that Wiley A. Branton has accepted the job of Project Director. Attorney Branton helped to defend the first Freedom Riders arrested in Mississippi, of which I was one, and I was much impressed with his grasp of the total struggle.

I hope that the Project gets under way very shortly. We are anxiously awaiting its launching, and look forward with much pleasure to our participation in it.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/cc

Publicity

January 18, 1962

Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League, Inc
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Whitney:

Thank you for your letter of January 12, and the attached program statement of the Urban League. The latter I have passed on to Wiley Branton, with the comment that the plans outlined appeared to me both carefully conceived and realistic.

Your news about Hekman Sweatt is interesting. I have heard good things of him.

Much as I personally want to agree with you, I don't think a public announcement can be delayed much longer. The latest issue of Jet reminds us again that there is public interest which has to be satisfied and should be accurately informed.

As to your handling the announcement, I think this idea, attractive as it might be, can be dropped, especially in view of your reluctance. Both you by letter and the SCLC and the SNCC orally have suggested that Branton's office release the statement, and we have no objection. In fact, this may be the only practical plan. CORE, incidentally, approved of your role; I have not heard from the NAACP.

On the other hand, Martin King has discussed with me the possible value of reversing the earlier decision and holding a press conference. He has some interesting reasons, and I asked that he write me a letter setting them forth. If Martin decides to do this I shall share his letter with you and the others.

To: Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr.
January 18, 1962

I think your point about emphasizing in the announcement that each agency would play a role consistent with its traditional methods is a good one. I am sure this will make sense to the other agencies, and will therefore amend the announcement.

Regarding the statement of aims, SCLC and SNCC orally have expressed general satisfaction, and CORE has written approval. You may be right that it is not needed. I believe still that there would be value in some such statement, issued at the time of the announcement, hopefully designed to put the campaign on an elevated plane in popular opinion and to put its critics on the defensive. As to the particular draft, we have no pride of authorship.

I'll be in touch with you again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

cc: Mr. James Farmer
Mr. Charles McDew
The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker
Mr. Roy Wilkins
Mr. Wiley Branton

Publicity

COPY

January 19, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 S Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is my attempt to put into writing my suggestion made to you a few days ago in conversation.

It is my sincere feeling that my earlier comment that a press conference, held in conjunction with the public announcement of the Southwide Drive, might be beneficial in some way. I am more persuaded now due to the reports in the various news media that there is 'division' and 'disunity' among the agencies. This coordinated effort could get off to a tremendous start. At the same moment, the visual impact of the titular heads of the major civil rights organizations assembled for such an announcement would do much to dispel any doubt in the minds of our supporters and counter-act the indictments of our detractors.

My finhl suggestion would be in the vein of suggesting that if a press conference is held, Roy Wilkins should be the spokesman for the agencies since he is the head of the senior organization involved.

I trust that this matter will be given the studied concern of all those involved.

Very truly yours,

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Km
cc: Messrs. Roy Wilkins, Wiley Branton, James Farmer, James Forman, Whitney Young.
Dictated by Dr. King, but signed in his absence.

Victor Weingarten Company INC.

creative communications | 10 EAST 44th STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y., MURRAY HILL 2-0283

MMB ~~Interim~~ for Wiley Branton
PAV
JMV
MLV
PRV
return LD

JANUARY 19, 1962

MR. LESLIE DUNBAR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR LESLIE:

I HAVE TALKED TO STEPHEN CURRIER, JANE LEE EDDY AND MR. DE WIND ABOUT OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION, AND ALSO ABOUT THE LEAK IN "JET" MAGAZINE.

MR. DE WIND'S OPINION IS THAT WE STILL HAVE TO AWAIT THE IRS RULING. HE SAYS THAT HE BELIEVES THAT WILEY BLANTON SPOKE TO BURKE MARSHALL ABOUT SPEEDING UP THE PROCESSING LAST WEEK, AND HE WILL SPEAK AGAIN TO MITCHELL ROGOSIN, BUT IT IS STILL HIS OPINION THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD AWAIT IRS APPROVAL.

I KNOW THE PROBLEM YOU ARE UP AGAINST, BUT I DO THINK WE HAVE TO BE GUIDED BY MR. DE WIND'S ADVICE.

WITH VERY BEST WISHES,

CORDIALLY,

Vic Weingarten

VICTOR WEINGARTEN

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

??????????????
Address
Telephone

Friday A. M. Papers
January , 1962

A united drive to increase voter registration in the South was announced today by the heads of five civil rights organizations.

Joining in the announcement were Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League; James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality; the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Charles McDew, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee. ~~The announcement was released by from~~

The five organizations stated that they would coordinate their programs in a greatly enlarged campaign. The drive, which will be non-partisan, will be launched immediately and will be conducted simultaneously on two planes. One effort will be directed at overcoming voter indifference and apathy. A second will be aimed at securing the registration of Negroes in those areas of the South where racial discrimination exists.

1-Publicity (old)

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE

??????????????
Address
Telephone

Friday A. M. Papers
January , 1962

The five organizations said further that they would co-operate with the Voter Education Project, established by the Southern Regional Council, and directed by Mr. Wiley A. Branton.

In addition to the announcement and accompanying it, Messrs. Farmer, McDew, Wilkins, Young, and Dr. King issued a statement of principles which they said motivated and would guide the registration drive.

WHAT IS OUR AIM?

The agencies we represent have announced today their plans to campaign for a large increase in voter registration in the South. Each of our organizations is already working in this field. Each will now do more.

The United States strives to be a democracy. It falls short of being one when one-third of our adults do not or may not vote.

Voting in the South is low, even by our shamefully low national standards. One result is that unrepresentative men are chosen for local, state, and national offices. Another is that small electorates dominated by rural voters breed callous discrimination against city-dwellers, regardless of race, throughout the South.

An enlarged electorate is necessary if the South finally is to become a democracy, and the people of the South are to enjoy the dignity of members of a democracy. Civil rights will continue to be either denied or restricted. Until the Gordian knot of political privilege is cut, the South's preoccupation with race and racial prejudice will continue.

This generation of America will have shirked its historic summons unless, both at home and abroad, it gives strength and enrichment to freedom and free men. At home, our great unfinished business is the rescue of one-tenth of our people from prejudice and discrimination, and the rescue of America from the moral, economic, and political costs of racial injustice.

encouraged." The Project, Mr. Brunton said, would, to further its research, ~~allocate~~ give financial support to voter registration programs other groups & agencies, ~~if they proved~~ which it would then observe & evaluate. Only ~~if~~ programs which accord with the Project's research interest will be aided.

Mr. Brunton said the Project had already received pledges of cooperation from the NAACP — — —

In his Inaugural Address, the President told Americans to ask themselves what they can do for their country. We believe and we know that in working for the right of all to exercise the duties of citizenship we work in our country's service, when and where it needs us most.

The great discovery of America, the great tradition of America, is this: a people re-dedicates itself to old ideals by setting itself new purposes. From one generation to another, our country has renewed its vigor by releasing the energies of more of its people. This has been the American way.

In our time, America encounters its old ideals in the struggle to create equal opportunities for its Negro citizens. Our cause is the nation's.

We say this without false pride, yet with firm conviction. We say it without reference to injustices and indignities of the past. We say it with thought only of America's need for talents, for spiritual courage, for self-respect and the good opinion of free men everywhere. The past was America's dilemma. The future is its opportunity.

To fight for justice is, therefore, to fight for America. We are not deterred by those who complain that the struggle for Negro rights has broken down "communications between the races", or is endangering national unity in time of crisis. There can be in a democracy no real communication except among men and women of equal dignity and rights. There can be no national unity maintained on the quicksand of injustice.

(some lofty sentiment) — — — — , said Tom Wiley B Brantley, director of the Project, — — —

— — —

— — —

Prior to accepting his present position, Tom Brantley — — —

— — —

Tom Brantley said that the Project will work cooperatively with any responsible group ~~that~~ which carries on the registration program. "The ~~chief~~ largest group of non-voters in the South are Negroes, especially in the deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become active citizens. ~~We want, however, that the South shows a need to~~ Voting participation of whites also is low, ~~+ we want~~ + need to be

Let us be clear about this. The times are too serious, the threat of Communist power and ideology too vicious, for America not to be true to itself, to its Constitution, to its old faith in the free and responsible individual.

Among the duties of citizenship, none is as great as that of serving the public by voting and holding office. This is a duty of all citizens, regardless of color.

We intend to work, and to work hard, for a wider acceptance and fulfillment of that duty. Whether the cause of non-voting be indifference, disillusion, ignorance, or oppression, we shall combat the cause.

We have no partisanship. We are, in this venture, neither Democrats nor Republicans. We shall concentrate our efforts in the South only because that is where the problems are most acute.

3 6

The Southern P C announced today that it will undertake ~~establishment~~ a special ~~project to~~ study of the causes of low voter registration in the South, & the means of overcoming them. The ~~study~~ Council has set up a separate office, which will be known as the V EP, to plan & carry out the work.

During a two year period, the Voter Education Project will collect & analyze data on southern voting pattern. ~~It will be particularly interested in studying the methods used to overcome~~ Voting Registration & voting participation have traditionally been lower in the South than other parts of the country. The particular interest of the Project will be a study of the most ~~success~~ effective methods of bringing more Southerners into voting participation.

February 7, 1962

Mr. Dan Thompson
Division of Social Science
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Thompson:

I am in receipt of a memorandum from Paul Rilling of the Southern Regional Council informing me of your interest in a coordinating voter registration effort in the New Orleans area.

We are now in the process of getting our Voter Education Project set up, but at this time we do not have the necessary clearance from Internal Revenue regarding our request for tax exemption and therefore we will be somewhat at a standstill until we get this ruling.

As you probably know, several major organisations will be working with us in our efforts to increase the number of registered voters in the South, and while we have not committed ourselves as to the role which each agency will play or the areas in which they will operate, I am confident that at least one or more of the cooperating agencies will be working in the New Orleans area. As soon as we feel that we are in a position to move forward with our project, we will see to it that the New Orleans situation is brought to the attention of the cooperating agencies to the end that immediate assistance can be given to your Coordinating Council.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Copy to Mr. Harvey Kerns

WAB/mr

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE: ALL PAPERS
THURSDAY,
MARCH 29, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: 522-8764

The Voter Education Project, a new program to study the causes of low voter registration in the South, and to ascertain the most effective methods for increasing the southern electorate, was announced here today by the Southern Regional Council.

The Project, with headquarters in Atlanta, is headed by Wiley A. Branton, formerly of Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Mr. Branton has been in private law practice and has also been active in civil rights cases for a number of years.

The special interest of the Project, according to Mr. Branton, will be "to study the most effective methods of bringing more Southerners into voter participation. Over a two-year period we shall observe and analyze the voter registration programs of other agencies in order to collect our data. When necessary, we shall grant funds to other agencies to make possible programs which we believe will advance the study."

Mr. Branton pointed out that discussions had already been held with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. "Each of these agencies," he said, "is now planning greatly enlarged registration programs in the South. These organizations have pledged their cooperation with our Project."

The Project will also work cooperatively with other responsible groups carrying on voter registration programs.

"The largest group of non-voters in the South," said Branton, "are Negroes, especially in the Deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become active citizens. But voting participation of all Southerners is low, and needs to be encouraged. The Project will support, within the limits of its ability, any voter registration programs which accord with our research interest."

The Southern Regional Council reported also that the aims of the Voter Education Project have been endorsed by the Chairmen of the Democratic and Republican National Committees, as well as by a number of private organizations interested in a more democratic franchise. These endorsers include the American Friends Service Committee, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of the Churches of Christ, and the Negro American Labor Council.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

-END-

April 11, 1962

Mr. Roy Parker, Jr.
The News and Observer
Post Office Box 191
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Parker:

This office will be pleased to send you information from time to time as the Voter Project progresses.

By the way, are you the same Roy Parker who was with the Arkansas Gazette?

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/wcb

The News and Observer
Raleigh, N. C.

APR 9 REC'D

April 6

Mr. Branton
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. B.,

If you would, keep me informed every month or two about the progress, developments, and so forth of the Voter Education Project.

I cover politics, civil rights, and other matters for the N&O.

If there is anything we can do to be of service, or if your work brings you to North Carolina, please look me up.

Best wishes.

Roy Parker Jr.

Roy Parker, Jr.
The News and Observer
Raleigh, NC

Publicity

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Rooms

JUN 11 1962

HARPER & BROTHERS
PUBLISHERS

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-1900

June 7, 1962

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for your letter of May 31. We are passing it along to the editor of our Letters column and hope there will be space for at least a considerable portion of it in a future issue.

Sincerely,

Rosemary Wolfe

Mr. W. A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Rosemary Wolfe

JUN 28 1962

JOSEPH NAPOLITAN ASSOCIATES INCORPORATED

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Suite 618 LaSalle Building 347-2496
1028 Connecticut Ave. NW
SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
121 Chestnut St. RE 2-1232

PUBLIC RELATIONS and RESEARCH

June 20, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Potomoc Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Judge Mary Conway Kohler, formerly of the San Francisco Juvenile Court. We have been working with the National Committee on Employment of Youth, of which Judge Kohler is chairman of the Executive Committee, and with some 30 national organizations, on behalf of the Youth Employment Opportunities Act of 1962 - H.R. 10682.

We are writing you concerning the Voter Education Program which we read about in HARPER'S MAGAZINE, and feel that we may be of assistance in such a program.

Our firm, with offices in Springfield, Massachusetts and Washington, D. C., has had considerable organizing, political and polling experience.

A wholly-owned subsidiary of Joseph Napolitan Associates is Public Opinion Surveys, a professional polling organization that has conducted political and other polls on state, regional and local levels.

An affiliate of our firm is Campaign Consultants providing professional political public relations counsel to Democratic Senators, Congressmen and State Committees. We have been active in campaigns on the national, state, district and municipal levels and both Mr. Napolitan and I served on President Kennedy's campaign staff in the 1960 election. Our staff includes nine full-time employees. Our firm is associated with experts in advertising layout, media placement, television and radio and literature.

I would like very much to meet with you to discuss the Voter Education Program at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Gladys Uhl

Gladys Uhl (Mrs.)
Vice President

GU/jc

JUN 28 1962

June 25, 1962

Mrs. Gladys Uhl
Vice President
Joseph Napolitan Associates Inc.
Suite 618 LaSalle Building
1028 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Uhl:

This is to acknowledge your letter of June 20 concerning the Voter Education Project.

Although the Taconic Foundation, on whose board I serve, made the first grant in support of the Project, the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia has full responsibility for its implementation. Therefore, I am forwarding your letter to Mr. Wiley Branton, directow of the Project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

cc: Mr. Wiley Branton

June 28, 1962

Mrs. Gladys Uhl
Vice President
Joseph Napolitan Associates Inc.
Suite 618 LaSalle Building
1028 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Uhl:

Mr. Harold C. Fleming has forwarded your letter to him of June 20 on to us.

It is quite possible that the fact that we are based in Atlanta rather than in Washington might result in a changed attitude with reference to your expressed desire to discuss the Voter Education Project in the manner as suggested in your letter to Mr. Fleming.

We are always open to suggestions and ideas and would be pleased to discuss the Voter Project with you if at any time you are in Atlanta. Should it develop that you are still interested and would like to talk with me or some member of our staff when we next are in Washington, then simply let us know and we will make every effort to arrange a conference.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB:gwc

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

NAACP VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE REPORT
To The
53rd ANNUAL NAACP CONVENTION
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
JULY 2-8, 1962

Purpose of The NAACP Voter Registration Committee:

- To increase the Negro vote
- To teach the Negro to make his vote count
- To coordinate the efforts of all groups and individuals interested in conducting non-partisan voter registration drives
- To increase Negro participation in the main stream of American politics.

Pertinent Information:

The NAACP's Voter Registration Committee's program covers the entire country. However, for obvious reasons, the Committee's work is concentrated in the South.

The Washington Bureau, along with its other functions, acts as our clearing house for the various problems involving the denial of voting rights to Negroes. This Bureau also publishes the voting records of our United States Senators and Representatives.

Results:

The impact of the NAACP's Crusade for Voters, which began in 1909, can best be gained from impartial newspaper and other periodical reports. Mr. Paul Duke, in an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, JUNE 12, 1962, reveals the impact of the Negro vote in the South. Since we are concentrating our efforts in the South, we give you this article on the inside page as our convention report.

Kelly M. Alexander, *Chairman*
John M. Brooks, *Director*
W. C. Patton, *Field-Worker-at-large*

TUESDAY.
JUNE 12, 1962

THE WALL STREET

VOL. CLIX NO. 114

Courting Negroes

Politicians in South Step Up Efforts to Win Votes of Growing Force

Some Whites Soften Line On Segregation; Negroes Are Seeking More Offices

Impact on Southern Politics

By PAUL DUKE
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

RICHMOND, Va. — Here in this long-ago capital of the Confederacy, a majority of the 25 candidates for the city council in today's municipal election are openly supporting an anti-discrimination clause recently added to the local government charter. The provision is designed to assure Negroes of fair and equal treatment in the hiring of city employes.

In Memphis, Tenn., college professor Ross Pritchart is vigorously seeking the Democratic nomination for Congress on a platform that includes a civil rights plank. Young Mr. Pritchart, who hopes to sidetrack veteran Rep. Clifford Davis, advocates stepped-up Federal action if local authorities don't move more swiftly to erase racial barriers.

In Atlanta, Georgia's Republican leaders trumpeted with considerable fanfare a special invitation extended to Negroes to participate in a recent GOP workshop conference. Their aim: To contrast the party's open-door policy with a previous Democratic dinner at which Negroes were barred.

These events herald a significant trend slowly spreading in the South. As Negroes by the thousands sign up to vote, their power at the polls is assuming unprecedented importance. And white politicians are starting to court the Dixie Negro electorate as never before—quite openly in some cases.

Some Unusual Changes

Politicians' preparation for the day of mass Negro voting is bringing some strange changes, not all of them out in the open. Veteran politicians who have ridden the racial issue for years are taking a softer line on segregation and even quietly trying to build Negro machines. Georgia's Sen. Herman Talmadge has moved to smooth relations with Negro leaders and he assures them his office door is always open. Six Southern Senators including Louisiana's Sen. Russell Long, voted this year for a Constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax.

"The white man is coming on the run for our vote now because he knows it may mean the difference between winning and losing," claims a Negro voting-drive leader in Virginia. Observes a Southern Democratic chieftain: "The days when you could sneak down into shantytown and buy most of the Negro vote are gone. You've got to deliver on issues now."

While present efforts to court the South's Negro voters often amount to little more than a friendly gesture, they may well be the prelude to an intensive campaign whenever Negro voting becomes really heavy in Dixie. Such a prospect bodes vast political changes for the South in years to come. At the least, the outlook is for a fading away of the segregation issue as more and more candidates cater to Negro demands; at the most, the end could come for the conservative Democratic leadership which has long dominated the South.

Growing Impact at Polls

In any event, the swelling tide of Negro votes already is playing an increasingly crucial part in elections in the 11 states of the old Confederacy. It may even decide the victor in today's Democratic Senatorial primary in South Carolina between moderate Sen. Olin Johnston and conservative Gov. Ernest Hollings. Johnston supporters are counting on substantial backing from the state's 80,000 Negro voters and this could be the difference in a close contest; Negro support gave President Kennedy his 9,561-vote victory over Richard Nixon in the Palmetto State in 1960.

Similarly, the votes of a majority of Georgia's 185,000 qualified Negro voters could give the edge to moderate Democrat Carl Sanders in his September gubernatorial primary with diehard segregationist ex-Gov. Marvin Griffin now that the state's famed county voting system has been discarded and rural domination of Democraic primary balloting has ended. For the same reason, the re-election bid of ultra-conservative Democratic Rep. James C. Davis of Atlanta may be doomed.

But Negroes no longer are content just to elect whites. They also are using their growing ballot-box power to gain office for themselves. Though these office-holders are still a tiny minority, Negroes are winning more seats on local governing bodies, school boards, planning commissions and similar units, either through elections or by appointment from white officials. A Negro serves on the North Carolina State Welfare Board. Six Negroes, the first of their race, won election to the 106-man Birmingham, Ala., Democratic Executive Committee last month. And in Mississippi, there were two Negro candidates for Congress in last week's Democratic primaries; though defeated, they were the first to try since Reconstruction Days.

Not only do these developments reflect a growing acuity for politics, but they also testify to the success of the Negro voting registration drives now under way across the Southland. While Negroes still represent only 20% of the voting-age population in the 11 states, their registration is increasing faster than white registration. More than 100,000 Negroes have been signed up in the last year alone and there are now about 1.5 million on the poll books. The whites, with some 13 million voters, still constitute a top-heavy majority of course.

Voting Barriers Crumble

Long-standing barriers devised to discourage Negro voting are beginning to crumble before Uncle Sam's legal offensives. The Justice Department has brought 27 cases designed to enfranchise Negroes under civil rights laws enacted in 1957 and 1960. In Haywood County, Tenn., where Negroes make up 61% of the population, no Negroes had voted before 1960; now 2,000 are on the rolls. In Bullock County, Ala., 800 have been signed up since the Justice Department got an injunction last fall to force

Please Turn to Page 12, Column 2

Courting Negroes: Dixie Politicians Spur Efforts to Win Growing Vote

Continued From First Page

registration; only five had been registered before then.

A far-reaching by-product of this parade to the polls may be a spread of the two-party system all through the South and a major regrouping of Dixie's political forces.

Assuming that Southern Negroes cling to their traditional Democratic ties and that Democratic politicians cater increasingly to them, disgruntled conservatives might well flee in droves to the Republican party, which already harvests a sizable vote from conservative Southern Democrats in Presidential elections. The upshot: A new liberal-controlled Democratic Party comprised chiefly of Negroes, blue-collar workers, small farmers and intellectuals; and an enlarged conservative-run Republican Party made up of businessmen, white-collar workers, large farmers and descendants of the old Southern aristocracy.

"The Harry Byrd Democrat is a goner," despairs a Virginia conservative Democratic Congressman. "We're headed into an era when the South will be run by either Tower-type Republicans or Humphrey-type Democrats." The Tower he refers to is the conservative young Texan elected last year as his state's first GOP Senator since Reconstruction; the Humphrey is the liberal Minnesotan, an ardent civil rights advocate, who is the Senate Democratic Whip.

Generally speaking, the Southern Negro vote has traditionally gone to the Democratic candidate for President in the national elections and to the "least conservative" Democratic candidate in local and state races. Thus, in Alabama's May 29 primary for governor,

the 66,000 Negro vote went solid for state senator Ryan deGraffenried, who firmly proclaimed a belief in segregation and yet was moderate when compared with the outspoken racism of winning candidate George Wallace.

Kinship With Democrats

Though Republican leaders in Georgia, Virginia and a few other states are soliciting Negro support, chances are Democrats will go right on being a big beneficiary. Most Negroes feel a closer kinship with the Democratic Party because of its sponsorship of welfare legislation and through inheritance. And as long as Negroes remain at the bottom of the economic scale, they're likely to vote Democratic.

But the new, more demanding breed of Southern Negro voter is looking for a new breed of candidate to support. Instead of lining up behind men whose major qualification is that they soft-pedal the segregation theme, Negroes are searching for candidates who'll stand up for the things they desire—more laws against discrimination, better jobs for their race and increased unemployment compensation. This burgeoning electorate is beginning to encourage Southern liberals and moderates to seek office in greater numbers.

In time, the Negro vote, plus that of union labor forces, could be powerful enough to permit liberal Democratic factions to wrest control from the conservative governors, Congressmen and state leaders who hold sway in most of Dixie. "An alliance between Negroes and labor is only natural because both want a better standard of living," contends a Southern AFL-CIO official.

If truly effective, such an alliance could mean the ouster of such vocal segregationist Congressmen as Alabama's George Andrews, Mississippi's Jamie Whitten and Virginia's Watkins Abbitt. Candidates such as Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett, who rode into office waving the flag of white supremacy, would stand less hope of landing Democratic nomination. And there probably would be some Negroes elected to state legislatures and even to Congress from heavily Negro areas. Indeed, Negro leaders already have launched a drive to capture Rep. Abbitt's black belt district of Southern Virginia in 1964.

"It's inevitable that Negroes will take over some of the counties in our state," is the frank admission of an Alabama Congressman.

Powerful Force in Richmond

While any major regrouping may be years away, the Negro vote already is bringing significant changes. Consider what's happened in Richmond, a stronghold of conservatism and capital of a state which only a few years ago endeavored unsuccessfully to chart a "massive resistance" course to school integration. The well-organized Negro electorate of 14,000, constituting roughly 25% of total vote enrollment, has become the most powerful single force in city elections; seven of the nine candidates endorsed by the Negro-operated Crusade for Voters won city council seats two years ago. Result: A scramble for Crusade backing this year.

In Memphis, where young Professor Pritchart is endorsing civil rights laws, he is given some chance of winning his Congressional race; at any rate Congressman Davis is running scared in their battle for the Shelby County district. The reason is clear: 35,000 Negro votes and 15,000 labor votes that Mr. Pritchart is expected to get could provide a base for possible upset of the conservative incumbent.

For the most part, though, Southern candidates are courting Negroes more subtly, to avoid the wrath of their white followers. Thus, the three candidates vying for the gubernatorial nomination in Tennessee's Democratic primary Aug. 2 have appeared at Negro rallies, but have steered clear of promises and commitments. In a recent Democratic primary tiff for a North Carolina House seat, candidate John P. Kennedy, (no relative of the President) cited the endorsement of a prominent Charlotte Negro in his campaign literature—a way of pleasing the Negroes without offending many whites. Mr. Kennedy came within an eyelash of upsetting conservative Rep. Paul Kitchin, thanks largely to overwhelming Negro backing.

Segregation Issue Abates

While the segregation issue continues to roil Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, it has abated nearly everywhere else. Two race-baiting candidates were snowed under last month in bids for Democratic Congressional nomination in two new Florida districts. The issue has been dormant in the Johnston-Hollings tiff and even Orval Faubus, darling of the diehards, has avoided it thus far in his try for a fifth trip to the Arkansas' governor's mansion.

To be sure, many candidates still profess their belief in segregation, but their statements frequently are more for "the record" than to corral votes. The Negro vote is not yet so important that politicians can overlook the preference of white constituents for the South's traditional ways. Hence, Dixie Senators filibustered to death a few weeks ago a bill designed to prevent abuse of literacy tests as a requirement for voting.

Despite the steady increase in Negro registration, only about 28% of those of voting age are registered in the 11 Southern states; 56% of eligible whites are signed up. While there have been few reports of voter discrimination in Virginia, Florida, North Carolina and Texas, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other groups complain that arbitrary administration of voting laws and various restrictions still hinder the registration drive in many small towns and rural areas.

The outlawing of the NAACP by state law is keeping vote-recruiting to a minimum in Alabama. Mississippi, with the highest percentage of Negro residents of any state and the lowest percentage of registrants, recently passed a series of laws to cut down the number of applicants; one act would bar any person who is not of "good moral character," another specifies that a person's intention to register must be announced in a newspaper before it can be considered.

Every paragraph in this article reflects The Voter Education Project's Aims of the NAACP Voter Registration Committee

Journal and Guide

ESTABLISHED 1900 SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1962

EDITORIAL ★ PAGE ★

EXCERPTS FROM JOURNAL AND GUIDE EDITORIAL DATED JUNE 23, 1962

Bloc Voting--An Evil Or Wisdom?

"MUCH OF the gratuitous advice being offered to Norfolk's Negro citizens about "bloc voting" is tainted and ought to be carefully scrutinized before it is accepted.

It is a natural and instinctive thing for people to be influenced by "selfish" considerations, in voting as in other matters. Why, then, are some people so disturbed when Negroes vote for their basic interests?

These advisers tell the Negro to forget that he is a Negro and vote like a full-fledged, first-class member of the American society. Yet they will not *treat* him like a first-class citizen, nor accord him the elemental rights and privileges readily granted all other elements of the population, including enemy aliens of a few years ago. Paradoxically, a Russian spy in this country for the purpose of sabotaging our defense establishment can enjoy privileges which American Negroes would be thrown in jail for if they attempted to exercise them in many parts of these United States, including Virginia, and specifically, the City of Norfolk.

As long as there are constitutional and human rights denied to the Negro alone he will continue to exert whatever leverage he can command to gain those rights. And if solidifying his political strength at the polls will help bring this about, that will be done, call it "bloc voting" or whatever you like.

• • •

MOST GROUPS having special interests do some "bloc voting" to achieve their goals. Prohibitionists vote solidly against candidates and legislation likely to ease the flow of alcoholic beverages.

Organized labor is urged, and usually can be counted upon, to vote *en bloc* whenever any interest of the working man is threatened.

Doctors line up solidly at the behest of their American Medical Association leaders against any legislation they consider "socialized medicine."

No group utilizes the technique of "bloc voting" more freely—nor more effectively — than Southern politicians. Any time the issue is civil rights, or even human rights, the Congressmen and Senators from the South form an impenetrable, solid bloc and vote with a unanimity that makes Negro "bloc voting" look like a house divided.

In the Senate they even halt the legislative business of the nation for weeks while demonstrating their solidarity in a disgraceful filibuster for which they are hardly chastised by the moralists who see so much evil in "bloc voting" when done by Negroes."

"WHAT THE critics of "bloc voting" — both the colored and the white critics — have failed to comprehend is that Negro voters, like those in other special interest groups, will instinctively cast their ballots in such a way as to gain the objectives they consider most important to them.

There will come a day, we are sure, when Negro Americans will be able to act, and think, and vote just like any other Americans, and the GUIDE will welcome that day. But as long as Negroes are not permitted to act and think and be like other Americans, they will go on protesting at the polling places, and if those protests happen to displease the opposition because they resemble "bloc voting," that's just too bad, because they are going to continue, notwithstanding the pained and righteous viewing - with - alarm by both our white and our colored advisors."

EVIL or WISDOM?

You Be The Judge

THERE IS STRENGTH IN SOLIDARITY

NOV 19 1962

SDS
715 Arch Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan

November 16, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am currently working on the editing of a pamphlet on Negro voting in the South and the student's role for Students for a Democratic. SDS, you'll remeber perhaps, is the student department of the League for Industrial Democracy , the student group for which Tom was working last year. Enclosed you will find an outline of the pamphlet. We would like you or your assistant to do the piece on the Voter Education Project.

We're hoping to distribute the pamphlet in the spring through various national student groups (the Y's, church groups, the Northern Student Movement, SNCC, etc.) and try to reach students of several varieties: those who know little of the South or civil rights, but could be educated to a concern; those who are interested, but have no knowledge of what is being done and need a grasp of the implications of political change in the South; those who are active outside the South and might be persuaded to raise money, set up projects, recruit workers for summer projects; those who are active in the South and could use a survey of activities of the past year. For all of these the pamphlet will attempt to give facts and put civil rights in a broader political context.

I think the inclusion of the Voter Education Project would give an indication of the sort of adult cooperation and action that is taking place and some insight into the necissity of organization and coordination.

I'm hoping the keep the pamphlet concise, since students who are not already involved will be unlikely to read a long document. Thus we'd like about 2-3 pages (single space typewritten) from you which would deal with or take off from the questions on the outline. Since we're looking toward having the booklet printed by late January, we'd want your copy by December 14.

Since the essay is brief, you might find that you have some explanatory material on the VEP already which would serve as a basis for this writing. We do hope you can find the time for it in what I know is a crowded schedule. Hope to hear from you soon.

Sandra

Sandra C. Hayden

Students for a Democratic Society
Mid-West Office, 715 Arch Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan
N02-2043

Tentative Content Outline for
Pamphlet on Negro Voting in the South and the Student's Role

1. Introduction: the international revolution, the pervasiveness of racism in American life, the Southern Negro and social change

2. Political Analysis: the shift of the civil rights movement in the South to voter registration as a method of achieving basic change, the conservative coalition in Congress as a block to social change, the power of Southern legislators as a result of one-party politics and the seniority system, possible effects nationally and regionally of increased Negro registration in the South

3. Factors Influencing Negro Voting in the South: the relative influence of socio-economic and political-legal factors, historical factors

4. Two Southwide Efforts
   A. The Voter Education Project
      past efforts at voter registration, source of funds and organization of the VEP, projects now being supported and their results, problems of local groups, future plans
   B. The Citizenship Training School at Dorchester, Ga.
      history of the project, source of funds and description of the program, information on groups worked with and their local efforts, future plans

5. Student Involvement:
   Albany, Georgia
   Jackson, Tennessee
   Baltimore, Maryland
   Raleigh, North Carolina
   Mississippi

   On each of the projects:
   how the group was organized, composition of the group, work accomplished, significant aspects of the project, problems, suggestion for future needed projects

6. Information of Future Projects and Suggestions for Projects
   what can students plan to participate in, what can a local group in the North or South organize and who can help?

7. Statistical Information and Bibliography
   voting patterns, voting requirements, Justice Department Suits, other information called for by the preceding essays; bibliography of information on Southern politics

12-14-62

Dear Mrs. Hayden: SDS - 715 Arch St. Ann Arbor, Michigan

Wiley asked me to get together the little exposition you requested. Because of my natural slothfulness I've had to squeeze it in between two trips. I like to think the rush accounts for the inadequacies of the enclosed copy. Doubtless others would be less generous.

The primitiveness of the typing is accounted for by the fact that I wanted to get this in the mail to you tonite, and Mrs. Levine, our secretary, had to leave before I finished composing it. I trust your editorial patience will not be too severely tried by the numerous errors and miscalculations, split infinitives, etc. Ordinarily I could depend upon Mrs. Levine to eliminate such, but now I shall have to place that burden upon you.

The very best of the season's greetings and please be sure we receive a copy of your publication.

Very truly yours

Jack Minnis
Research Director
VEP

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The registration of Negro voters in the South has, for years, been the concern of various civil rights organizations and a great many local groups. The NAACP has had a continuing program of Negro registration through its various branches. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has, more recently, devoted a considerabpe effort to voter registration. CORE and SNCC have bent an increasing proportion of their efforts toward voter registration. The National Urban League, in the cities of the South where it is appropriately organizaed, has likewise worked at increasing Negro registration.

Hardly a community of any size exists in the South where voter registration has not been an issue of some magnitude among Negroes in recent years. In many communities local leaders, perhaps incidentally connected with the national civil rights organizations, have undertaken to stimulate Negro voter registration, more or less on their own.

The Voter Education Project was conceived for the purpose of brining some order into these widely varied efforts: developing a systematic body of information about what is being done, how effective present efforts are, and howsuch efforts can be made more effective.

VEP is a project of the Southern Regional Council. SRC has received grants amounting to some $450,000 from various foundations to conduct the Voter Education Project.

VEP operates as a research entity of the Southern Regional Council, specifically designed to gather information about voter registration in the South. VEP invites proposals from organizations interested in conducting voter eduction programs. When a proposal is accepted, VEP allocates a specific amount of money on the basis of a detailed budget which is submitted with the proposal. VEP makes no attempt to tell participating organizations how to conduct a voter education program, though the viability of the techniques outlined in the proposal is a consideration in determining whether the grant will be made.

Once the grant is made, the participating organizations report on their expedditures and their performance according to standard reporting systems developed by the Voter Education Project staff. Some programs are designed on a short-term basis on the assumption that a concentrated drive will produce the best results. Other programs are designed on a long-term basis on the theory that in a given area an enormous amount of groundwork must be laid before actual registration attempts can be made. The short-term programs usually take place in urban areas where resistance to Negro registration is minimal. The long-term programs are ordinarily used in areas of maximum resistance, where socio-economic and political conditions have precluded effective political organization in the Negro community.

Thus, VEP is developing a systematic body of data about the political attitudes and perceptions of rural and urban Negroes in the South, and about what measures are effective in bringing those political perceptions and attitudes to the point where effective demands can be made upon our political institutions to alleviate the deprivations under which southern Negroes presently labor.

VEP began its operations in May of 1962, and proposes to continue for a minimum of two years. At the date of this writing voter education projects have been completed, or were in progress, in representative rural and urban areas of the eleven states of the old confederacy. Thus far, VEP-supported programs have been directly responsible for some 40,000 new Negro registered voters in the South. Too, VEP support, in many communities, has provided a context within which Negro leadership could develop in a way that has not been possible in the past. It would be a mistake to consider these results as incidental benefits of a research program. The fact is that VEP's mission is to provide the funds which are essential for the production of such results andthen to compile a body of information which will explain either why the results were obtained, or why they were not.

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March 1, 1963

DRAFT

Immediate For Release

News Release
Voter Education Project
~~Southern Regional Council~~
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Ja. 2-8764

March 1, 1963

~~The following statement was released today by Wiley A Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project:~~

"On the night of February 28, 1963 in LeFlore County, Mississippi, white men, from their moving car, shot and seriously wounded a young Negro registration worker. The victim was James Travis, ~~(identification) former student at Tougaloo~~ of Jackson, Mississippi.

This attack, with intent to kill, was made by men who had been observed throughout the evening watching a building in Greenwood where registration workers were meeting.

"After the meeting, Travis, Robert Moses, Director of the Council of Federated Organizations, and Randolph Blackwell, ~~the~~ Field Director of our Voter Education Project, drove from Greenwood down U.S. Highway 82 ~~toward Jackson~~. Some miles outside Greenwood the attackers' car drove along side and opened rifle or pistol fire. Fortunately, only Travis was wounded.

"Travis was returned to a hospital in Greenwood. The local police and the Department of Justice were promptly notified. On March 1, Travis was moved to a hospital in Jackson.

"This is but the latest of brutal attacks in Mississippi, Southwest Georgia, and other areas of the South against registration workers, and wouldbe Negro voters. These registration workers are people cooperating with the Voter Education Project. This Project, which has the endorsement of the chairmen both of the Democratic and Republican National Committees, is a large scale effort to find the best ways of increasing the electorate in the South, in order to bring into participation in American democracy citizens who have not before exercised, or been allowed to exercise, their responsibilities. In most areas of the South, work carried on in cooperation with the Project has been without disturbance, and in some cases even welcomed by local authorities.

"But in certain outlaw communities registration workers have been constantly harassed and put in danger of life. ~~There~~ Negroes seeking ~~asking~~ to register have been cruelly treated.

"These are intolerable conditions to expose people to, and ~~this~~ they cannot be allowed to continued. Accordingly, there is a need to establish once and for all that in this land people do not have to be afraid to be free.

We are, therefore, announcing that the full ~~every~~ resources of the agencies cooperating with us in the Voter Education Project will be immediately concentrated in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mr. James Foreman of the Student nonviolent ~~Non-Violent~~ Coordinating Committee, and Mr. James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality have agreed with us today to put all necessary support ~~from their agencies~~ at once into a concerted campaign to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote if he or she has any desire to do so.

Based on the unhappy experience of recent months, we must anticipate that this drive will be met by harassment and violence. We have, therefore, advised the Governor of Mississippi of our plans, and have asked that the State provide protection. We have also notified the Attorney General of the United States that this campaign will be undertaken. We have called to his attention past experiences. We have requested that federal protection be provided ~~as soon as any obstacles obstructions are~~ immediately to assure the personal safety of those persons working in voter registration or who seek the right to vote encountered. Voting is a federal right, ~~and~~ when ~~it is~~ prevented by community lawlessness, the United States Government has an obligation not only to punish that lawlessness, but to ~~prevent~~ put it down.

Recently, the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has said: "This Committee finds that the Federal Government has not provided the citizens of Mississippi the protection due them as American Citizens." We concur in this finding.

"The state of Mississippi has repeatedly thrown down a gauntlet at the feet of would-be Negro voters, not only by the discriminatory practices of the registrars, but also by economic pressures, threats, coercion, physical violence, and even death to Negroes seeking the right to vote. The time has come for us to pick up the gauntlet. ~~and carry it to the office of the voting registrar.~~ LeFlore County, Mississippi, has elected itself as the ~~battleground~~ testing ground for democracy and we are accordingly meeting the challenge there.

"We are, therefore, announcing that the full resources of the agencies cooperating with us in the Voter Education Project will be immediately concentrated in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mr. James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Mr. James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, have agreed with us today to put all necessary support at once into a concerted campaign to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he or she has any desire to do so.

"Our methods will, at all times, be peaceable and lawful and will be conducted in the best traditions of American democracy.

over

"Based on the unhappy experience of recent months we must anticipate that our efforts will be met by continued harassment

"The campaign will be conducted openly. Voter registration is a civic duty, & registration workers will dignifiedly & ~~publicly without apology~~ publicly carry on their activities, which will include literacy schools, meetings, & individual contacts.

and violence. The State of Mississippi and the United States government each have a responsibility to protect those seeking the right to vote for all citizens. The state of Mississippi has not only failed to provide this protection in the past but, in fact, has cooperated with those who would deny basic rights to American citizens of color. The federal Congress and Executive have in the past, failed to meet the minimum requirements for protecting the rights of Negro citizens in Mississippi.

Recently, the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has said: "This Committee finds that the Federal Government has not provided the citizens of Mississippi the protection due them as American citizens." We concur in this finding.

Regardless of past attitudes and actions, we are advising the Governor of Mississippi of our plans for action in LeFlore County and have asked that the state of Mississippi provide protection. We have also notified the Attorney General of the United States that this campaign is being undertaken and we have called to his attention our past experiences regarding the failure of the state and federal governments to protect the citizens of Mississippi. We have requested that federal protection be provided immediately to assure the personal safety of those working in voter registration or who seek the right to vote. We are asking the Justice Department to take the necessary legal action

to see to it that discriminatory practices by the registrar cease and desist.

"Voting is a federally guaranteed right, and when its exercise is prevented by community lawlessness, the ~~U.S.~~ United States Government has an obligation not only to punish that lawlessness but to put it down.

"We, therefore, call upon the President of the United States to use his executive powers ~~(already available to him)~~ to help make meaningful the provisions of the 15th Amendment - 100 years late."

(30)

joint registration workers & applicants.

Draft

Atty-Gen:

As I am sure you are aware, James Travis, a voter registration worker, was seriously wounded last night by gunfire in LeFlore County, Mississppi. Mr. Travis and two other men, one a staff member of this ~~&&&&&&~~ office, were attacked while peaceably driving in their car on a U.S. highway. This is but the latest of these vicious assaults against registration workers and applicants in Mississippi. This cannot longer be tolerated. We are accordingly today announcing a concentrated, saturation campaign to register every qualified Negro of LeFlore County. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, without agency name Martin Luther King, of SCLC, James Farmer of CORE, ~~&&&&~~ and James Foreman ~~of SNCC~~ sp? pledge their full resources. The campaign will begin immediately. You must anticipate that this campaign will be met by violence and other harassment. We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary ~~federal~~ protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation. We shall keep you regularly informed.

President
Burke Marshall
John Hannah
Berl Bernhard

The following telegram was sent this afternoon to Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy:

Barnett

"state" for "federal" + delete last sentence

File - Do Not Remove

PRESS RELEASE

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Ja5-0595

March 1, 1963
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The following statement was released today by Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project:

"On the night of February 28, 1963, in LeFlore County, Mississippi, white men, from their moving car, shot and seriously wounded a young Negro registration worker. The victim was James Travis of Jackson, Mississippi, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. This attack, with intent to kill, was made by men who had been observed throughout the evening watching a building in Greenwood where registration workers were meeting.

"After the meeting, Travis, Robert Moses, Director of the Council of Federated Organizations, and Randolph Blackwell, Field Director of our Voter Education Project, drove from Greenwood down U.S. Highway 82. Some miles outside Greenwood the attackers' car drove alongside and opened rifle or pistol fire. Fortunately, only Travis was wounded.

"Travis was returned to a hospital in Greenwood. The local police and the Department of Justice were promptly notified. On March 1, Travis was moved to a hospital in Jackson.

"This is but the latest of brutal attacks in Mississippi, southwest Georgia, and other areas of the South, against

registration workers and would-be Negro voters. These registration workers are people cooperating with the Voter Education Project. This Project, which has the endorsement of the chairmen both of the Democratic and Republican National Committees, is a large scale effort to find the best ways of increasing the electorate in the South, in order to bring into participation in American democracy citizens who have not before exercised, or been allowed to exercise, their responsibilities. In most areas of the South, work carried on in cooperation with the Project has been without disturbance, and in some cases even welcomed by local authorities.

"But in certain outlaw communities registration workers have been constantly harassed and put in danger of life. Negroes seeking to register have been cruelly treated.

"These are intolerable conditions to expose people to, and they cannot be allowed to continue. Accordingly, there is a need to establish once and for all that in this land people do not have to be afraid to be free.

"The state of Mississippi has repeatedly thrown down a gauntlet at the feet of would-be Negro voters, not only by the discriminatory practices of the registrars, but also by economic pressures, threats, coercion, physical violence, and

death to Negroes seeking the right to vote. The time has come for us to pick up the gauntlet. LeFlore County, Mississippi, has elected itself as the testing ground for democracy and we are accordingly meeting the challenge there.

"We are, therefore, announcing that the full resources of the agencies cooperating with us in the Voter Education Project will be immediately concentrated in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mr. James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Mr. James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, have agreed with us today to put all necessary support at once into a concerted campaign to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he or she has any desire to do so.

"Our methods will, at all times, be peaceable and lawful and will be conducted in the best traditions of American democracy.

"The campaign will be conducted openly. Voter registration is a civic duty, and registration workers will dignifiedly and publicly carry on their activities, which

will include literacy schools, meetings, and individual contacts.

"Based on the unhappy experience of recent months we must anticipate that our efforts will be met by continued harassment and violence. The state of Mississippi and the United States government each have a responsibility to protect those seeking the right to vote for all citizens. The state of Mississippi has not only failed to provide this protection in the past but, in fact, has cooperated with those who would deny basic rights to American citizens of color. The federal Congress and Executive have, in the past, failed to meet the minimum requirements for protecting the rights of Negro citizens in Mississippi.

"Recently, the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has said: 'This Committee finds that the Federal Government has not provided the citizens of Mississippi the protection due them as American citizens.' We concur in this finding.

"Regardless of past attitudes and actions, we are advising the Governor of Mississippi of our plans for action in LeFlore County and have asked that the state of Mississippi provide protection.

"We have also notified the Attorney General of the

United States that this campaign is being undertaken and we have called to his attention our past experiences regarding the failure of the state and federal governments to protect the citizens of Mississippi. We have requested that federal protection be provided immediately to assure the personal safety of those working in voter registration or who seek the right to vote. We are asking the Justice Department to take the necessary legal action to see to it that discriminatory practices by the registrar cease and desist.

"Voting is a federally guaranteed right, and when its exercise is prevented by community lawlessness, the United States government has an obligation not only to punish that lawlessness but to put it down.

"We, therefore, call upon the President of the United States to use his executive powers to help make meaningful the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment - 100 years late."

(30)

Telegram Dated March 1, 1963 to Attorney General Robert F Kennedy:

As I am sure you are aware, James Travis, a voter registration worker, was seriously wounded last night by gunfire in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Travis and two other men, one a staff member of this office, were attacked while peaceably driving in their car on a U. S. highway. This is but the latest of these vicious assaults against registration workers and applicants in Mississippi. This cannot longer be tolerated. We are accordingly today announcing a concentrated, saturation campaign to register every qualified Negro of LeFlore County. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, and James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, pledge their full resources. The campaign will begin immediately. You must anticipate that this campaign will be met by violence and other harassment. We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary federal protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation against registration workers and applicants. We shall keep you regularly informed.

Wiley A. Branton

Telegram Dated March 1, 1963 to Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi:

As I am sure you aware, James Travis, a voter registration worker, was seriously wounded last night by gunfire in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Travis and two other men, one a staff member of this office, were attacked while peaceably driving in their car on a U.S. highway. This is but the latest of these vicious assaults against registration workers and applicants in Mississippi. This cannot longer be tolerated. We are accordingly today announcing a concentrated, saturation campaign to register every qualified Negro of LeFlore County. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, and James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, pledge their full resources. The campaign will begin immediately. You must anticipate that this campaign will be met by violence and other harassment. We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary state protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation against registration workers and applicants.

Wiley A Branton

June 6, 1963

Mr. Zenas Sears
WAOK
110 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Sears:

Mr. Branton wrote the attached letter to Mr. Wood on June 5, requesting me to send a carbon copy to you. I inadvertently left off this direction and failed to send a copy to you. I am correcting this error by sending the attached and hope this has not inconvenienced you in any way.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Mr. Branton

June 5, 1963

Mr. Jim Wood
WAOK
110 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jim:

My children have the habit of setting our radio-alarm clock for WAOK every morning and I, therefore, hear most of your editorials. I have found the majority of them to be quite timely, thought-provoking and constructive. On one occasion, while attending a social function, I was very argumentative in defending your editorials which were under attack.

On May 29, I must admit that I was completely shocked by your editorial regarding a national voter registration program as your statements were entirely erroneous and misleading. As soon as I reached my office I taped the editorial so as to be certain that I had not misinterpreted it.

In mentioning the new "national voter registration program" you stated that "this says in effect that the voter registration program headed by the Southern Regional Council, including SCLC, SNCC, CORE and the NAACP, has not delivered the goods." Every news report regarding the recently announced national voter registration program states that it is just that -- a national registration program which will encompass the entire United States; whereas the SRC program is restricted to the 11 southern states.

The Voter Education Project of SRC had the endorsement of the chairmen of both the Republican and the Democratic National Committees from its inception and we are happy to report that

we still enjoy that endorsement. You must remember that VEP is a non-partisan effort engaged primarily into research into the causes for low registration and into the methods and techniques which can be used to increase registration. Even though we are engaged primarily in research and have been in business for only one year , our program has resulted in an increase of more than 115,000 new voters in the South. Any program by the Kennedy Administration in registration would obviously be a partisan effort. I can tell you of my certain knowledge, based on conversations with national officials of the Democratic party that they are impressed with the success of our program.

You then say that "Kennedy-led money funelled through foundations ran into road blocks." The Kennedys have not given any money to the Voter Education Project and they were not responsible for any of the money which we have thus far received. But regardless of the source of the money for our program, we have not run into any road blocks which we did not know to be in existence before we started and which would have been present regardless of the organization conducting a registration drive or the methods being used.

You then imply that we have been working on the theory that everything in the Negro community is being done through ministers and churches and you then state that this "has proved to be a flop." One would have only to look at the listing of the five national participating agencies to readily determine which ones are probably working through ministers and churches. These organizations are SCLC, SNCC, CORE, NAACP (all mentioned by you) and the National Urban League. In addition to these five major participating agencies we have conducted numerous programs strictly through local organizations and at the grass roots level. Here in Atlanta we are working through the All Citizens Registration Committee with Mr. Jesse Hill and Dr. C. A. Bacote, serving as co-chairmen. Two of our most successful programs are now going on in Macon and Savannah. In Macon we work through the Bibb County Coordinating Committee which is being directed by Mr. William Randall. In Savannah we work through the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, headed by Mr. Hosea Williams. I could give you instances of similar situations in just about every one of the eleven states where we are working.

The first annual report of the Voter Education Project has just been prepared but has not yet been released and only those working closely with the project or getting information from our office would be in a position to know what we have done during this first year. You have made no inquiry of our office and I, therefore, am surprised and disappointed that such misleading statements would have been made by you or even carried by WAOK. We maintain a policy in this office of making an effort to see and talk with anyone who is interested in what we are doing here at VEP and that policy and its implied invitation is extended to you and to WAOK at all times.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

Wiley

I would suggest that the sentence on page 2 might read something like "I can tell you with my certain knowledge, based on ~~[illegible]~~ conversation with ~~[illegible]~~ national officials of the Democratic party, that they are impressed with the success of our program." And on the principle that it is better not to insult people, you might want to omit the word "irresponsible" on page 3. Otherwise, I think it fine

ROUGH DRAFT

cc: Mr. Zenas Sears

To Mr. James Wood - WAOK

Dear Jim:

My children have the habit of setting our radio-alarm clock for WAOK every morning and I, therefore, hear most of your editorials. I have found the majority of them to be quite timely, thought-provoking and constructive. On one occasion, while attending a social function, I was very argumentative in defending your editorials which were under attack.

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You then say that "Kennedy-led money funelled through foundations ran into road blocks." The Kennedys have not given any money to the Voter Education Project and they were not responsible for any of the money which we have thus far received. But regardless of the source of the money for our program, we have not run into any road blocks which we did not know to be in existence before we started and which would have been present regardless of the organization conducting a registration drive or the methods being used.

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invitation is extended to you and to WAOK at all times.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

The Capitol Stations

WAOK

5000 WATTS 110 EDGEWOOD AVENUE, N. E. • MURRAY 8-3773 1380 KC

Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 30, 1963 MAY 31 1963

Mr. J. H. Calhoun

Dear John:

As promised, here is a copy of the WAOK Editorial for Wednesday, May 29. The content is a matter of opinion. It was written by Jim Wood. I respect your opinion that it was not based on the facts of the matter, and offer to you the use of time on WAOK to state your position. This offer may be extended through you to any qualified individual or group that might be interested in this or any other editorial heard on WAOK.

WAOK is firm in our concept that the press (including radio and TV news) is not obligated to gather all facts. Not even the largest newspaper in the world could afford to do this. We do what we can, faced with a changing world and a natural reluctance on the part of many people to divulge facts and opinions.

In a talk with Jim Wood, he emphasized that he had no desire to question the integrity and good-will of any individual.

Sincerely,

Zenas Sears

ZS/br

WAOK EDITORIAL WED MAY 29 (63)

The Kennedy administration has decided to launch a national voter registration program! This says in effect that the voter registration program headed by the Southern Regional Council, including SCLC, SNCC, CORE and the NAACP has not delivered the goods. Kennedy-led money funneled through foundations ran into roadblocks. Working ~~through~~ on the theory that everything in the Negro community can be done through ministers and churches has proved to be a flop. It takes more than pulpit-pounding and mass meetings mixed with political money to get mass voter registration in the South. When a way can be found to protect a man's job, his family, his proterty and his life from the segregationists bomb and sniper's rifle. . . then voter registration and a lot of other things will interest the little man.

WAOK EDITORIAL WED MAY 29 (63) 2

It is the editorial opinion of radio station WAOK that the Kennedys and everybody else had better face a fact of life. . . . Joe Blow, the little black man spat on, kicked, raped, murdered, lynched, his homes bombed and burned, his job taken away by race haters and the Ku Klux Klan. He has been exploited by white as well as so-called black leaders including some ministers. . he is poor and ignorant, without high-powered friends or big money. So now they need him and they say get registered and vote. Well, it aint like that! Some new lessons will be learned and [redacted], Jo Blow will be teaching!

June 17, 1963

Mr. James R. Wood
News Director
WAOK
110 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your letter of June 6 in which you explain your participation in discussions when the Voter Education Project was first being considered. It is apparent that you have been completely out of touch with the operations of VEP as it was finally set up and that you perhaps have been influenced by matters raised in the earlier discussions. It also seems apparent to me that many of your impressions of how VEP works have come from meetings which you may have had with SCLC rather than meetings where all of the agencies were reppesented.

I would like very much to know who told you "the results of the present (SRC) program is not producing the expected results." I am even more concerned about the interest which the person making the statement to you might have in the outcome of VEP and his knowledge of any facts concerning the results which have been achieved.

I appreciate your willingness to make any public statement which I feel should be made but I have no desire that any remarks be made on the subject. My purpose in writing was prompted by my concern over your having made what I regard as unfounded charges against VEP rather than any desire for any retraction or further comment.

I am enclosing a copy of our annual report as you requested. I think you should be cautioned that this report was prepared

primarily to satisfy the requirements of the Internal Revenue Service and it does not reflect the vast quantity of data, statistics and other information which we have compiled.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc.

WBV

The Capitol Stations

WAOK

5000 WATTS 110 EDGEWOOD AVENUE, N. E. • MURRAY 8-3773 1380 KC

Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 6, 1963

JUN 8 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Thank you very much for your defense of my editorials. I fully respect your opinions and am especially pleased because of this.

When the present SRC Voter Registration Project was being formed and the first draft was put together, I was part of many meetings both here in Atlanta and in Washington, D.C. which dealt with planning. During an extended conversation with officials of the Justice Department about certain elements involving registration techniques, I asked the question whether basic motivation for the plan was to build a civil rights "image" to bolster (then) sagging Southern support by strengthening Northern industrial voters, or to actually register large numbers of Negroes in the South. I was at that time told their purpose was "to get Southern Negroes to register." I then questioned more strongly techniques, saying, "the problem of removing the fear hanging over Negro communities would first have to be solved before any except "soft" results would be obtained in the two year period the administration had set as its immediate goal." The basic plan was to use ministers and churches primarily, and aim at both urban and rural voter pools. It was their opinion that enough emotional momentum could be built up this way to over-ride group fears. Their feeling was very strong that the moral image of the church could do the job. I stated very firmly, my feeling, that this could not be done.

In later talks, when financing was under discussion, I was told there would be enough money "influenced by the Kennedys" to provide more than enough to keep the wheels turning. When I raised the question of political involvement, and what I knew to be Martin's (Dr. King, Jr.) objection because of possible partisan labels on SCLC, it was said, "that will be taken care of by channeling funds through two foundations."

Recently, prior to public announcements of the Democratic Party's national voter registration drive, I was in conversation with officials

of the Justice Department and asked the question, "why a national program that would include the South?" I was told, "the results of the present (SRC) program is not producing the expected results." During further conversation it was mentioned that in addition to the results of the present program not being as effective as was estimated, (there was no indication of dissatisfaction with conduct of the program) it was then decided that a national program would be launched. Party strategy and changes in political conditions prompted the decision for a national program.

Wiley, I have been discussing private conversations with Government Officials and civilians, and since they are not aware of this letter, I have purposely not mentioned names. If it should become necessary to do so, I will be happy to do it after having given notice to the persons involved. During conversation I had with foundation officials after the plan was initiated, there was never any mention on my part or theirs, of politics or money.

I would be very happy to receive a copy of your first annual report when it is made available to the public. I have at no time felt your program was a failure from the standpoint of voter education. My whole point of view was taken from the administration's estimate of the results expected as revealed to me in conversations. The editorial clearly says this in fundamental terms. I will be happy to make any public statement you feel should be made by me or you, and at your convenience. My interest in voter registration is sincere and abiding, and no one could be more concerned about mass voter registration of both Negroes and Whites.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Wood
News Director

JRW:mt

components, most notably automatic pilot and air conditioning systems. SUD is now replacing the U.S. items.

■■■

JOHNSON'S CIVIL RIGHTS STRATEGY: President Johnson and his Congressional strategists have settled on tactics for pushing through civil rights legislation. They forecast that, with strong help from the GOP, the Administration bill will pass the House almost intact about mid-February, with Senate consideration to come shortly after the Republicans return from their Lincoln Day speeches. In the Senate: After two or three weeks, at most, of Southern filibuster during which sessions will be gradually lengthened, an attempt will be made to shut off the talkathon with a cloture resolution. If this fails, as most Congressional insiders expect, the Senate will go into round-the-clock sessions, with another cloture move to be made in a few days. Senate leaders are optimistic that this mixture of tactics will succeed in bringing the rights bill to a vote by Easter. They don't believe most of the Southerners want a really long filibuster. (One Congressional leader said last week that most Senators were sick of the civil rights issue and wanted to dispose of it quickly.) Most importantly, the Southerners want cotton legislation and the Midwesterners want a wheat bill before spring planting. But the leadership will hold these bills off the Senate floor until after disposal of civil rights.

■■■

DEMOCRATS' STAKE IN ATLANTA: Democratic strategists believe the party has much to fear from Atlanta's violent Negro demonstrations. They say the turning away from strict nonviolence in Atlanta (Martin Luther King's headquarters of nonviolence) could foreshadow a wave of nationwide Negro demonstrations. If such demonstrations are suppressed by Southern Democratic governors and get the hands-off treatment from President Johnson--both of which are likely--the strategists fear Negro voters could turn against the Democrats this fall. The intensity of this concern comes from the fact that the Negro voter registration drive in the South has been more successful than its sponsors had dreamed of and has just hit the 1,750,000 figure. (This is the goal that had been set last fall for next November.) Now the various Negro organizations sponsoring the drive plan to add another 300,000 registrants by election time. Significance for the Democrats is that experts say over 90 per cent of these voters will be Democratic, and the largest numbers have been signed up in Florida, Tennessee, North and South Carolina

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Publicity

where Republicans have been making gains.

■■■

ARMY-AIR FORCE GAME: The Army and the Air Force are fighting again--this time over planes. The Air Force is kicking about the rapid expansion of the Army's air arm, which now has about 6,000 planes and helicopters. The Army says it needs them to provide support for its ground forces as well as lift capacity for strike troops, such as those in South Vietnam. Army brass feels that fast-changing tactical situations in the field can't wait for air support requests to go up the Army chain of command to a joint staff and for "go" orders to come down again through equally long Air Force channels. So far, despite the Air Force's powerful Congressional lobby and excellent press, it looks like the Army is winning this game of military marbles. The Army's only major loss has been $41.7 million earmarked for its all-purpose Caribou transport. The Air Force is losing its B-52's and B-58's, which will be gradually phased out in exchange for a much smaller number of B-70's. Even SAC's formerly "vital" fleet of over 1,000 B-47's is giving way to the ICBM. Thousands of highly trained pilots face technological unemployment as the Air Force moves further and further under ground.

■■■

ON THE INSIDE...William B. Attwood, former U.S. ambassador to Guinea, will be the U.S.'s first ambassador to Kenya...Rockefeller agents are working hard in non-primary states, and not without success. Iowa GOP officials, for instance, are ready to back him in San Francisco...If the Labor party wins Britain's general election this spring it will create a new cabinet post, that of Minister of Disarmament. The post would be filled by Philip Noel-Baker, 1959 Nobel Peace Prize winner...Soviet Premier Khrushchev's visit to India and Ceylon in February is expected to stretch into a full-scale Asian tour to compete with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai for diplomatic dominance in the Afro-Asian world...Former Florida Gov. LeRoy Collins is expected to resign shortly as president of the National Association of Broadcasters. Collins has been with the industry for some time for appearing to side with the FCC on the matter of controlling commercials and raising broadcast standards... The Spanish ambassador in Paris has discussed with the Soviet ambassador there the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries...Anti-smoking researchers have come up with some historical support for their position: "A custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the nose, harmful to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and the black stinking fume thereof, neerest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomeless." --King James I, in 1604, on smoking.

his head while swinging, the pendulum hits him in the face.

■■■

MACHINES REPLACE MACHINES: Is automation itself becoming the newest victim of automation? More and more, makers of office equipment are finding themselves in the same boat as the manpower their machines have replaced. Case in point: Dictating machines. They automated away the value of a secretary's shorthand skill and now they, in turn, are being automated away in many large firms by central dictation systems hooked into the firm's internal telephone lines. Manufacturers of the small machines are worried; some big customers who previously had bought hundreds now take only a dozen or so for their very top executives. The machine-makers' only countermove so far has been to offer surveys purporting to show that even the junior-grade executive needs his very own secre---oops, dictating machine.

■■■

AN ECONOMY ROCKET: The world's first under-developed rocket for under-developed countries had successful test-firings last week in Cuxhaven, Germany. These 10-foot-long rockets are the brain-child of Richard Stengler, associated with the development of the V-2 rocket and currently chairman of the newly-founded Weapon and Air Armament Company of Hamburg. Stengler's aim is to sell these weapons to countries that can't afford their own rocket projects, but would like the international status that comes with any kind of missile. Stengler sees his best market in the Afro-Asian countries and will sell the rockets ready-to-fire for around $300 each. They rise to a height of about 20 miles and travel up to 10 miles (useful for border skirmishes). The German government, embarrassed by Stengler's scheme, has said it will not grant export licenses for military weapons. But Stengler can get around this by exporting these mini-rockets as scientific equipment. Jordan and Saudi Arabia have so far shown some interest. The Jordanians say the payload isn't big enough for them, but might do for their Weather Bureau. Well, that's what they say, anyway.

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THE INSIDER'S NEWSLETTER Subscription office: 111 Tenth Street, Des Moines, Iowa 50304
Editorial office: 488 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 West 40th Street • New York 18, N. Y.

BE WISE.... BE SMART....

REGISTER TO VOTE

TIME: 1st and 3rd MONDAYS IN EACH MONTH

8:00 A.M. To 5:00 P.M.

PLACE: COUNTY COURT HOUSE

POLL TAX: 1. Pay $3.00 if you have never voted in the County; 2. Veterans pay no tax — must present discharge papers; 3. No poll tax required for persons over 45 years of age.

You Have A Right To Register and Can

If you are 21 years of age or older . . .
If you have lived in Alabama 2 years, in this County 1 year, at your present address or same precinct 3 months.

You Can Vote

If you have registered — If you have paid your Poll Tax by February 1st (unless you are exempted)

IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY CITIZEN TO VOTE

•

Your City, County, State and Country Need Your Vote

IF YOU DON'T VOTE — DON'T SQUAWK!

REGISTER NOW!

State Coordinating Association For Registration and Voting

Register to Vote

▲

GOVERNMENT is YOUR BUSINESS

To VOTE in Tennessee:

YOU must be:

1. a citizen of the United States
2. 21 years of age or older
3. a legal resident of Tennessee for *one year*
4. a resident of Davidson County for *six months*
5. registered

How to REGISTER:

Register *at least* 20 *days* before the election

Once you are registered you need to re-register ONLY in case of:

1. change of address
2. change of name by marriage or otherwise
3. failure to vote in at least one general or primary election during 6 successive calendar years
4. loss of legal right to VOTE by court judgment

Where to REGISTER:

Register at the COURT HOUSE
OFFICE OF THE ELECTION
COMMISSION

It Costs Nothing to REGISTER

Register and qualify to VOTE

1. Register yourself
2. Get every member of your family 21 years and older to register
3. Get your neighbor, every member of your church, union, lodge, club, PTA, to register

WHERE DO you VOTE?

You must VOTE in the precinct in which you are registered according to your legal address. The addresses of polling places are printed in the newspapers at election time.

If you fail to REGISTER You Cannot VOTE

IF YOU FAIL TO VOTE, you are neglectng your duty to your city, your state, and your country

YOU are neglecting your duty to your family as well as to YOURSELF

If You Are To Be Out Of The City

You may vote by absentee ballot

You may register by mail upon filing a sworn statement of the necessary information with the ELECTION COMMISSION

remember

Government Is Your Business!!!

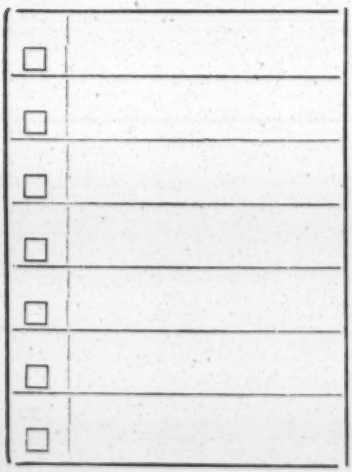
REGISTER AND VOTE

PROJECT OF THE

SOCIOLOGY CLUB

FISK UNIVERSITY

AS AN AMERICAN
CITIZEN THIS IS
YOUR MOST
PRICELESS POSSESSION



The Ballot

USE IT

VOTE

VOTE

VOTE

How to Become a Voter

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
THE ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

The right to vote is the No. 1 right.

To secure this right for Negro Americans in whatever state they may live is the No. 1 project of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

To this end, the NAACP has started a nationwide drive to get more Negroes on the voters list, particularly in the southern states where some people try to keep Negroes from voting.

As a result, colored citizens in that region have no representation in government, no voice in making or carrying out the laws under which they must live, and no say as to how their tax money is spent.

This taxation without representation can be ended only by your action. It is easy if you *really* want to take part in elections.

You have to *want* to vote and be ready and willing to make every effort to get on the voters list.

Your own registration should be *your* No. 1 project.

In order to become a first-class voting American you should:

1. Know your rights under the United States Constitution and the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960.

2. Know what you have to do to register in your state.
   a. Basic personal information required—age, address, occupation, how long you have lived in the state;
   b. Literacy and interpretation tests;
   c. Time and place for payment of poll tax (where required); for registration; and for primary and general elections.

3. Prepare to take the tests.
   a. Study the required questions; know the U.S. and your state Constitutions; and learn the basic facts about the government of your city, county and state.

4. Encourage your friends, relatives and others to register.
   a. Discuss registration and voting at meetings you attend—church, club, fraternal, labor union, professional society, or business league.
   b. Talk to your neighbors about the need to register.

5. Share your knowledge with others.

6. Refuse to be discouraged or turned down by local election officials.

You cannot vote unless you are registered. Your first step is to get your name on the list of voters. For information on HOW and WHERE to get your name on the voters list in your community ask:

1. Your local NAACP branch
2. Your minister
3. Heads of your fraternal, social, trade union and civic organizations

IT'S EASY TO BECOME A VOTER

If you need further information, write to:

For Southern States:

MR. J. M. BROOKS
NAACP REGISTRATION DIRECTOR
404½ North Second Street
Richmond, Virginia

For West Coast Region:

MRS. TAREA H. PITTMAN
NAACP WEST COAST REGIONAL OFFICE
690 Market Street
San Francisco, California

For All Other Regions:

MR. HENRY LEE MOON
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

REMEMBER: *It's easy to become a voter.*

Beyond the Ballot Box...

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
THE ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

The free ballot box is the symbol of democracy. It provides a key to a society of freedom, justice and security. At the ballot box, as before the bar of justice, every citizen is equal. Beyond the ballot box lies the Promised Land with opportunities for individual and group advancement.

Voting . . .

Makes it possible for you to help choose the local, state and federal officials who govern you —

Gives you a voice in determining:

- **the kind of school YOUR children attend**
- **the kind of treatment YOU receive at the hands of the police**
- **the kind of justice YOU get in courts**
- **the kind of welfare service YOU can get for YOUR FAMILY in time of need**
- **the kind of hospital treatment YOU get when you are sick**
- **the kind of job YOUR CHILDREN can get with your city, state or country**
- **how much taxes YOU have to pay and how your tax money is spent**

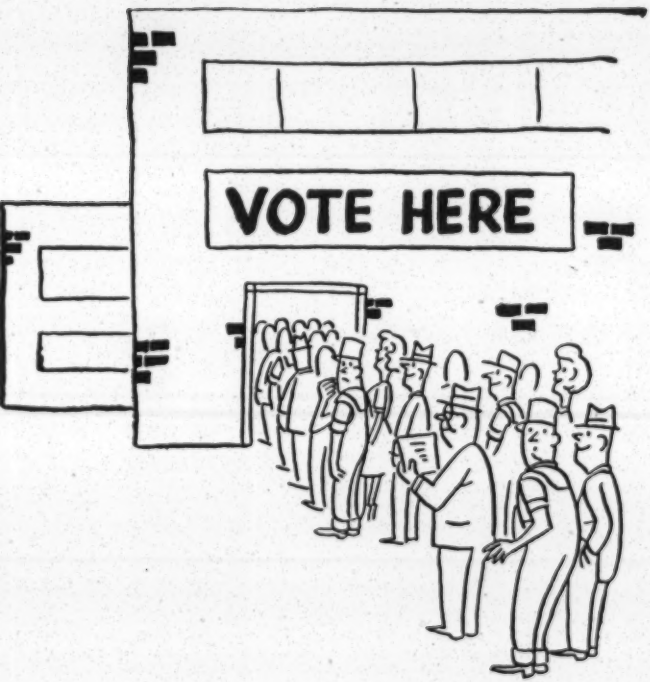
Helps you on the road to the Promised Land where there will be a better life for YOU and YOUR FAMILY.

Above all, voting means that you are a free citizen with the same rights as other citizens. After you have registered and cast your vote for the persons you want elected to office, you know you are an American doing what other Americans do. You can be proud of yourself and of your country. It is not only your right, but your duty as an American citizen to vote.

YOU CAN'T VOTE

Story next page . . .

Too bad,
'cause if you're registered . . .



. . . you can help decide who runs City Hall, the State Government, the Congress and the White House . . . You can help advance your family's welfare and security . . . *Yours Is the Vote that Counts.* But you can't vote unless you are registered. It's quite easy. Your local union COPE chairman will tell you where to go, what to do.

REGISTER *today*

so you can **VOTE**

for a better tomorrow

AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

AFL-CIO Bldg., 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY
Chairman

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 5

HOW CLOSE CAN YOU GET?

In 1956, 39 Members of the U.S. House of Representatives won election by just 52 per cent of the vote or less.

These included such friends of labor as D. S. Saund of California who won by 3,528 votes, or 51.8%; Winfield Denton of Indiana, 192 votes, or 50.1%; Merwin Coad of Iowa, 208 votes, or 50.1%; Floyd Breeding of Kansas, 1,335 votes, or 50.5%; Roy Wier of Minnesota, 12,995 votes, or 51.8%; Charles Brown of Missouri, 2,631 votes, or 50.8%; LeRoy Anderson of Montana, 2,641 votes, or 50.9%; Alfred Sieminski of New Jersey, 57 votes, or 45%, a plurality in a field of six; Albert Ullman of Oregon, 1,375 votes, or 50.7%; George Rhodes of Pennsylvania, 2,670 votes, or 51.3%; Cleveland Bailey of West Virginia, 3,987 votes, or 51.7%; and Lester Johnson of Wisconsin, 3,452 votes, or 51.4%.

This does not include close races in primary elections on one-party states.

And take a look at the U.S. Senate where—

Liberal John Carroll of Colorado won election by just 2,770 votes out of 336,974. . . .

Liberal Joe Clark of Pennsylvania won election by only 17,970 votes of 4,519,312. . . .

Earle Clements of Kentucky, backed by labor, lost by a mere 6,981 votes out of 1,006,825. . . .

Kenneth Holum of South Dakota, also supported by trade unionists, lost by a bare 4,620 votes out of 290,622.

* * * *

Now what do these figures mean?—

They mean this . . .

In all but two or three instances where labor-supported candidates came through victoriously it was due chiefly to the fact that trade unionists had registered and had gone to the polls on Election Day.

In cases where they lost, it generally can be charged to union members who had not taken the trouble to register.

And they mean this . . .

Registration is a year-'round job. It cannot be done in a few weeks before an election. By that time, it's too late to get all those union members registered who had neglected to qualify to vote until then.

Let's get busy NOW and see that every AFL-CIO member and adult members of his or her family is registered to vote in 1957. Local unions should set up registration committees to conduct general campaigns for registration among union members and their wives and husbands.

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George Meany
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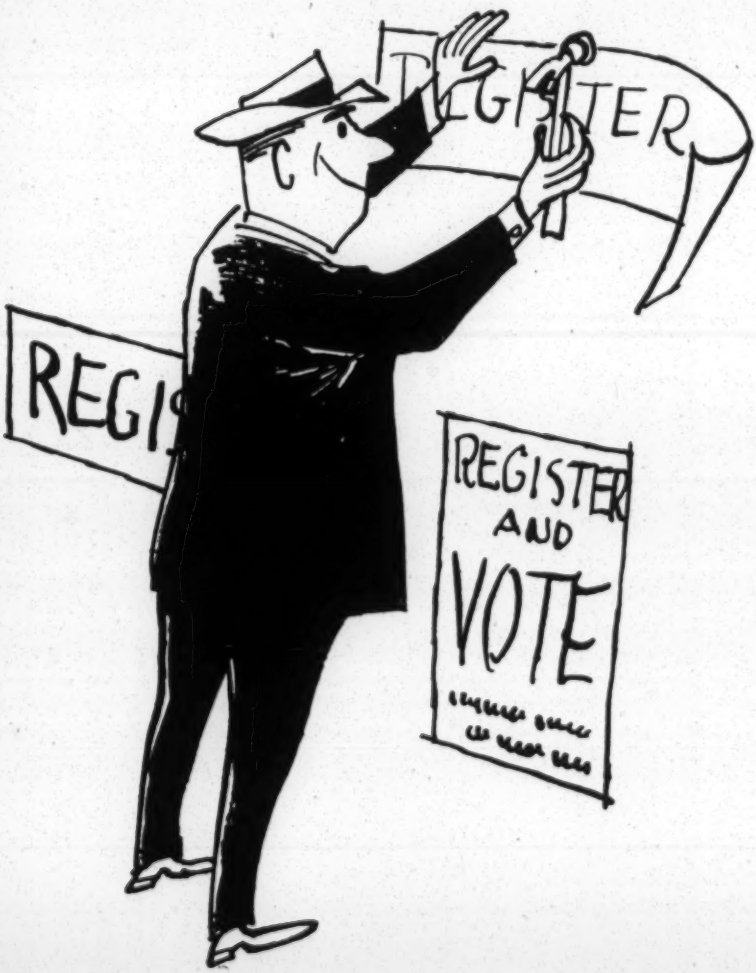
COPE Publication No. 1

6 how to

register voters



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"If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost."

ARISTOTLE
Greek philosopher, 384-322 B.C.

How to register Voters

You're the boss!

This is the title which Edward J. "Ed" Flynn gave the book he wrote on his life story. "Ed" Flynn was the famous boss of the Bronx for many years. As an acknowledged master of politics he rose to become National Chairman of the Democratic Party (1940-1943).

Flynn explains the choice of the title for his autobiography this way: ". . . there are really eighty million political bosses in America. And I determined to try and tell them how, through misguided zeal, misspent energy and just plain laziness, most of them had been shirking their duty as soldiers of democracy. So this book is respectfully addressed to you, the reader, because you're the boss."

DO IT YOURSELF

As Paul P. Van Riper put it in his "Handbook of Practical Politics,"—"life and politics in a democracy such as ours are the results of the accumulation of decisions made by millions of 'you's' from every corner of the country. And, only in a de-

mocracy like the U.S.A. do individual citizens of all creeds and colors have even the chance to decide for themselves the really important problems facing them."

Your vote is your chance.

Yet, millions of Americans shy away from that chance. They fail to exercise their right and their responsibility to vote.

They're too busy. They forget. They think politics is a bore. "Let George do it," they say. And "My vote wouldn't count," they argue.

Every vote Counts

One vote *does* count, of course. People learned that in Newark, Ohio in 1954, for instance. The incumbent mayor in this pleasant city was finally elected, after a recount, by just one vote.

One more vote in each precinct could have elected a Senator in Ohio and in New Jersey in 1954.

Rutherford B. Hayes was elected President by one vote in 1876. His election was contested and it was referred to an electoral commission. Again he won by a single vote.

The man who cast that deciding vote for President Hayes was a Congressman from Indiana, a lawyer who was elected to Congress by a margin of just one vote. And that one vote was cast by a client of his who, though desperately ill, insisted on being taken to the polls to vote.

There are thousands of other examples which prove that one vote does count.

EVERY CITIZEN A VOTER

But as Ed Flynn said, there are literally millions of American citizens who are "shirking their duty as soldiers of democracy." Only half of those eligible to vote actually bother to do so on Election Day. The goal of COPE is "Every citizen a voter!" It is COPE's job to tell every AFL-CIO member and his or her family, every working man, every citizen we can reach "Your Vote is the one that Counts."

Registration Is Essential

Every citizen must register before he or she can vote.

Americans tend to forget this simple fact. They don't want to bother. They think it is too complicated and time-consuming. And many are astonished and disappointed that they can't vote on Election Day because they failed to register or pay their poll tax where it is required.

The idea of registration is very good. It is used to record the names of all those who are eligible to vote so that those names can be checked out on Election Day.

Unfortunately, there is no uniform rule for registration. Different cities and states have different rules. In most places citizens must go in person to the appropriate place to be entered on the official list of eligible voters. In 20 or so states registration can be done by mail.

In the poll tax states—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia—there is a special fee or tax to be paid for the right to vote.

First Of All, Get All The Facts

If you are going to register and help others to register, find out immediately what the registration rules are in your state.

You can get these rules from your City or County Clerk, or the Office of the Registrar of Voters in the City Hall or County Building. While you are at it, get all the information you can about voting—how to transfer registration from one precinct to another, absentee voting, etc. You will need this information to answer questions later.

Registration of the greatest possible number of eligible voters will not get done by itself. It requires an orderly and methodical effort—a well-organized drive.

And don't forget the soldier vote and absentee vote. Often they can swing an election.

The Bigger, The Better

A registration drive can be a one-man or one-woman show. An individual can do a lot of good just urging his eligible family members, his friends and neighbors and the people on the job to register and vote.

It is much better, of course, if a systematic, well-organized registration drive is conducted by the union local.

But you'll have best results if your registration drive is conducted on a city, county or statewide basis by the city, county or state COPE.

In many parts of the country, city, county and state COPES initiate area wide registration drives in which every civic, social and political organization participate. This takes some effort but gets best results. It is a vital patriotic service, essential to make our democracy work.

PROPER TIMING

Like any other campaign, your registration drive must be properly timed. The time for your drive should be determined in cooperation with the local Board of Elections or Registrar of Voters since this office usually also conducts special registration drives during which additional temporary registration offices are opened, evening registration is arranged for, and other special services are rendered. Your drive should obviously coincide with such efforts. It should also coincide with the registration drives of other organizations.

BETTER REGISTRATION FACILITIES

A vital part of any registration drive, at least in most communities, is a campaign to get expanded registration facilities from local Boards of Election or Registrars of Voters. The job of registering people is obviously going to be much simpler if there are more roving Registration Boards, expanded hours, more registration places, or even post-card registration and deputizing registrars for door-to-door work.

Any drive needs publicity—all and any means of making people aware of the need to register—and systematic organization.

Start With AFL-CIO Members

Let's talk about organization first. Obviously COPE's first job is to register AFL-CIO members and their families—regardless whether the drive as a whole is conducted in cooperation with other organizations or not.

And the best way to register all AFL-CIO members in the area is to swing the City or County COPE into action. The job is to find out who is registered and who is not and to get the unregistered on the poll list.

EIGHT STEPS

Here are eight steps City or County COPEs should follow:

Step 1: Prepare two 3" x 5" file cards for each AFL-CIO member. These cards may either be prepared uniformly by each union local or by the council from membership lists the locals have supplied. (See also Chapter 5 on the membership file.)

Each card should provide for the following information:

* name of member
* home address and telephone number
* names of all family members eligible to vote (21 years on election day in all states except Georgia and Kentucky where the age is 18)
* ward and precinct
* a place to mark whether or not registered.

Be sure membership files are kept under lock and key. Don't let unauthorized persons near them.

Step 2: Both sets of membership file cards are collected in headquarters. Your registration drive, like any other campaign must have a headquarters to avoid duplication and to coordinate efforts. Headquarters may be the council office or a separate office rented for the occasion.

Step 3: Headquarters marks both sets of cards with ward and precinct number.

Step 4: Break down one set of cards by precincts and again alphabetically within each precinct. That is the way it is arranged on the registration lists. It will be easier to check your cards against this list if you have them in order.

Your other set of cards is arranged in alphabetical order regardless of ward and precinct and stays in headquarters at all times. You must have a record in case the precinct cards get lost. They are handled by many people and it can easily happen. (As we said in the previous chapter this entire operation of setting up a card file can also be done by business machine—at a price.)

Step 5: Check your precinct set of cards against the official list of registered voters in the Registrar's office.

This is the only sure way of knowing who is registered and who isn't. You can't rely on memories. People often aren't sure or they don't remember. They may have moved and have to register again.

Or they may have failed to vote in previous elections and thus lost their registration status.

The official list is kept by the election officials. In some states it is printed and can be purchased or obtained free. In some places it has to be copied or used in the office only.

Since this is the heart of your campaign it is definitely worth while to hire someone to check the list. Sometimes you may be able to hire a clerk in the registration office to do this work in his spare time.

You need not get into an argument about getting access to the registration list. It is a public record and you are entitled to it as a citizen.

Checking your membership file against the registration list enables you to see who is registered and who isn't. Mark each card "yes" or "no" in the space left for registration.

Step 6: Now you've got your cards with the names, addresses, ward and precinct designation of all those who are not registered.

Give the name of each unregistered member to the COPE Chairman of his local union. The idea is that the shop steward then approaches the man, and tells him where and when he can register and why it is important to him and his union that he do so.

It is important that each local union COPE makes a real effort in the Registration Drive. Posters should be up, literature should be available, registration should be talked up as much as possible. And it should be followed up with a personal talk with each unregistered member. (We list some suggestions on what a local union COPE might do to register all its members on page 24 of this chapter).

Be sure the local union COPE reports back to Registration Drive Headquarters as soon as each man is registered, so you won't have to worry about him any longer.

Step 7: Those who remain unregistered should receive a personal letter. It should be signed by a

top local official. The letter points up how vital it is that every citizen exercise his right to vote. It should make plain that, of course, every candidate can vote for whomever he wants . . . but that he must vote. As the Greek philosopher Plato said some 2,300 years ago: "The punishment suffered by the wise who refuse to take part in the government is to live under the government of bad men."

Most of all your letter should give precise and detailed information on where, when and how to register and where additional voter information can be obtained.

Step 8: Now follow up the personal approach on the job (Step 6) and the letter reminding the unregistered to register (Step 7) with a personal visit.

This is the time for your precinct organization (see Chapter 5) to swing into action. It's a good time to make contacts with potential voters, acquaint your blockworker with the people in their blocks.

Distribute the cards of the unregistered to the blockworkers in the block they live in. Let them call on each one, equipped with all the necessary information and a leaflet which they can leave after their visit.

YOUR PRECINCT ORGANIZATION

It is very important that your precinct organization is organized to help people get registered. This means that you should be able to provide baby sitters for mothers who need them to take the time to go to the registration office. It means you should be able to provide transportation for anyone who may need it.

Some precincts organize registration parties. They take a group of unregistered persons to the registration office all at the same time. It's more fun that way, helps everyone to get acquainted and make new friends.

Blockworkers should regularly report on their progress to the precinct chairman. The chairman reports back to Registration Drive headquarters. Headquarters keeps tabs on the over-all effort, helps out with literature and people where needed and doesn't relax until every AFL-CIO member in the area is registered.

SUPPORT YOUR DRIVE WITH PUBLICITY

All this should be supported by a steady and intensive publicity barrage just like an effective infantry attack is supported by heavy and well-aimed artillery fire. (You'll find publicity suggestions later on in this chapter.)

This plan, of course, only takes care of registering AFL-CIO members. It is our minimum objective, so to speak. It's the least good unionists should do to help make democracy work.

The maximum objective is to get *all* working people registered. In many parts of the country AFL-CIO unions can proudly boast of having made a splendid contribution to this effort. It pays off in better government, better officials, better laws.

City Or County-wide Registration Drive

Here is a plan for city-wide registration of working people. Here is how it works:

1) Get the most recent city directory (not more than 12 months old) and get the registration rolls for the city and any surrounding towns covered by the directory. Preferably get a copy of the directory before it is bound into a book. This saves the trouble of taking it apart, and may save you a few weeks time if the directory is just being published.

2) Code the directory by crossing out the names of professional people, business executives, salesmen, supervisors, foreman, etc. (directories list the occupations after each name in the alphabetical section). Mark a dash beside each name not crossed out to make it easier to see on the page.

3) Type the names and addresses on specially prepared forms which you must have printed (order them early!). This typing operation produces three sets of names in alphabetical order.

SORT NAMES

4) The names are then sorted into voting districts, the unit of 3 copies being kept together for this operation. It requires three or four sorting operations by street, by street number, and finally by ward and/or precinct. If your city has only wards, or only precincts, you have one less sorting job to do.

5) These forms, now arranged by voting districts, should be checked against the registration book. Each name should be marked as registered or unregistered and filed accordingly. Names of non-working wives should be on the same card with their husbands. If either one is unregistered, the card should go in the not registered file.

6) The first copy of the form should then be pulled off for mailing purposes. If you keep the names separated by voting districts, it is a simple matter to insert in the envelope local notices giving the time and place of registration for the district if this varies. The form is designed for use with a window envelope to save the job of addressing envelopes.

7) The second copy should then be pulled off, still kept separately by registered and unregistered and by voting districts to be turned over to block-workers in the precincts who will contact the people at home.

ONE COPY TO THE LOCAL UNION

8) The final copy, still separated by registered and unregistered, should then be sorted by occupation or place of employment. Each trade union council or each local union should be sent the

names of all people in their group, whether members of the union or not. In other words, if local XX has the XYZ plant in your city, all names of people employed at that plant should be forwarded to that local union.

The principal advantages of this method are that it gives greater coverage of the city, city directories are probably the most accurate lists available of potential voters, and they offer a cheaper way of getting the names than any involved clerical operation. The principal disadvantages are that the directories include names of aliens, names of 19 and 20 year olds, and directories do not give names of people who work in a city but live in suburban areas outside its limits.

The real job: Persuade them

Both these methods are solely the mechanical means of getting lists of the names and addresses of the unregistered and sorting them so they can be contacted both in the shop and at home.

It is the job of the local union COPE to contact them in the shop. Your ward and precinct organization should do the doorbell pushing.

AFL-CIO women, both members and members wives, should help in the precincts.

But you'll also want these records not only to find out how you are doing with your registration drive but for later canvassing and "get-out-the-vote" drives (see Chapter 11).

Lists of registered voters are also invaluable for education on issues, candidates and records through later contacts and mailings.

THE BEST WAY

Neither of these plans are a 100% substitute for the one and only accurate and time-tested method; house to house canvass of every block in every street.

Registration in the Precinct

By this method you send a representative of each precinct to the Registrar of Voters office and have him or her copy the names and addresses of every registered voter in the precinct on a file card. It's a formidable job—but not as bad as you might think.

Once you have a card for every registered voter (members of the same family living in the same house or apartment can, of course, be put on one card) you arrange your cards by blocks, streets and house number.

RING DOORBELLS

Next you hand each blockworker his stack of cards. Then let him go from house to house, pushing each doorbell for which he *doesn't* have a card. The people living there obviously, are not registered.

"I am Joe Doe, your COPE blockworker," your man or gal will say. "I notice that apparently you are not registered. Are you eligible?"

If the person is eligible the blockworker provides all the necessary registration information and gives all the help he can to get his "customer" to the registration office. This may involve furnishing transportation, baby sitters, or other help. Sometimes the person has just moved into the community and is not yet eligible because he or she doesn't fulfill the registration requirements.

A CARD FOR EACH HOME

In any event the blockworker should make out a card for the person, noting on it all pertinent information. The card serves two purposes; it avoids duplication and it enables the blockworker to follow up later. In other words, the blockworker will not by mistake call on the same person again until he is eligible to register. But he will call when the time comes—when the "customer" has attained his

citizenship, for instance, or has lived in the community long enough to be eligible to vote—to remind him.

Even if you make the primary effort in your registration drive with AFL-CIO members, a complete house-to-house canvass in the precinct is highly recommended. An efficient precinct organization should have a card of every person living in its precinct. It's the only way to see that 1) everyone is registered, 2) everyone is made familiar with the issues, and 3) every voter is brought out to vote.

Registration Publicity

Promotion and publicity is no substitute for a thorough person-by-person canvass but it is a vital and essential part of your registration drive. An effective and aggressive publicity campaign is needed to back up the effort of your COPE workers in the shop and in the precinct. They need this support, as we said before, as much as the infantry soldiers need the support of the artillery.

Every technique of advertising and promotion should be used to alert citizens to the importance of registering.

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

The most effective way to go about it, is to organize a committee of prominent citizens with representatives from every possible organization in the community. Call it "Your Town's Good Government League" or "Committee for Active Citizenship." Let it be completely non-partisan. For all you want to promote is good citizenship based on the simple and obvious proposition that the more people participate in elections the more representative and truly democratic our government is going to be. Organizations like the Chamber of Commerce, the Republican and Democratic Parties, the League of Women Voters, other trade unions, businessmen's clubs, veterans organizations, student

groups, minority organizations, advertising clubs, etc., should all join the Committee and the Registration Drive.

A registration campaign conducted by such a representative group can be extremely effective for two reasons:

1) You reach a very large number of people through these various organizations and the influence they have in the community. And

2) A broad, non-partisan committee opens up practically every means of communication and publicity.

Whether your registration drive is conducted by COPE alone or under the auspices of a representative registration campaign committee, use some or all of the following means of publicity:

RADIO AND TV STATIONS—should give *free* time for:

★ special five or ten minute talks by prominent civic leaders about the importance of registration.

★ short dramatic skits, live or recorded, stressing the need to register and vote

★ spot announcements urging registration and giving dates, places and times for registration. (Also give phone number of the committee which can arrange for transportation when needed.)

★ stress registration and give registration information in regular news broadcasts and news commentaries.

NEWSPAPERS AND WEEKLIES—should give *free* space for:

★ An "Only X more days to register" box, preferably on the front page, every day for the duration of the registration drive.

★ "Register to Vote" cut-off slugs at end of stories, columns, editorials, etc., instead of regular rules

★ editorials and cartoons on the "register so you can vote theme"

★ news stories about the registration drive. These can be varied indefinitely for instance: stories about prominent women taking part in the registration drive on the women's page; naturalized citizens registering, 21-year olds registering, to vote for the first time, oldsters reminiscing about events and issues that were important the first time they voted, feature reports on the registration office and its work, etc.

★ ads giving registration information and urging people to register

BUSINESS, ADVERTISING AGENCIES should be asked for cooperation with the following:

★ inclusion of registration slogans in newspaper ads or sponsoring of ads exclusively devoted to registration

★ registration annuoncements in radio and TV advertising

★ donation of space in streetcars, buses and on billboards for registration messages

★ window displays in stores. The Chamber of Commerce can often be persuaded to run a contest for the best window display on the subject

★ window displays in the offices of Gas, Electric and Water Companies

Put Up Your Registration Posters

★ in department stores, retail shops, public transportation carriers, theatre lobbies, lobbies and elevators of office and apartment buildings, drug stores, and restaurants

★ on bulletin boards in libraries, recreation centers, churches, clubs, unions, factories, colleges and meeting halls

THEATERS

Contact movie *theater managers* about running "register and vote" slides between showings during the campaign period

CLERGY

Ask the *clergy* about mentioning registration in their announcements

ORGANIZATIONS

Get every organization in town or in the county to feature registration announcements. Ask to have a representative of your registration committee speak briefly in their meetings. Also ask them to carry "register and vote" announcements or ads in their bulletins and special mailings. Among the groups to contact are:

★ Elks, civic, religious, fraternal, educational, student, social organizations, clubs and associations

HANDBILLS

Print a simple, attractice *flyer* or *handbill* with registration and voting information in sufficient quantities to distribute them:

★ door to door
★ as inserts with organization mailings
★ on store counters
★ as bill inserts by department and other stores as well as gas, light and water companies
★ at street corners, in front of factories and schools

STAMPS

Print "Register and Vote" stamps and urge organizations and business to stick them on all their mailing envelopes.

SPECIAL EVENTS

Schedule *special events* and see that these get good advance publicity and newspaper and radio coverage. Such special events could include:

★ an opening ceremony of your registration drive, kicked off at City Hall or Capitol by the Mayor or Governor, heads of your committee and other prominent citizens

★ registration parades with banners, sound trucks, pretty girls, etc. The parade should include veterans organizations, detachments from different schools, detachments of the various professions such as teachers, doctors, clergy, lawyers, businessmen, etc., as well as the various organizations listed above.

BUTTON

★ "I have registered" buttons—You will find firms making campaign buttons listed in your yellow classified telephone directory. Make up but-

tons with an inscription such as "I have registered—I will vote." Distribute them at registration offices and urge people to wear them. Give the first button to the governor or mayor or some other prominent, newsworthy person. See that people wear your buttons on all publicity pictures.

PORCH LIGHT CAMPAIGN

★ Organize a "porch light" campaign to register voters. If you have a prominent registration committee and built up sufficient publicity and public pressure you may be able to arrange registrars from the Registration Office to go from house to house to register voters. Pick an evening in the middle of the week and through the newspaper, radio, handbills, telephone brigades, etc., ask all people in a given precinct who are not registered to turn on the light on the porch. The registrar and his staff will then call at homes where the porch light is on and register all those eligible in the family.

DOOR KNOB HANGERS

★ Another gimmick you can use—to notify people of the porchlight campaign or directly to urge them to register soon—is a door knob hanger. It's similar to the card that the telegraph company uses to notify you of a telegram delivery when you are not at home. Your door knob hanger should have printed on it the facts about registration, especially when and where to register. Or, you can dress up your door knob hanger with some catchy slogan.

Don't Just Ask—Give

You need publicity, free publicity for an effective registration drive. You'll have to ask a lot of people to cooperate with you. You need the help and cooperation of your local newspapers and radio stations and of various organizations.

To get this needed help you must be prepared to give. Newspaper writers and radio commentators in particular have a lot on their minds and a lot to do. The easier you make it for them to write or broadcast your story the better your chances to get it in print or on the air.

Here are some of the basic materials which you should prepare as soon as possible:

- a mimeographed or printed sheet listing all pertinent information and voting, including
  - dates of registration
  - places of registration
  - times of registration
  - requirements for registration and voting
- a mimeographed or printed sheet of short register and vote slogans and plugs suitable for use in advertising, cut-off slugs in newspapers, etc.
- sample spot announcements for radio stations, organization bulletins
- sample registration boxes for newspapers and advertising agencies, radio programs

What the Local Union Should Do

The most important contribution to any effective AFL-CIO registration drive is made by the local union COPE.

The local union COPE should:

- talk up registration at union meetings, union socials, in the union hall
- distribute leaflets, booklets, handbills in the shop or at the gate
- write to the members of your local at home
- put up notices, stickers, posters at plant bulletin boards, in the union office, union hall . . . any place you can
- use a loudspeaker car or truck at the factory gate at shift change

* get a special rubber stamp or sticker to paste on member's dues book or card showing he is registered
* ask management for permission to include a registration reminder slip in pay envelopes
* ask management to pay lost time for registration
* run contests between shops or departments with prizes or citations for the one which first attains 100% registration
* reward shopworkers or blockworkers who do an outstanding job in getting others to register by announcing their names at meetings, giving them certificates of good citizenship, sending them letters of commendation, or honoring them at a registration drive dinner
* open a registration booth in your plant or union hall. Perhaps you can persuade an official from the Voter's Registrar Office to actually register people there at certain hours. Otherwise use the booth to give out registration information.

EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE CAMPAIGNS

Quite possibly you can get your employer to join with your local union in a company-wide registration drive. Suggest to set up a committee consisting of both management and labor to organize it. Such a joint committee could do many of the things suggested above.

A Word About Your Approach

Your literature, your posters, your letters, your speeches and announcements should recall on two basic human emotions; pride and shame.

Appeal to the pride of the unregistered by saying: "Be a first class citizen—register to vote!" Or, "Yours is the vote that counts—register today!" There are, of course, thousands of variations on this theme.

Shaming people can also be played in various ways: "Don't shirk your duty—good citizens vote," might suggest possible slogans. In your local union bulletin or even in a handbill print the names of members of the local who are registered. These are the local's first class citizen your announcement says. The implication is, of course, that the others are not.

Also consider appealing to people's self-interest. Voting gives a citizen his best chance to have his say on such issues as how much taxes he pays, what unemployment compensation he gets, how many schools are built. "Register to Vote so You Can Help Bring Taxes Down," might be a good slogan to fit into this theme.

HOW MANY PEOPLE

AS OF

State	Potential Vote 1956	Per Cent of Potential Registered	Per Cent of Potential Voting
Alabama	1,742,000	48.8	28.4
Arizona	583,000	63.1	48.1
Arkansas	1,019,000	57.0	40.0
California	8,412,000	76.2	65.0
Colorado	953,000	82.8	69.6
Connecticut	1,458,000	85.2	76.6
Delaware	249,000	75.4	71.5
Florida	2,327,000	69.0	48.4
Georgia	2,202,000	60.3	30.5
Idaho	353,000	85.0	77.3
Illinois	6,082,000	85.8	72.5
Indiana	2,729,000	90.5	72.4
Iowa	1,666,000	—	74.1
Kansas	1,280,000	—	67.7
Kentucky	1,858,000	83.4	56.7
Louisiana	1,659,000	63.8	37.2
Maine	545,000	91.7	64.5
Maryland	1,700,000	69.7	54.9
Massachusetts	3,118,000	85.7	75.3
Michigan	4,593,000	76.2	67.1
Minnesota	1,977,000	—	67.8
Mississippi	1,123,000	44.5	22.1
Missouri	2,717,000	—	67.5
Montana	375,000	84.4	72.3

NATIONAL AVERAGE

REGISTER AND VOTE

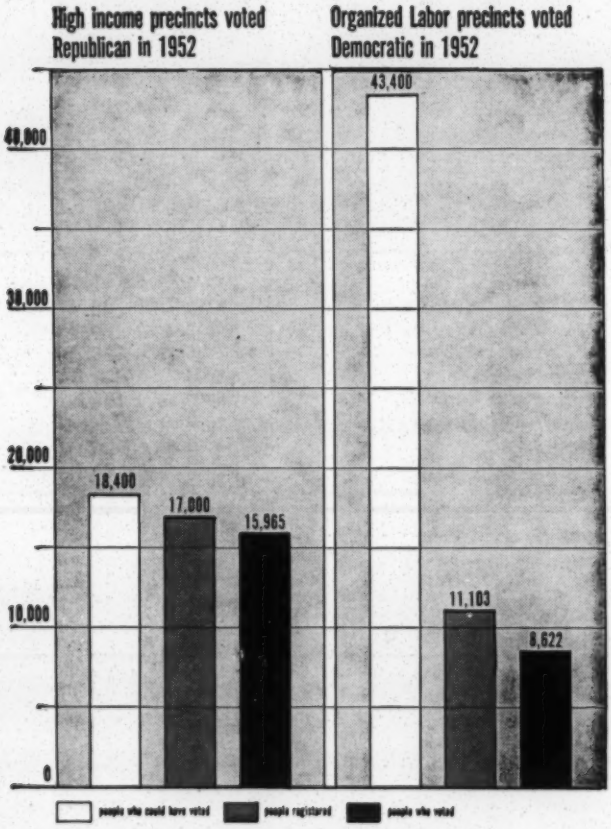
1956

State	Potential Vote 1956	Per Cent of Potential Registered	Per Cent of Potential Voting
Nebraska	876,000	—	65.9
Nevada	150,000	81.0	64.5
New Hampshire	355,000	95.1	75.2
New Jersey	3,546,000	80.3	70.1
New Mexico	409,000	89.5	62.1
New York	10,832,000	71.0	65.5
North Carolina	2,447,000	81.7	47.6
North Dakota	379,000	—	67.0
Ohio	5,704,000	55.1	64.9
Oklahoma	1,342,000	93.1	64.0
Oregon	1,075,000	81.7	68.4
Pennsylvania	7,046,000	77.0	65.0
Rhode Island	520,000	84.5	73.4
South Carolina	1,222,000	62.3	24.7
South Dakota	407,000	82.2	72.2
Tenessee	2,042,000	63.7	46.0
Texas	5,135,000	48.5	38.1
Utah	439,000	86.5	76.1
Vermont	223,000	87.4	68.6
Virginia	2,043,000	44.1	34.2
Washington	1,611,000	90.2	71.4
West Virginia	1,147,000	97.0	72.4
Wisconsin	2,328,000	—	66.6
Wyoming	180,000		69.0

102,178,000 POTENTIAL VOTERS

ONLY 60.7% VOTED

How we can Win



(This chart, printed in color on letter-size paper, is available from AFL-CIO COPE, 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.)

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education

815—16th Street. N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

George Meany
Chairman

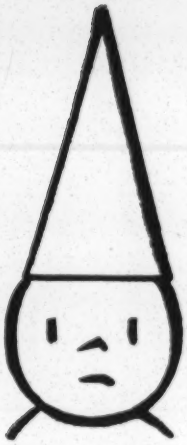
Wm. F. Schnitzler
Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 7

WHY

THE ABC'S OF CITIZENSHIP

Did you know that the word **"IDIOT"** comes from a Greek word meaning "THE MAN WHO **DIDN'T VOTE"?**



IDIOT or NOT

THE MAN WHO DOESN'T VOTE WHEN HE HAS THE CHANCE MAY BE ACTING AS:

(1) A TOOL of the WORST MACHINE BOSSES

(2) A VICTIM of PRESSURE GROUPS

(3) AN ALLY of CROOKS

(4) A GENERAL INFLUENCE for BAD GOVERNMENT

A SCRIPTOGRAPHIC BOOKLET by CHANNING L. BETE CO., INC. Greenfield, Mass., U.S.A.
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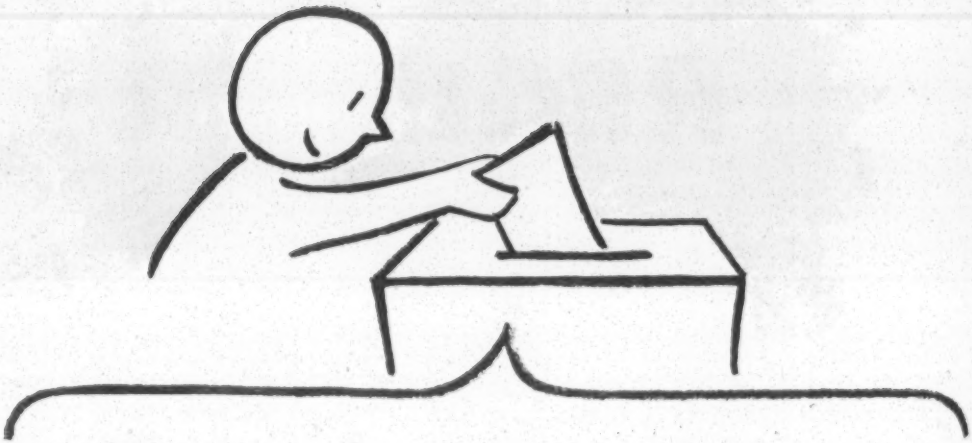
HOWEVER, IN YOUR CASE,

WHEN YOU VOTE



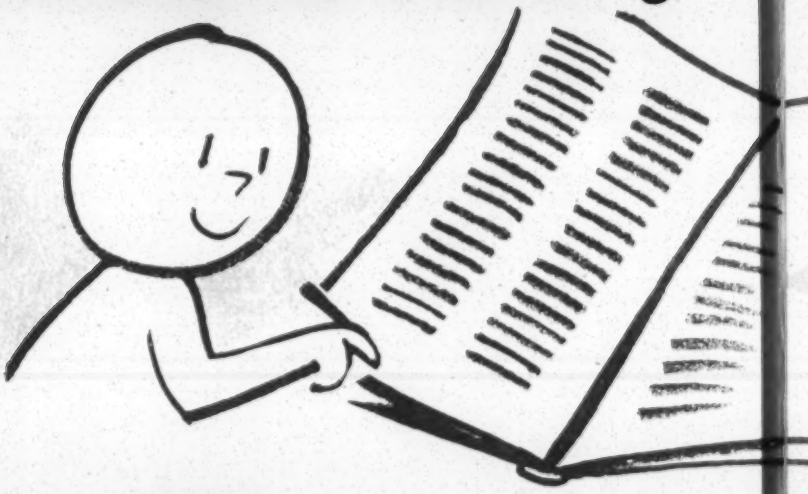
- ☒ you help create **LEADERS** (instead of "bosses")
- ☒ you help **POLITICIANS** reflect the will of the **VOTERS**
- ☒ you become a **REAL** American citizen
- ☒ and you are an influence for **GOOD GOVERNMENT**

OF COURSE,

TO VOTE AT ALL--

YOU'VE GOT TO

REGISTER!



TO FIND OUT - **HOW**
- **WHEN**
- **WHERE** to REGISTER--

call (a) Local officials
(b) Newspaper
(c) Courthouse (ask for office handling registration)

to register you may be required to...

(1) **IDENTIFY YOURSELF**

under OATH

(a) Name
(b) Address
(c) Place of Birth

(2) **GIVE YOUR AGE**

(3) **ESTABLISH YOUR RESIDENCE**

also--

about ⅓ of the states require a reading test.

ONCE YOU'VE REGISTERED

(1) find out <u>how long</u> it is good for--

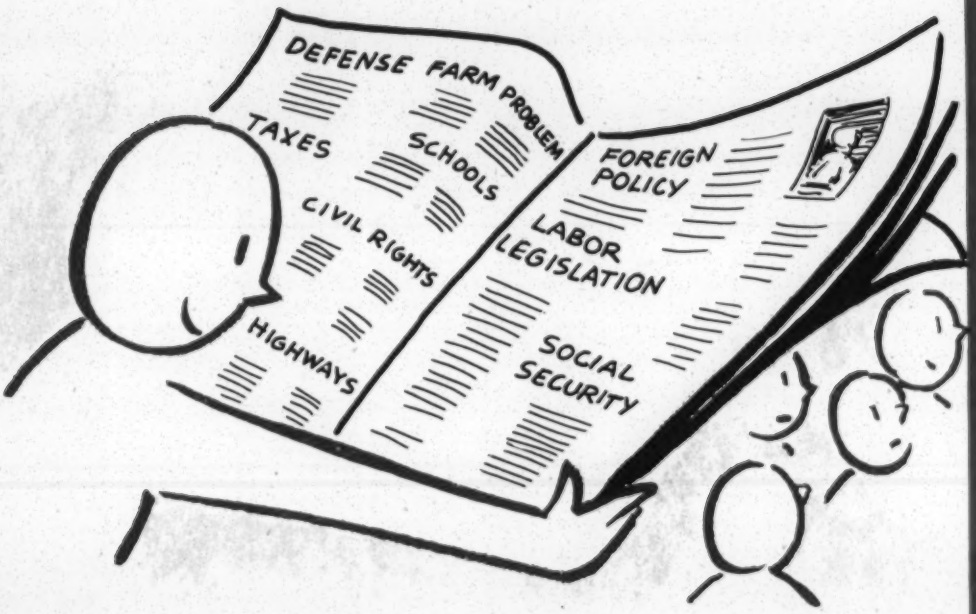
- PERMANENT?
- ONE YR. ONLY?
- or UNTIL YOU STOP VOTING?

(2) if you <u>MOVE</u>.. you must register again

(3) if a woman <u>MARRIES</u>, she must RE-REGISTER

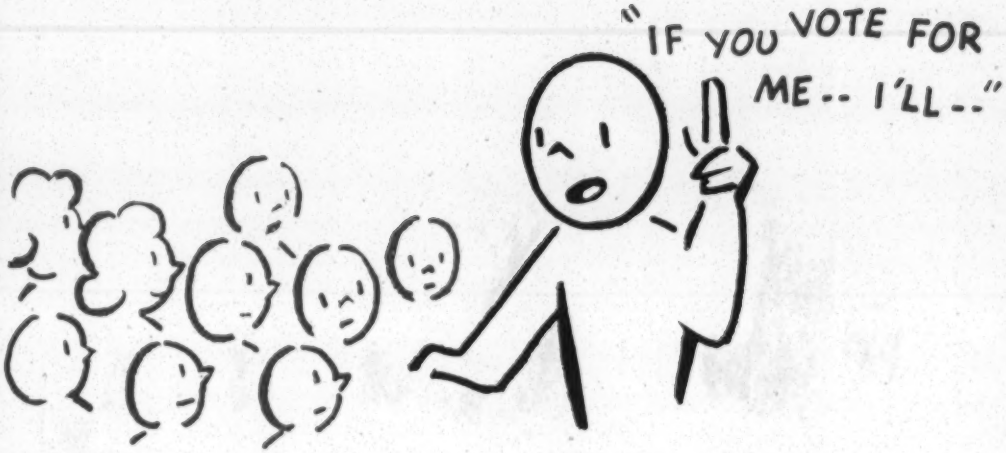
THEN -- BEFORE YOU VOTE

STUDY THE ISSUES



Remember -- every public issue is a political issue. The GOVERNMENT is your servant -- to carry out your wishes -- and local issues are just as important for you as state or national ones -- perhaps more important.

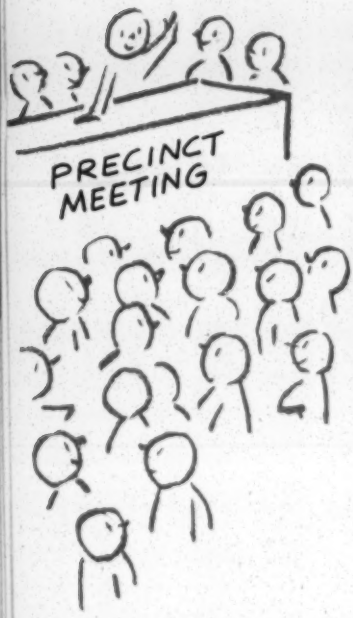
--AND THE CANDIDATES



Don't be misled by campaign "promises". See how elected officials have voted. Look behind party labels. Think before you vote--

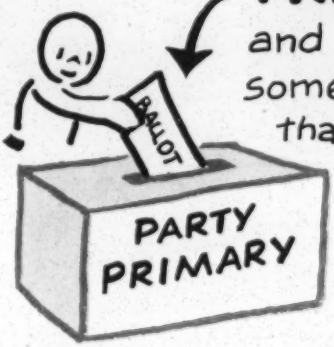
AND REMEMBER-- Contrary to some opinion-- the average professional politician (i.e. elected legislator or official) is a **DECENT, HONEST** person who wants to do what's **BEST** and generally will **REFLECT** the attitudes, morals and wishes of the **PEOPLE** who **ELECTED** him.

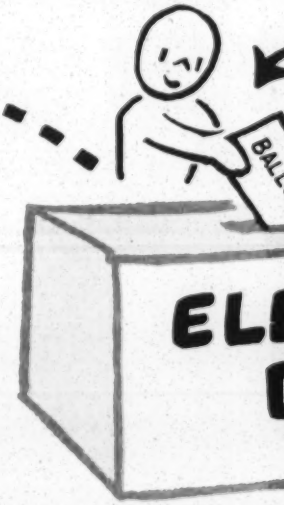
AMERICA HAS BEEN BUILT AND IS



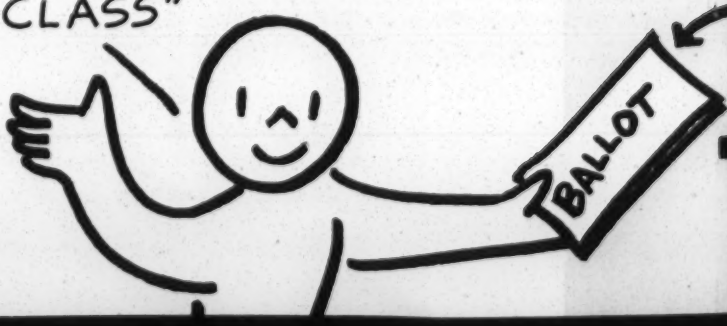
YOU --attend these important meetings to help screen and choose candidates

THEN VOTE and choose candidates. Sometimes more importa than the election itse





Your vote makes you a member of America's <u>only</u> "RULING CLASS"



IS BOSSED BY **YOUR BALLOTS**

TO CHOOSE--

LOCAL OFFICES
such as...
- ☒ MAYOR
- ☒ COUNCIL
- ☒ SCHOOL BOARD

etc.

STATE OFFICES
such as
- ☒ GOVERNOR
- ☒ SENATOR
- ☒ REPRESENTATIVES

etc.

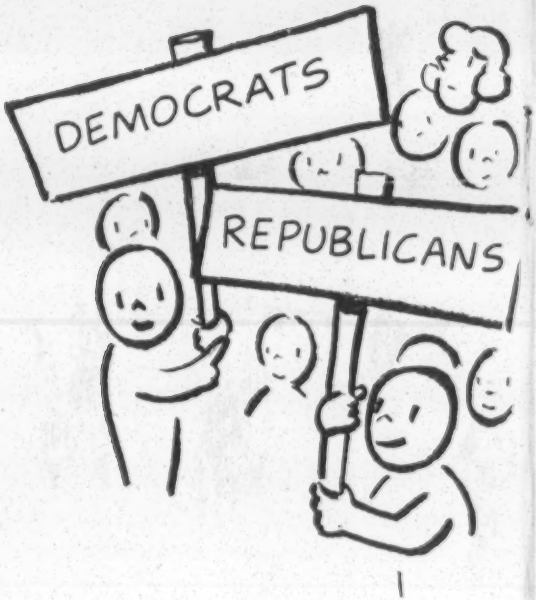
NATIONAL OFFICES
- ☒ PRES. & VICE PRES.
- ☒ SENATOR
- ☒ CONGRESSMAN

...s..
...rtant
...self

and finally
VOTE

YOUR VOTE COUNTS

YOUR PRECINCT (300 to 1,000 VOTERS) + about **165,000** PRECINCTS in the U.S. = GOVERNMENT OF, BY and FOR THE PEOPLE



As a citizen
you can

GET MORE DONE
and HAVE MORE FUN
if you WORK
WITH OTHERS

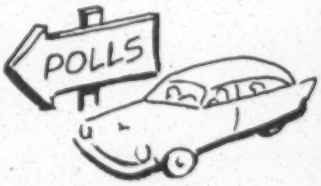
1 You can take part in YOUR PARTY

PURPOSE:
(1) to define issues
(2) to select candidates

(a) Find out about candidates and issues

(b) Get others to register

- call on them
- take them to registration point



(c) Get others to vote

- drive them to polls
- baby sit while they vote

(d) Work at party headquarters

- as receptionist, clerk or phone operator

(e) Distribute literature

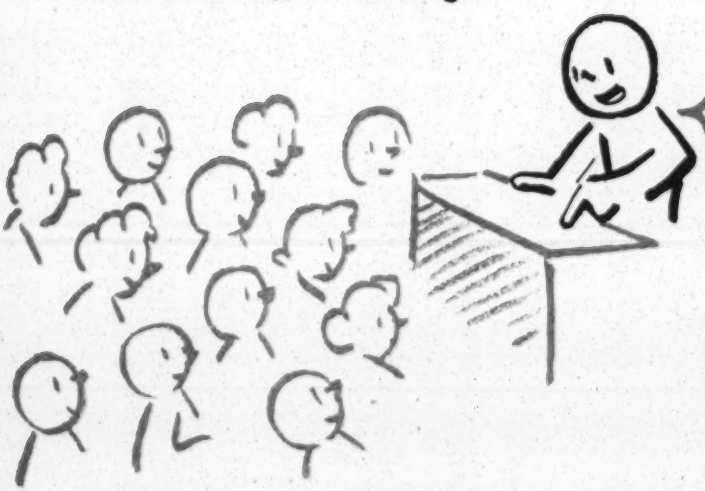
- booklets
- posters
- flyers

(f) Attend party meetings..

join precinct clubs, young people, women's groups, etc.

2 You can work with fellow-members of CLUBS

and other organizations
to which you belong



P.T.A.
CIVIC
VETERANS
LODGES
GRANGE
LEAGUE of WOMEN VOTERS
ETC.

on a non-partisan basis

to (1) get EVERY member to VOTE

(2) get CANDIDATES to explain ISSUES

(3) organize CIVIC AFFAIRS committees to promote better citizenship

3 You can get to know your ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

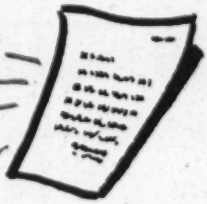
SENATOR CONGRESSMAN MAYOR COUNCILMAN GOVERNOR etc.

(1) Make a LIST of them - local, state and national

(2) ASK THEM what *they* think - or ask them for more information on issues that interest you

(3) TELL THEM what *you* think -- IT'S EASY --

be serious
honest
courteous
praise as well as criticise



Just sit down and WRITE THEM A NOTE

no form letters or postcards

Simply address

Senator -------, U.S. Senate, Washington 25, D.C.
(or) Congressman ----, U.S. House of Representatives Washington 25, D.C.
(or) Governor ------, State House, Capital City
(or) Senator --------, " " " "
(or) Representative--, " " " "

REMEMBER--

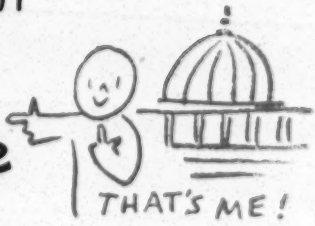
POLITICS is the BUSINESS of running **YOUR** government

It's concerned with--

- ☒ **YOUR human DIGNITY**
- ☒ **YOUR personal FREEDOM**
- ☒ **YOUR general WELFARE**

So.. POLITICS is **YOUR** BUSINESS lest government

OF
BY } **the people**
FOR



perish from the earth

SO WHAT ?

SOOO...

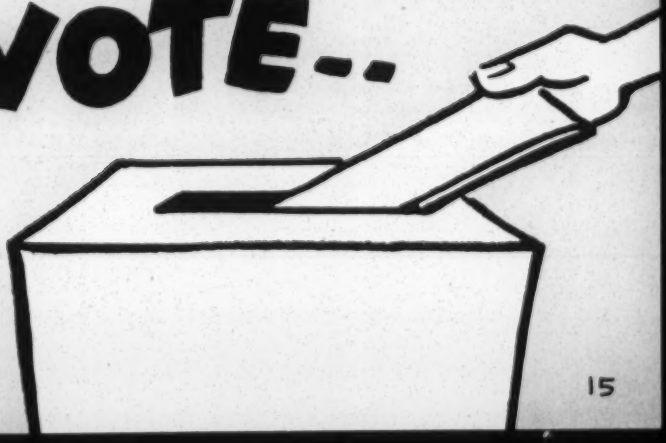
1. Be sure to <u>register</u>

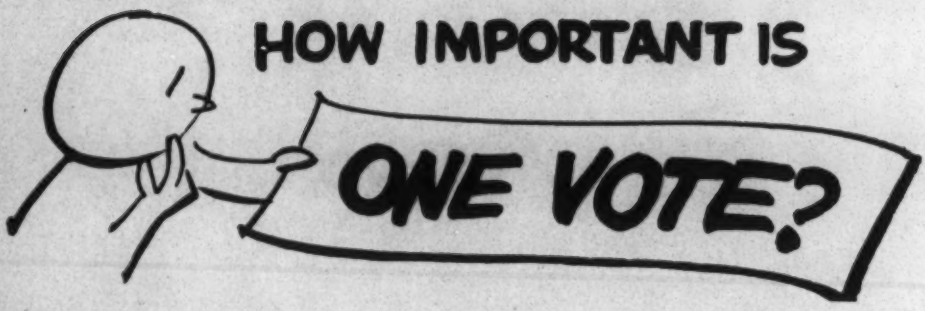
2. Find out { when / where / how } to **<u>Vote</u>**

3. Decide { whom / what } to **<u>Vote</u>** <u>for</u>

4. Urge <u>others</u> to do likewise

and.. 5 **VOTE..**





ONE electoral vote put Rutherford B. Hayes in the White House.

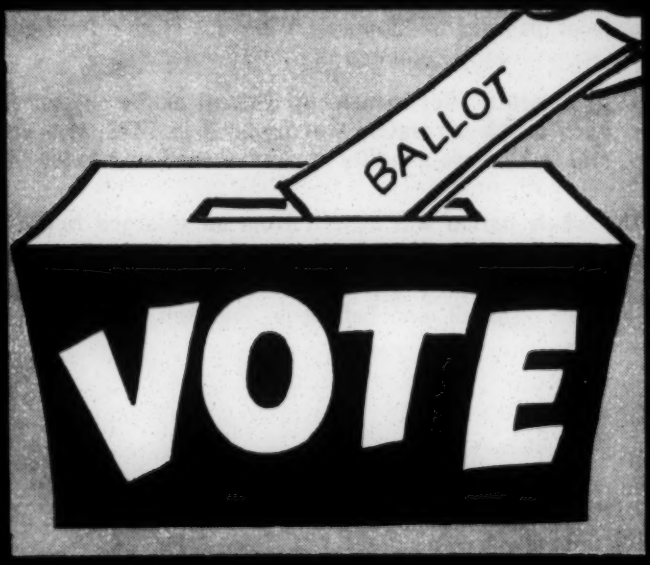
ONE Congressional vote saved Selective Service just 12 weeks before Pearl Harbor.

ONE vote can take a frightened child off a busy highway and onto a new school bus.

LITHO. IN U. S. A.

SCLC

CRUSADE FOR THE



TO DOUBLE THE
NEGRO VOTE
IN THE SOUTH

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

". . . to secure these rights to ourselves and our posterity . . ."

THE *NEGRO VOTER* IN THE SOUTH

THE FACTS

(1) Over 5 million Negroes of voting age live in the South.

(2) **Only 25% of adult Negroes vote compared with 60% white adults.**

(3) Purges of voters **lists,** "slowdowns" by registrars, opening the registration office only one or two days a month and at hours that are not helpful for working people; and

(4) Open intimidation by some plantation bosses and many local officials, all play a part in discouraging the Negro Citizen from becoming a registered voter.

As a result, "Government by consent of the governed," upon which our nation was founded in 1776, is a goal still to be made a reality in most of the South today.

Most of the present crop of Southern Senators and Congressmen will oppose and fillibuster all legislation designed to protect the voting rights of citizens of this region.

YOU CAN CHANGE THIS SITUATION

Despite these obstacles Negro citizens are struggling daily to double the number of voters and to obtain representation in government.

Even the most die-hard segregationist in public office can be made to respect voting power. Furthermore, we know there are many liberal white citizens in the South who count on the Negro votes to increase enough for liberal voices to be heard in the government.

The whole nation will benefit from an enlarged Negro vote in the South. This area of our country CAN elect men and women of good will and a sense of justice to Congress and to local state legislatures.

Let all who believe in Freedom and Human Dignity join in this great **Crusade For The Ballot Now!!**

Young people in Macon, Georgia in line at the County Courthouse to become new registered voters. With S. C. L. C. help, Negroes in Macon doubled their voting power in a ninety-day campaign during 1962.

All over the South, people at the grass-roots level are joining the CRUSADE FOR THE BALLOT.

CRUSADE FOR THE BALLOT

TO DOUBLE THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE SOUTH

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
President, S. C. L. C.

HOW

✓ To educate and stimulate Negroes to exercise the vote.

✓ To help them obtain the right to vote where in practice it does not exist.

ORGANIZE

✓ SCLC will help your community to organize registration schools, workshops for local leaders, public meetings on voter registration and provide material when requested.

IN UNITY THERE IS STRENGTH

✓ **No narrow partisan interest must be allowed to divide us. In reaching a cross section of the Negro community, the Crusade will move across party lines.**

✓ It is for the good of the local community that all civic, church, fraternal and other organizations cooperate in this effort.

NONVIOLENCE

✓ The Freedom Movement in the Deep South is a non-violent revolution, giving birth to a new day of progress and human dignity for all Americans, for generations to come.

REGISTER AND VOTE

✓ Remember if you are already registered you must **vote** in elections in order to keep your name listed on the registration books.

All elections are important for gaining needed improvements in the community and speeding the day of full freedom.

"The goal of the Freedom Movement in the South can be summed up in 3 words:
All, Here, and Now

We want **all** of our rights as citizens
(not just some rights);
We want them **here**, in the Deep South, and
We want them **now**---"

-Martin Luther King, Jr.

When you have finished reading this, please pass it on to a member of the family, a neighbor or a friend.

Additional copies may be secured upon request from one of the addresses listed below:

For further information write the local organization:

OR

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
VOTER REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT
332 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Telephone 524-1378

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
President

WYATT TEE WALKER
Executive Director

ATTY. I. M. AUGUSTINE
General Counsel

VOTER REGISTRATION FIELD STAFF

J. H. CALHOUN
Georgia State Director

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Virginia & Carolinas

JAMES BEVEL
Mississippi

FRED BENNETT
Georgia Assistant Director

HARRY BLAKE
Louisiana & E. Texas

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Student Liaison Organizer

J. H. O'DELL
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CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL PROGRAM

(Mrs.) DOROTHY F. COTTON
Director of Education

ANDREW J. YOUNG
Administrator

(Mrs.) SEPTIMA P. CLARK
Supervisor, Teacher Training

THE NEGRO VOTE BLOC

Editorial published June 21, 1962, in **The News,** Lynchburg, Virginia.

If you live in a small town, read the inside editorial very carefully. It clearly demonstrates what a minority vote can do, if it is organized.

"AN ORGANIZED MINORITY VOTE CAN WIN AN ELECTION WHERE THERE IS A DIVIDED MAJORITY VOTE."

N. A. A. C. P.'S CRUSADE FOR VOTERS

Excerpt, Voter Registration Report to Messrs. Roy Wilkins and Kelly Alexander from the NAACP Voter Registration Director, dated October 17-November 21, 1961:

"October 26, 1961
Lynchburg, Virginia

"PURPOSE

"To plan a poll tax drive with Lynchburg citizens at the invitation of Mr. M. W. Thornhill, Jr., board member and past president of Lynchburg NAACP Branch. Every adult must pay poll tax in Virginia to be a qualified voter.

"CONCLUSION

"There were over 100 workers present at this meeting. They succeeded in getting over 1,500 persons to pay their poll tax. Poll tax must be paid between November 8 and December 12 to vote in the 1962 city elections in Virginia."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Voter Education Project

404½ North Second Street

Richmond 19, Virginia

The News

Published by The Lynchburg News, Inc., Lynchburg, Virginia

Formerly Carter Glass & Sons, Publishers

PHILIP LIGHTFOOT SCRUGGS, Editor JOHN A. HAMILTON, Associate Editor

DAVID W. WRIGHT, Managing Editor

Thursday, June 21, 1962

The Negro Vote Bloc

The votes in Lynchburg's councilmanic election have all been canvassed, the results have been certified and exact totals are known. It is time now to examine the impact of the Negroes at the polls.

Other groups may vote as blocs, the Republicans, the party-line Democrats, the anti-fluoridationists, but none of these blocs is better organized or more effective than the Negro bloc vote. Nor are other bloc votes as easy to identify and to measure.

In the City Registrar's office Negro voters are listed on yellow or pink cards, white voters are listed on white or blue cards. If a voter cast a ballot, a check mark appears in an appropriate box on these record cards.

So, a reading of these cards, a count of the colors, will reveal the number of Negro votes cast and the number of white votes cast. We did not count up the nearly 7,000 voter cards with check marks; instead, we worked with a sample precinct, figured percentages and projected these percentages across the total vote. The results obtained should be fairly accurate.

Let's get some basic figures down. Records show that there are 2,042 Negroes registered to vote. Of this number 533 are not eligible to vote because of failure to pay poll taxes. This leaves 1,509 eligible to vote. Those eligible represent 74 per cent of those registered.

We will use figures from the first precinct of the First Ward in our example. This is a precinct with a heavy Negro vote. It is a precinct where Negro poll workers checked off those voting and hustled Negroes to the polls. In this precinct, there are 359 Negroes registered to vote. While the exact figure of those eligible to vote is not set forth, we can apply our percentage figure here and estimate that there are 266 Negroes eligible to vote having paid necessary taxes. A count of the colored cards in this precinct revealed that 173 Negroes actually did vote. This is 65 per cent of those eligible.

* * *

We can now project this percentage across the total vote. If 65 per cent of the eligible Negroes voted in the first precinct of the First Ward, is it not reasonable to assume that 65 per cent of all Negroes eligible to vote cast a ballot? If this percentage is reasonably accurate, then by taking 65 per cent of the total number of Negroes eligible to vote one finds that the total number of Negroes who cast a ballot was 981. This is a significant total. Informed observers estimated that two years ago the total Negro vote was only about 700.

Even so, this estimate may be too low. M. W. Thornhill, Jr., a Negro leader, reports that his workers actually checked off 997 Negro voters at the polls and, he adds, that this check-off did not include all precincts and he estimates that the total Negro vote probably exceeded 1,000.

We have no reason to doubt Mr. Thornhill's estimate. But we have not seen his check-off records and, for our purposes here, will stick

with the estimates based on percentages of the votes cast in the first precinct of the First Ward.

What did a Negro bloc vote of 981 mean? How did this bloc affect the fortunes of those for whom the Negroes cast their ballots, the four winners, Howard Ford, James Ould Jr., A. G. Jefferson and Harold Leggett? How would a different vote by the Negro bloc have affected the fortunes of the four defeated candidates, "Pete" White, Allen Harvey, Benson Hoge and Claude Hoskins?

This can best be illustrated in tabular form, which we have done below. There are four tables. The first shows the actual vote, the second shows the results which would have obtained had there been no Negro vote at all, the third shows the results if the Negroes had reversed their vote and given it to the four candidates who finished last in the actual count rather than the four who, in fact, finished first, and the fourth table shows what the results would have been if the Negroes had divided their bloc vote as the white voters did, in fact, divide their vote. Howard Ford received 62 per cent of the white vote, James Ould received 59 per cent, "Pete" White received 54 per cent, A. G. Jefferson received 48 per cent, Allen Harvey receivd 42 per cent, Benson Hoge received 41 per cent, Claude Hoskins received 40 per cent and Harold Leggett received 39 per cent of the white vote.

* * *

These tables can be summarized. Most significantly, without the Negro vote being cast in the bloc fashion in which it was actually cast, Harold Leggett would not have been elected and "Pete" White would have been elected. Harold Leggett would have finished last. He would have finished last if there had been no Negro vote, he would have finished last if the Negro vote had been reversed and cast for the other four candidates and he would even have finished last if the Negro vote had been divided along the same general percentage lines as the white vote was divided.

"Pete" White would have finished third if there had been no Negro vote. He would have finished first if he had received the Negro vote. He would have finished third if the Negro vote had been split as the white vote was split.

If we had used Mr. Thornhill's estimates of the Negro vote, we would only emphasize these results. What is clear is that the Negro voting bloc is powerful; it is effective. Mr. Thornhill explains that the Negroes basically wanted to vote against two men, Allen Harvey, "who operates a segregated drive-in and segregated motel," and Claude Hoskins. Mr. Thornhill asserted that the Negroes "were the deciding factor" in electing Mr. Hoskins four years ago as a write-in candidate and he indicated that the Negroes were unhappy with Mr. Hoskins in office.

The results show that the Negroes achieved their goal. They helped defeat Mr. Harvey and Mr. Hoskins. They helped elect the four winners; in fact, Mr. Leggett owes his election to the Negro vote. A switch of Negro votes could have defeated Mr. Jefferson.

We have set out the story of the Negro bloc vote in some detail because it is an important story too little understood. Here we have a bloc of about 1,000 votes, a bloc carefully organized, beautifully disciplined. To some whites, this bloc may represent a threat. To all Negroes, it probably represents a hope. To members of Council, keeping the Negro dissatisfaction with Mr. Hoskins in mind, this bloc undoubtedly represents a force to be reckoned with.

REGISTER

AND

VOTE!!

GUIDES FOR ANSWERING OF INQUIRIES FROM THE PRESS OR OTHERS

1. Both SRC and the agencies are requested by the donor to preserve its anonymity, at least for the present: if asked where the money is coming from, the answer we have been requested to give is: "the foundations (plural) do not wish their grants to be publicized at this time".

2. If SRC is asked what other agencies are participating, the names should be given without hesitation and with no appearance of evasion.

3. If SRC is asked what these agencies will do in relation to the Project, the reply should include reference to the following points:

- concrete programs not yet worked out
- agencies will seek to get people registered
- agencies will formulate and manage their own programs
- agencies will use Project as a clearinghouse for ideas and information, as a place for discussions and coordinated planning
- agencies will make information regarding their programs available to the Voter Education Project in furtherance of its research

4. If SRC is asked about the size of the grant, response should be in terms of approximation, but accurate: for the present, say "approximately $100,000 for each of the next two years".

5. If SRC is asked about the size of allocations to the agencies, response should be that no commitments have yet been made to the agencies. Information will be available on request after funds are committed.

6. If an agency is asked what is its relationship, if any, to SRC or the Voter Education Project, response should be that

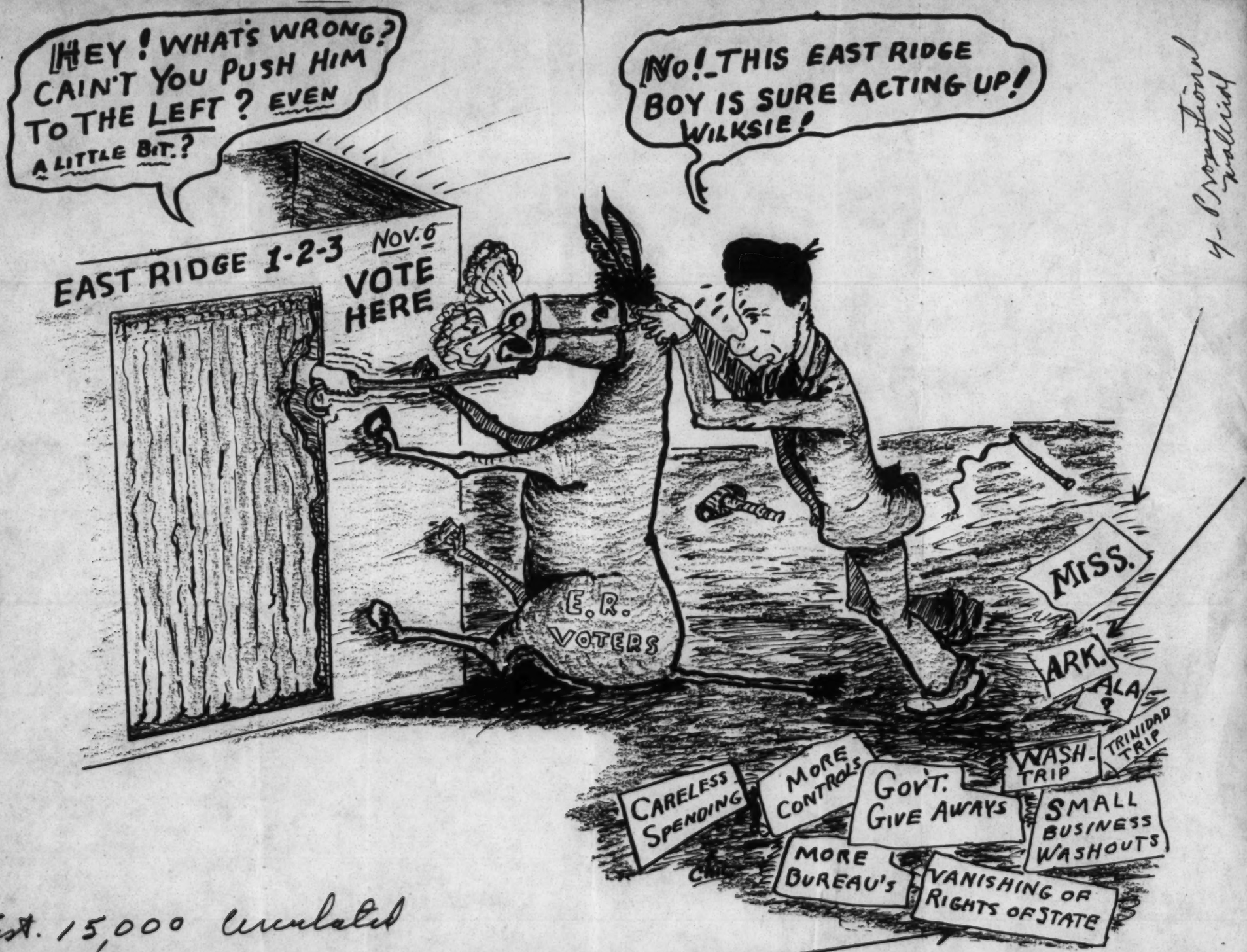
- it will cooperate with the research aims of the Project
- will utilize the Project's clearinghouse services
- will accept funds from the Project to support those of its (the agency's) activities which fall within the project's interests.

7. The agencies are requested to refer, whenever possible, to the Voter Education Project, not to SRC.

8. If agencies are asked about the size of the grant, they should refer the questioner to the Voter Education Project.

9. If agencies are asked how much money they are getting from the Project, they should answer according to their own policies about divulging financial information.

10. In discussions with the press or other questioners, both SRC and the agencies should stress that the Project and all programs carried out by the agencies with Project funds are non-partisan.



Est. 15,000 circulated

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NAACP'S CRUSADE FOR VOTERS

ARE YOU?

REGISTER

AND

VOTE!!

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

404½ North Second Street Richmond 19, Va.

Our Children Don't Want Your Pity....
They Want You To Register and Vote!!

PLAIN NAKED FACTS

MACHINES MACHINES MACHINES
ARE TAKING JOBS FROM LABORING PEOPLE

On the Farm— On the Roads—
On the Docks— And in the Factories
90 Per Cent of Laborers in the South are Negroes
THOUSANDS ARE OUT OF WORK NOW ! !

Children Born to Colored Parents Will See Bright Days:

IF through public education they are taught to build, tear apart, master and sell the most difficult machines.

IF they are trained in the best public schools to enter top flight colleges.

IF laws are passed giving them equal job opportunities.

CHILDREN DON'T WANT PITY

REGISTER AND VOTE!!

NAACP'S CRUSADE FOR VOTERS

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
404½ North Second Street Richmond 19, Va.

BETTER JOBS THROUGH SOLIDARITY OF NEGRO VOTES

This is a story concerning the gaining of better job opportunities for Negroes through an increased registration and an organized vote. It began with a study of Negro employment in city government by the Research Committee of the Crusade for Voters, Richmond, Virginia, in the early spring of 1962.

The study showed the following facts:

Richmond had a working force of 4,442 employees in the classified system. 1,168 or 26.4 percent were Negroes. HOWEVER, IT WAS FOUND THAT OVER THREE-FOURTHS OF THE 1,168 NEGROES WERE DISPROPORTIONATELY CONCENTRATED IN THE RANKS OF MENIAL, UNSKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED EMPLOYMENT, WAGES AS LOW AS $.62½ PER HOUR

For the above reason, on May 12, 1962, the Crusade for Voters petitioned City Council to adopt a Fair Employment Practice Policy.

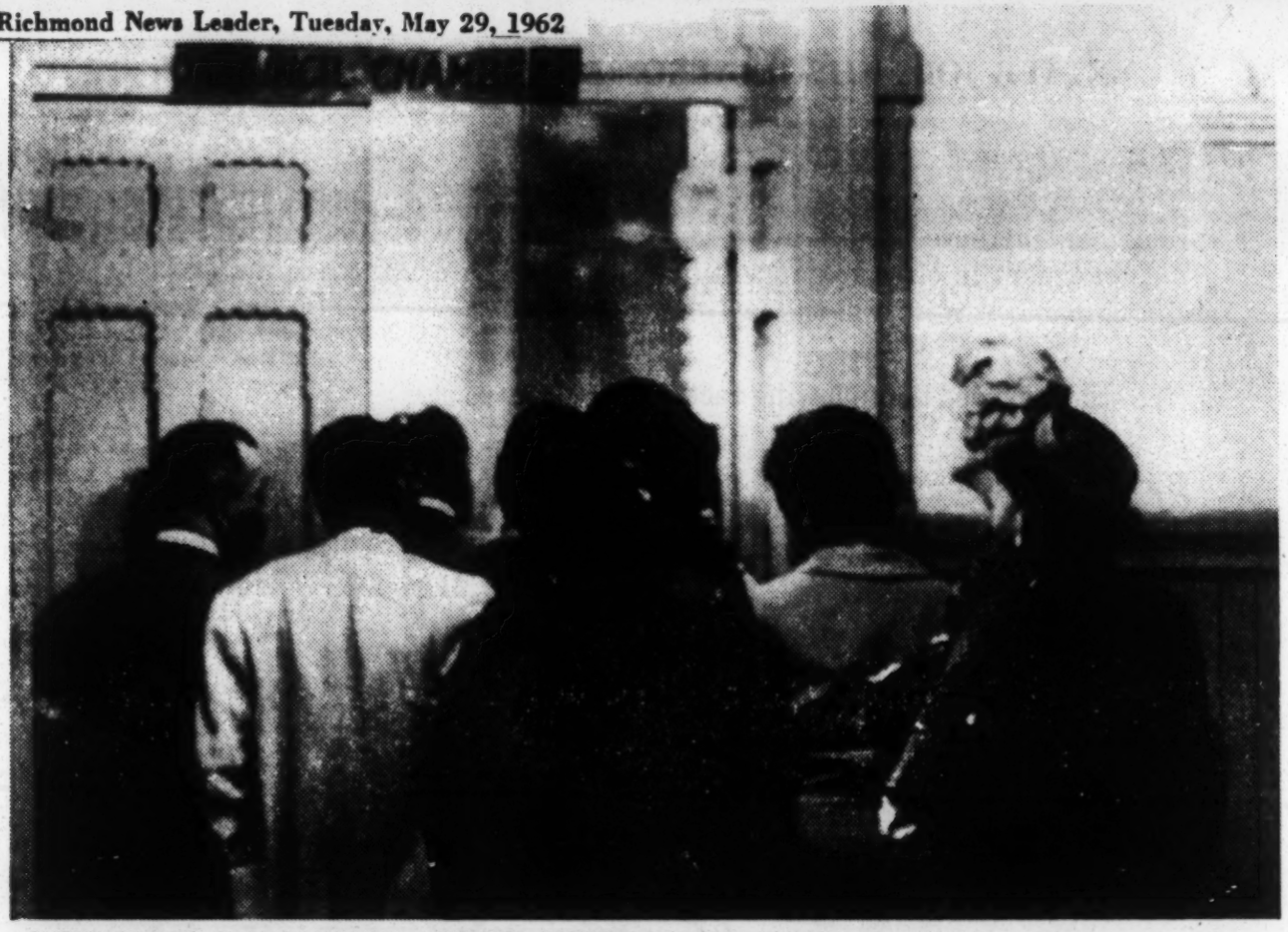
PETITION FOR CITY JOBS to be filled on the basis of merit instead of race is presented to Richmond City Manager Horace Edwards by George A. Pannell and Mrs. Ethel T. Overby representing the Crusade for Voters and John M. Brooks, NAACP Voter Registration Director. The petition which 'implored' City Council to take immediate action against discrimination in city employment, became a major campaign issue in the June 12 councilmanic election.

The rest of this story will be unfolded through the use of newspaper clippings.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
Voter Registration Committee
404½ North Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

KELLEY M. ALEXANDER, Chairman
JOHN M. BROOKS, Director
W. C. PATTON, Field Worker-at-large

Richmond News Leader, Tuesday, May 29, 1962



OVERFLOW OF CROWD WHICH ATTENDED SESSION STANDS OUTSIDE COUNCIL CHAMBER LAST NIGHT

POLICY ADOPTED

Broader City Hiring Of Negroes Expected

Wider employment of trained Negroes in the city service is expected soon as a result of City Council's unanimous adoption last night of a fair employment practices policy.

The policy calls for full employment integration on the basis of merit.

The city had no rule against Negro employment now, but there was no positive rule such as was suggested to the Personnel Board in last night's resolution.

The Personnel Board—citizens appointed by Council—will hold a regular meeting on June 21, but could be called into special session.

City Manager Edwards said there would be no immediate comment on the situation from the administration.

The city already has 1,168 Negro employes, not including teachers, or 26.4 per cent of the total of 4,422 workers in the classified service.

SPONSOR LISTED

The amended resolution was sponsored by Councilman J. Westwood Smithers and Eleanor P. Sheppard along with Mayor Woodward.

Dr. Tinsley Spraggins read to City Council a report made by him and Dr. Franklin J. Gayles, of the Crusade for Voters' Research Committee. The Crusade, a Negro organization, sparked the action with a petition bearing several thousand names of Negro citizens.

Dr. Spraggins said the survey showed most Negro workers in the city service in menial and low-paid places, and called it in all "a dismal picture."

BENEFITS CITED

By adopting and enforcing an equal employment opportunity policy, Dr. Spraggins said, the city might open up employment, training, and promotion opportunities for Negroes in private industries in the city.

Such a policy, he said, would give both the city and private industries an opportunity to tap a reservoir of highly trained manpower heretofore neglected. He felt that employers as well as Negroes would be benefited and that Negroes would get an opportunity to raise his standard of living and strengthen the city's economy.

George A. Pannell, president of the Crusade, spoke along the same line.

On the other side, Lansing B. Harmon Jr. spoke against the resolution, saying that it would indicate that the city had been derelict in its duty to see that fair play exists at all times.

The resolution was aimed primarily at expressing Council's view that employment and promotion should be based solely upon merit. It asked the Personnel Board to consider the adoption of an appropriate employment rule.

Petitions to city councils are not worth the paper they are written on . . . unless they are backed by qualified voters . . . unless the petition involves the the cooperation of large segments of the city population. (Note large overflow crowd attending council meeting).

EXCERPTS FROM RICHMOND NEWS LEADER DATED June 13, 1962

The Outsiders, In

"The writing of headlines, as every newspaperman knows, is among the most difficult of the journalistic arts. The point was well demonstrated today when our morning contemporary advised its readers, in 72-point type, of yesterday's councilmanic outcome: "RCA Elects 6, Keeps Majority on Council."

Superficially, that may be true enough; the headline supported the story. But the fact is that the Richmond Citizens Association was hardly a significant factor in yesterday's stunning election. On paper, the RCA had an excellent slate: It was supporting seven incumbents, one popular former Councilman, and one attractive young Democrat.

But when the votes came rolling in, the RCA floundered. Despite their built-in advantages as incumbents, the RCA could not return Hugh Rudd and Ben Johns to office. Lemuel DeBerry, president of the Young Democrats, ran a good race but finished in 12th spot. The RCA's other six candidates made it, but in the case of Messrs. Bagley, Smithers, and Ford, it was not especially because they were RCA candidates. The three gentlemen are unbroken broncoes of the open range; they stand in no man's corral. Mrs. Eleanor Sheppard, the RCA's strongest contender, carried only six precincts; Mayor Woodward carried not a one; Mr. Sadler came in ninth, 240 votes behind the politically unknown Ruth Herrink.

A more telling election analysis might have been provided in this fashion: "Seven Backed by Negro Group Win Council Seats." An additional fact is that of the first 11 in the 25-man field, nine were on the slate of the Crusade for Voters. Only Mr. Bagley and Mr. Throckmorton won office without the Crusade's endorsement. Detailed study of the returns will indicate that in the five overwhelmingly Negro precincts (the 1st, 4th, 18th, 46th, and 64th), almost half the voters who voted for the Negroes' top candidate, Clarence Newsome, also voted for members of the Crusade for Voters slate. Mr. Newsome got 1,412 votes in these precincts, Mrs. Sheppard 693, and Mr. Woodward 624.

The returns demonstrate not only the relative weakness of the RCA and the significant nature of the Negro support; they demonstrate also a high degree of unrest and dissatisfaction among the voters. The most amazing aspect of the election is Robert Heberle's personal triumph. Defeated two years ago, he made a smashing comeback to lead the field; and he based his entire campaign upon unrelenting criticism of the Edwards administration in City Hall. His one constant theme was the need for a change. More than 11,000 voters yesterday backed him up."

N. A. A. C. P.'S CRUSADE FOR VOTERS

"SEVEN BACKED BY NEGRO GROUP WIN COUNCIL SEATS

"The Crusade for Voters, after studying the records, platforms and speeches of the twenty-five councilmanic candidates, recommended a slate of nine candidates to the Negroes of Richmond, Virginia. In brief, they told the people, "we will get the best value for our vote, if we vote for these nine candidates." The Negroes responded, they voted the Crusade's recommendations."

VOTER SOLIDARITY + HONESTY = POLITICAL SUCCESS

Read Page 4. SOLIDARITY OF RICHMOND NEGRO VOTERS PAYS OFF

Richmond Times-Dispatch, Friday, June 22, 1962

Non-Race Rule Adopted By City Personnel Board

By Al Coates

The Personnel Board followed City Council's urging yesterday and unanimously agreed that employment and promotions in municipal jobs should not be based upon race.

But the board, in a rule it adopted, refused to include a ban on "arbitrary maximum age limits," as Council had done in a resolution approved May 28.

Two members, Charles H. Robertson and James R. Ayers, said they were concerned about the age limit reference contained in the personnel rule as first proposed.

Ayers questioned whether it contributed "to what we're actually trying to solve." Robertson feared it would handicap such agencies as the Police and Fire Bureaus, which now refuse to hire men older than 30.

Merit, Fitness

Yesterday's board hearing was a result of Council's resolution, which declared it to be city policy that employment and promotions should be based upon merit and fitness, not race, creed or color.

"It is the further opinion of the Council that the Personnel Board should adopt the rule as submitted," Council's resolution stated.

The board's rule contains virtually the same language as Council's measure, so far as race, creed and color are concerned.

Discussing the rule, Ayers said:

"My own personal feeling is that it means just what it says, and no members of the Negro race should feel that as a result of this they will be given any preference.

Two Citizens Spoke

Two citizens spoke at the hearing, and several others sat quietly in the audience. George A. Pannell, president of the Crusade for Voters, a Negro group, said he was present as an observer and that his group was "naturally interested" in adoption of the measure.

The other speaker, Miss Emma Morris, told the board, "It is rather ill-advised to take it up at this time . . . ill-advised to put too many restrictions on department heads."

She said the measure "was drawn up and introduced in the closing days of a very heated political campaign." It has never been brought fully to the attention of the public, she contended.

Dameral Speaks

John E. Dameral, the city's Personnel Director, pointed out to the board that City Manager Edwards instructed him after Council's action to proceed promptly with provisions of the fair employment practices resolution.

"For the last two weeks now we have been operating on that basis," Dameral said.

Previously, he explained, when department directors asked his agency for names of applicants for jobs or promotions, the directors listed the race they desired.

This policy has been abandoned, and names are now certified without regard to race, he said.

In another matter, the Personnel Board approved job specifications for the post of Civil Defense co-ordinator. Council restored this position in the government for the 1962-63 budget year.

The next step in getting the co-ordinator to work is for Council to include the job in the city's pay plan and to fix the salary.

Specifications approved by the board yesterday list "desirable training and experience" as: college graduation, five years "of responsible administrative experience in organizational or promotional work, or work involving similar public contacts."

Or, "any equivalent combination of education and experience, but not less than two years of college."

Several "desirable knowledges, abilities and skills" are listed for the post, but the list doesn't include a knowledge of Civil Defense.

Solidarity of Richmond Negro Voters Pays Off

Ten days after the June 12 Councilmanic Election, a non-racial ruling was adopted by the City Personnel Board. This ruling was based upon a fair employment practice policy adopted by the City Council, May 29, 1962.

Commenting on this ruling (the first of its kind in a southern city), an outstanding Richmond politician had this to say, "the day is passed when you can woo the Negro vote in Richmond with a few dollars and half-hearted promises."

"AN ORGANIZED MINORITY VOTE CAN WIN AN ELECTION WHEN THERE IS A DIVIDED MAJORITY VOTE."

LAST DAY TO REGISTER!!

This Saturday - May 12 - 9:00 AM to 7:11 PM

PEOPLE IN THE DEEP SOUTH

DON'T WANT PITY

THEY WANT YOU TO REGISTER NOW.

YOU CAN REGISTER IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD NOW! If you live in the listed precinct, go to this place and register. TIME: 9:00 A.M. to 7:11 P.M.

1. DURHAM HIGH SCHOOL
2. WATTS STREET SCHOOL
3. E K POWE SCHOOL
4. WEST DURHAM COMMUNITY
5. WEST DURHAM SOUTH SIDE SCHOOL
6. LAKEWOOD SCHOOL
7. CARR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
8. MOREHEAD SCHOOL
9. FOREST HIGH SCHOOL
10. WHITTED SCHOOL
11. HILLSIDE SCHOOL
12. PEARSON SCHOOL
13. BARTON SCHOOL
14. Y. E. SMITH SCHOOL
15. HOLTON SCHOOL
16. EDGEMONT SCHOOL
17. FULLER SCHOOL
18. HOLLOWAY STREET SCHOOL
19. TUXEDO JUNCTION
20. NORTH DURHAM SCHOOL
21. CLUB BLVD. SCHOOL
22. BRAGTOWN SCHOOL

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, HELP, OR TRANSPORTATION, CALL 682-8106.

IT IS EASY TO REGISTER IN DURHAM.

Durham NAACP Youth Council and College Chapters

IN ALABAMA

TAKE THESE STEPS TO REGISTER AND VOTE

●

You Have A Right To Vote And You Can

If you are a Citizen of the United States
If you are 21 years of age or older
If you have lived in Alabama 2 years;
This county 1 year; your present address or precinct 3 months.
If you are registered
If you have paid Poll Tax before Feb. 1 (unless you are exempt)

You Must Register To Vote - Be Smart

●

WHERE TO REGISTER:

COUNTY COURT HOUSE

WHEN:

FIRST AND THIRD MONDAYS IN EACH MONTH

TIME:

8:00 A.M.

POLL TAX:

1. PAY $3.00 IF YOU HAVE NEVER VOTED IN THIS STATE AND IF YOU ARE OVER 21 YEARS OLD.
2. VETERANS ARE NOT REQUIRED TO PAY POLL TAX (They must present "Discharge Papers").
3. NO POLL TAX REQUIRED FOR PERSONS OVER 45 YEARS OF AGE.

ELECTED OFFICIALS ARE SERVANTS OF ALL PEOPLE
REGISTER AND VOTE IN ALL ELECTIONS

If You Are A Registered Voter - Help Others

The Ballot Is Power! USE IT!

ALABAMA STATE COORDINATING ASS'N FOR REGISTRATION AND VOTING

REMEMBER TUESDAY IS

ELECTION DAY

BE SURE TO VOTE

24 pages

-1-

BACKGROUND STATEMENT

The Voter Education Project is a non-partisan program under the supervision of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and is engaged in a research study of the causes of low voter registration in 11 southern states, the methods and techniques being used to increase registration, and the development of educational programs to provide voters with the will and knowledge to register and vote. Contributions to the project are deductible from federal income taxes, pursuant to a ruling by the Internal Revenue Service dated March 22, 1962, and the first public announcement of the project was made on March 29, 1962 and carried the endorsement of the Chairmen of both the Republican and Democratic national committees, in addition to other leading Americans. The First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project covers the VEP fiscal year, April 1, 1962 through March 31, 1963, and describes: (1) Formation and purpose of VEP; (2) Operation, including methods and objectives; (3) A description of selected projects; (4) Formula and criteria for grants; and other pertinent information.

This Second Annual Report covers the period April 1, 1963 through March 31, 1964. Due to the fact that the method of operation and other activities follow the same general pattern as was followed during the first fiscal year, we will not undertake to repeat this information in this Second Annual Report. VEP will publish a detailed account of the entire project following the end of the registration program in November of 1964. The final report is planned for release in [redacted] 1965.

PARTICIPATING AGENCIES

Five major organizations work actively with the Voter Education Project and have been a part of the program since its inception. They are the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Congress of Racial Equality,

National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In addition to ~~the big five,~~ these five, VEP works with several local organizations in each of the eleven southern states.

STAFF CHANGES

VEP continues to operate with a very small staff even though the actual registration work is done by the participating agencies. Jack Minnis, Director of Research during the fiscal year, left the project in December, ~~of~~ 1963. It was then decided that this position would be abolished and the position of Research Assistant created. Mrs. Barbara Whitaker, a graduate and former faculty member of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, was employed as Research Assistant in January, ~~of~~ 1964. Mrs. Barbara Stewart joined the staff as Receptionist and Clerk-Typist during the year. The other staff members include: Wiley A. Branton, Project Director; Randolph T. Blackwell, Field Director; Mrs. Jean Levine, Administrative Secretary; and Mrs. Janet Shortt, Office Secretary. Vernon E. Jordan serves in the capacity of Acting Assistant Director of VEP in addition to his duties as Assistant to the Director of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. John D. Due, Jr., a young Florida lawyer, joined the staff as an intern in human relations under the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation Intern Program.

STATE BY STATE REPORT

ALABAMA

This state requires an applicant to pass a literacy test before one can be registered and the test is often applied in a discriminatory manner against Negroes. After Negro groups started conducting classes to familiarize applicants with the test, the state adopted a new law which requires a new set of test questions each month. The law also requires that a registered voter must vouch for each applicant and a poll tax is required for voting in all but federal elections. Registration by Negroes is not too difficult in the TVA area such as Huntsville, Tuscumbia, Decatur and Florence, and neither is it too difficult in Mobile. As a result of federal court injunctions, Negroes may now register with little difficulty in Macon and Montgomery Counties, though it appears that some discrimination still exists in the latter. Macon County now has more registered Negro voters than whites and Negro candidates are seeking public offices there for the first time in more than fifty years and will probably be elected.

VEP has maintained a continuous program in Jefferson County (Birmingham) where Negro registration has risen from 10,000 in April, 1962 to more than 23,000 as of April, 1964. Rejections are still high at the registrar's office, many of them resulting from racial discrimination. In counties such as Dallas (Selma) and many other Black Belt Counties, it takes real courage for a Negro to seek to register. Here, they have suffered harassment, intimidation, and physical violence from private citizens and law enforcement officials. And in Wilcox and Lowndes Counties, where there are more Negroes than whites, every Negro applicant has been rejected and there is not a single registered Negro voter.

The registration books are open only two days each month in most Alabama counties and this makes it difficult to get many people registered even where discrimination is not very strong. During July, the books are open for a week in the rural counties and VEP has supported a special project during this period through a statewide organization known as the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting (ASCARV).

Reliable registration figures are hard to come by in Alabama and VEP estimated the total Negro registration in the state to be 90,000 as of January 1, 1964, however, Governor George Wallace subsequently stated that his state had 105,000 Negro voters.

VEP will support a massive rural county program in July, 1964 and will probably continue programs in the TVA area, Gadsden, Birmingham, Montgomery, Mobile, Macon County and Dallas County. ~~and will plan~~ New programs will be planned for Tuscaloosa, Anniston, and other areas during the summer and fall.

ARKANSAS

Arkansas has no registration law or procedure for voting other than the requirement for the payment of an annual one dollar poll tax. We know of no racial discrimination in the acceptance of poll tax payments nor in the right of persons to vote in elections in this state. The poll tax may be paid at any time between February and October 1st and qualifies the tax payer to vote in all elections coming between October 1 of the year in which the tax is paid and September 30 of the following year. This is a good "registration" deadline for the November general elections but seems much too early for primary elections. Arkansas is a one party state where nomination in the Democratic Primary is tantamount to election. The Democratic Primary election is held in July and is usually the most important election held in the state but in order to vote in the July primary, one must have paid his poll tax prior to October 1 of the preceding year.

Because of the fact that all effort must be duplicated each year, VEP has only conducted a few projects in Arkansas, such as Pine Bluff and Little Rock; however, a massive statewide program is planned for the late summer of 1964 in every county with a substantial Negro population.

FLORIDA

With the exception of a few North Florida Counties, registration by Negroes is fairly simple and the registration results under VEP have really been outstanding in this state. Florida releases periodic reports showing the total registration in each county by race and by political party and a satisfactory check can be made on our programs. One of the most successful VEP programs to date was conducted in Dade County (Miami) where 9,403 new registrants were added during the fiscal year. Much of the success of this program was due to the personal leadership of Weldon Rougeau, a CORE field secretary, who had charge of the program and who was able to get excellent cooperation from other organizations in the area. CORE conducted a program in Gadsden County (Quincy) and the 875 new Negro registrants obtained there was twice as many as the total Negro voters the county had. Tallahassee presented a fine example of team work by CORE, NAACP, and local groups, white and colored, working to increase voter registration.

NAACP was given assignments in Alachua, Polk, Jackson, Marion, Orange, Pinellas, Hillsborough, Volusia, and Duval Counties, all of which resulted in substantial new voters. All of the above assignments will probably be renewed during the summer and fall of 1964 with other counties being added.

GEORGIA

With the exception of Southwestern Georgia, registration by Negroes in this state does not prove very difficult and VEP results have been among the highest of any state, with more than 60,000 new voters added during the past two years. In Savannah, the Chatham County Crusade for Voters worked with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to add more than 5,000 new voters to the rolls of that county. The Savannah project was the location of a voter registration film soon to be released under the title "Right Now", and in which VEP is one of several sponsors. SCLC sponsored a VEP program in Albany through the Albany Movement and conducted projects throughout the state in cooperation with the Statewide [redacted] Registration Committee.

The Atlanta program continues under the auspices of the All Citizens Registration Committee, a local group made up from representatives of several different organizations. This city will have neighborhood registration soon and will see Negro deputy registrars for the first time. Registration will take place at various schools from five to nine P.M. and should result in an increase of Negro registration in Fulton County to approximately 70,000.

NAACP has conducted successful projects in Augusta, Brunswick, Rome, and others and in DeKalb and Peach Counties. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee continues work in the "hard core" areas of Lee, Terrell and Sumter Counties where results cannot be measured simply in terms of new registrants but ~~which~~ ~~is~~ are reflected by the overcoming of fear and by other intangibles.

It is anticipated that when the Georgia Legislature meets in special session soon that the present May 2 registration deadline will be extended to July for the primary and later still for the November general election. This will make possible the addition of thousands of new voters this summer.

LOUISIANA

Next to Mississippi, VEP results have been lower than any other state. Reports indicate that this results from the serious racial discrimination ~~in~~ on the past of many parish registrars. VEP has supported a continuous program in Orleans Parish under the direction of the Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans. Only 425 new voters were added to the rolls in New Orleans during the year but many hundreds more sought to register and were rejected on various grounds. Considerable work was done by the local group to keep thousands of Negroes who were already registered from being purged.

Most of the work outside New Orleans has been under CORE for the past year, with heavy emphasis in the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana. The Justice Department has filed several suits regarding discrimination by parish registrars and they were successful in one extremely important case which involved state officials and 21 parish registrars. Under the terms

of an injunction issued early in 1964 in UNITED STATES v. LOUISIANA, the 21 named registrars are enjoined from certain discriminatory practices which, if obeyed, should greatly aid the cause of Negro voter registration. All 21 of the named parishes were assigned to CORE but it is too early to tell what results can be achieved there. The entire Louisiana program will very likely be continued through September of 1964.

MISSISSIPPI

This state presents more resistance to would-be Negro voters than any other state and offers more intimidation and violence to Negroes than all the others combined. VEP has only been able to add 3,871 voters to the rolls in Mississippi during the past two years, a figure lower than the results from a single small city like Brunswick or Decatur, Georgia, or Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The total Negro registration in the state is approximately 28,000, representing only 6.6% of the Negroes 21 years of age or older. But here, as in Southwestern Georgia and Dallas and Wilcox Counties in Alabama, the success of the VEP program cannot be measured solely in terms of new registrants.

Mississippi has a long history of intimidation and violence against Negroes who seek to register and with the rather large number of cases of injury and death to their persons and destruction of their property, it is little wonder that Negroes developed a fear of attempting to do anything which the white people of that state were opposed to. The first Annual Report of VEP carried seven pages on the Greenwood Project which was described there as being "in many ways considered to be one of the most successful of the VEP supported programs." Despite the massive jailing of citizens, shooting of registration workers, burning of property and other acts of violence and intimidation of Negroes in Leflore County, more than 2,000 Negroes have gone to the Courthouse in Greenwood to attempt to register. Many were never permitted inside and the majority of those who made it inside were rejected by the registrar. This same story has been repeated in Hattisburg and other cities. VEP has expended more than $50,000 in Missi-

ssippi and feels that valuable research materials have been gathered from the project and that we have truly helped "to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register," one of the major objectives of the Voter Education Project.

The work in Mississippi was under the sponsorship of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a Mississippi organization made up of the local representatives of NAACP, SNCC, CORE, SCLC and local organizations. VEP suspended all operations in Mississippi in the fall of 1963 with the exception of an NAACP project in Jackson. Several factors were taken into consideration in reaching this decision. A sizeable portion of the VEP budget had already been spent in Mississippi and the registration results were quite minimal. Sufficient research data had been gathered to more than serve the purposes of the project. No meaningful registration could be expected in the state until the Justice Department is able to wind an effective decree in the long pending broad-purpose suit filed in UNITED STATES v. MISSISSIPPI. The delay in the hearing of this very important suit leaves much to be desired, but if it can ever be decided favorably in accordance with the position of the government, and is then vigorously enforced, it may be possible for registration to move in that state. Until this happens, it does not appear to be wise for VEP to put any more of its already limited funds into Mississippi. We only hope that the situation improves before VEP goes out of existence, but it will not change appreciably without massive federal action.

NORTH CAROLINA

This state has few restrictions which might prevent Negroes from registering and it is considered one of the better states for the VEP program. Many counties permit registration only during a 3-week period preceding an election and this means, "no election-no registration." NAACP conducted programs during the year in Guilford, Johnson, Brunswick, and Harnett Counties, and in Durham in cooperation with the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. The Winston-Salem Urban League conducted a voter education and research

program in Forsyth County which was soon followed by an active voter registration program under the joint sponsorship of NAACP and CORE. The American Friends Service Committee sponsored a summer VEP program in Greensboro which netted 803 new voters. Perhaps the biggest increase in the state came about in Charlotte where the VEP program was run by a local group, the Non-Partisan Voter Registration Committee. A local project in Wilson brought 861 new voters and VEP supported SNCC workers aided local residents in getting 1,208 new voters in Raleigh.

VEP plans to support several local projects in the state during the summer and early fall which should result in several thousand additional voters in time for the November elections.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Here we have the most highly organized statewide VEP program of any of the states. The entire state has been organized under a congressional district program with a project now going on in each county in every one of the six congressional districts. Representatives in each county select their local officers and they in turn elect congressional district officers. VEP has now made a direct grant to four districts and will shortly approve the other two. Although the congressional district idea did not get started until the fall of 1963, it has already helped to push South Carolina VEP results beyond that of North Carolina (32,140 to 28,551) and shows promise of giving South Carolina the highest percentage increase in Negro registration. Because of the obvious success of this program, VEP will continue support through the October 5 deadline for registration in that state. Prior to the development of the Fourth Congressional District program, NAACP conducted a highly successful program in the city of Greenville.

TENNESSEE

It now appears that there are no restrictions to Negro voter registration in Tennessee except for some continuing discrimination in rural counties like Haywood and Fayette Counties, but which reach nowhere near the proportion of several years back when federal intervention was necessary. NAACP ~~The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People~~ is by far the major sponsor of VEP programs in this state, for, with exception of a summer YWCA-NSCAF student program in Nashville, NAACP has had the entire state to itself. The results have been good in Memphis, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, and Jackson. Memphis shows the highest gain of any city with more than 12,000 added during the fiscal year. A large share of the credit for NAACP results over most of the South must be extended to W. C. Patton, NAACP Field Secretary for Voter Registration, for it has been through him that all VEP supported NAACP programs have been directed in Texas, Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. He also serves as President of ASCARV in Alabama, the local organization sponsoring registration in that state.

All of the Tennessee assignments will be renewed for the summer of 1964, with additional cities being added.

TEXAS

Texas, like Arkansas, has no registration procedure other than the payment of a poll tax which amounts to $1.50 in some counties and $1.75 in others. The deadline for the payment of the poll tax is January 31 for all elections held during the remainder of the calendar year. This gives Texas the earliest "registration" deadline for voting in the November General Elections of any state in the nation, more than nine months prior to the elections.

When VEP was first launched, we decided that we would work only in 65 East Texas counties but we were reluctant to support any Texas programs because of the poll tax requirement which necessitated duplicity of effort each year. We had read of the excellent work being done in Texas under a statewide coalition movement. Some of the leaders of the coalition movement decided to incorporate a separate non-partisan organization to work only in the area of voter registration and education under the name of Voters of Texas Enlist (VOTE). This new organization offered us the first real opportunity to work with registration programs involving other than Negroes, for here we could work with white and Latin-Americans as well. Four groups make up the leadership of VOTE, each group having equal representation. They are: (1) Latin-Americans, (2) labor, (3) white liberals, and (4) Negroes.

VEP had received some unsolicited contributions from various individuals active in VOTE and we decided to put a part of this money back into the state through a VEP registration program under the direction of VOTE. As a result of the early success ~~resulting from~~ of the program, we made rather large supplemental grants from our regular VEP budget. The program operated out of a headquarters in Austin and extended throughout the state. Local money was raised to supplement the VEP funds and labor organizations also contributed money in helping with the massive poll tax campaign.

Texas voters went to the polls on November 9, 1963 to vote on a proposal to eliminate the poll tax, but this proposal was rejected. In four major cities, Houston, Dallas, San Antonio and Fort Worth, there was a

total increase of about 332,000 new voters over 1960 figures as compared with an increase of 180,000 in 1963. It is estimated that the VEP programs were responsible for over 208,000 new poll tax payers by the January 31 deadline, more than 50,000 of ~~which~~ whom were white or Latin-American persons. After the ratification of the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which banned the requirement of a poll tax payment as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections, a new Texas law permitted the issuance of free poll tax receipts during February and early March of 1964. Holders of the free poll tax receipt would only be eligible to vote in federal elections. Some 60,000 free poll tax certificates were issued under the VEP programs, 90% of which were issued to Negroes.

NAACP did some work in the Texas poll tax campaign without benefit of VEP funds but subsequently received VEP support to assist in the "free" poll tax drive. The Texas Council of Voters, a Negro organization, was very active in the ~~V.O.T.E.~~ VOTE programs. Fort Worth and Houston have developed highly organized precinct and block organizations in the Negro areas. Houston has the highest number of Negro voters of any city in the South at the present time, approximately 90,000, but this figure is likely to fall during "election off years" because of the annual poll tax. The Memphis, Tennessee Negro registration of approximately 80,000 is a much more permanent figure and is ~~usually~~ probably the highest in the South.

It is now physically impossible for any one to register or pay a poll tax in Texas and this situation will continue through the remainder of the grants-in-aid program$ of VEP. This is the only state where such a condition exists. The only possible VEP activity which could be supported during the remainder of the program would possibly be in the area of voter education.

VIRGINIA

Registration results in Virginia could be described as "poor" in terms of the 16,520 new voters added in two years, but when one considers the poll tax and other requirements, it may not be as dim as it first appears. As a

general rule, new voters have to pay two years poll taxes plus penalties before they can vote, making it a costly proposition.

Negro voter registration witnessed a steady increase between 1940 and 1950 when most of the registration activity was under the sponsorship of the Virginia Voters League, under the leadership of the late Dr. Luther P. Jackson. The League has not been very effective in recent years but could be a major influence in registration and political education if the former interest could be revived over the state. VEP made a grant of $1,000 to the Virginia Voters League in November, ~~of~~ 1963 to help support its organizational structure building.

~~VEP made~~ A small grant was made during the year to the All Citizens Registration Committee of Northern Virginia in support of registration and poll tax programs in that area of the state. The Peninsula Coordinating Committee in Newport News is a well organized and efficiently run organization and received VEP support. The Norfolk VEP program added approximately 1,000 new voters through the Tidewater Voter Project. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was given grants for registration programs in Danville and Petersburg and the former could be described as highly successful. Richmond, which has a very active local organization, the Crusade for Voters, added 250 new voters during a two-week student YWCA project. NAACP registration in the state has been carried on primarily without benefit of VEP funds but local chapters have been active throughout the state.

As a result of a new Virginia statute, it will be possible for new applicants to register all the way up until October 3 to be eligible to vote in the 1964 General Elections. VEP has been concerned over the apparent lack of initiative on the part of some agencies which could do much for voter registration in Virginia. VEP will shortly make direct grants to local projects in Nansemond County and Portsmouth and will continue support in Newport News and Norfolk. Plans are being made to support a local program in Richmond and possibly in other cities. The entire Fourth Congressional District offers a vast potential for increased registration and field studies are now being made by the VEP staff to ascertain the best approach for VEP support.

PLANS FOR THIRD (FINAL) YEAR OF VEP

When the voter project idea was first discussed, the plan was to operate it for approximately two years. When it became apparent that the idea would become a reality and would get started in the Spring of 1962, it was also obvious that a two-year program would end well up into a presidential election year. In order to take full advantage of all of the motivation for registration which an election year brings, the planners of VEP decided to run the grants-in-aid program for approximately 2½ years. VEP will therefore support voter registration programs in each of the southern states up until the deadline for registration for voting in the November General Elections. This will mean until the first week of October in most of the states, with the exception of Texas where the deadline passed last January 31.

In addition to active registration programs, VEP will support some voter education projects which will be designed to help in a number of ways to serve the total purposes of this project. Among those are: (1) support of literacy programs to aid applicants in passing registration tests; (2) programs to explain the use of voting machines or the marking of ballots; (3) classes in government to acquaint voters with an understanding of public officials and their duties and responsibilities; and (4) some pilot "get out the vote" programs in a non-partisan manner.

ANTICIPATED INCOME 1964-65

In order to conduct the final year of the project, VEP has been assured of the following terminal grants from foundations:

Edgar Stern Family Fund	$ 75,000
Taconic Foundation	80,000
Field Foundation	75,000
Total	$230,000

FINAL VEP REPORT

At the conclusion of the active registration programs in October, VEP will immediately set ~~it~~ in motion selected projects to study the effect of increased Negro voter registration in the November General Elections. As soon as the general elections ~~is~~ are over, the staff will then begin to sift through the ~~rather~~ large quantity of data and material which has come into the project office during the life of the project. Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of Southern Regional Council, Inc., will devote a major share of his time at that stage toward the writing of the FINAL VEP Report. The final report ~~should~~ promises to be a most interesting document which should be of great value for years to come to persons interested in voter registration, political action, human relations and other areas.

FUTURE PLANS

Many of the participants in the VEP program bemoan the announced end for VEP. They praise the great gains made under the program but point out the fact that less than 50% of the Negroes of voting age will be registered in the South by November, ~~of~~ 1964. There is no question about the need for continued registration programs, but we feel that we must pause and review our past activities very carefully before suggesting that the program continue. For this reason, there will be no recommendation regarding the future of ~~the~~ VEP until after we have studied and analyzed our ~~our~~ previous program and written the final report. At that time, we will be prepared to make some recommendation of the future of VEP, but it is not contemplated that the final report will be ready before ~~March of~~ 1965.

Table I.

VEP RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR
FISCAL YEAR ENDING 3/31/64

Balance 3/31/63		$ 28,496.44	
RECEIPTS:			
Foundations:			
Field	$ 75,000.00		
Taconic	125,000.00		
Stern Family Fund	107,000.00*		
Other	22,050.00		
Organizations and Churches	5,200.72		
V.O.T.E.	5,730.00		
Individuals	7,806.00		
NAIRO	2,500.00**		
Total Income		350,286.72	
GRAND TOTAL			$378,783.16
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Grants-in-Aid	$246,331.15		
SRC Overhead Payments	9,587.57		
Operating Expense	69,087.35		
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			325,006.07
BANK BALANCE 4/1/64			$ 53,777.09

* $25,000 of this amount represents advance payment by this foundation toward fiscal year 1964-1965.

** This figure represents NAIRO's share of internship program.

For Stencil

TABLE II.

GEOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN OF GRANTS-IN-AID
Fiscal Year Ending 3/31/64

STATE	INDE-PENDENTS	CORE	NAACP	URBAN LEAGUE	SNCC	SCLC	~~MISCL.~~	TOTAL
ALA.	24,275.85				3,500.00			27,775.85
ARK.	270.00				1,200.00			1,470.00
FLA.		3,000.00	11,875.00					14,875.00
GA.	13,132.35		11,060.00		3,000.00	9,500		36,692.35
LA.	7,700.00	13,000.00	2,900.00					23,600.00
MISS.	18,500.00		4,145.00					22,645.00
N.C.	9,452.74		2,100.00	4,828.98	2,000.00			18,381.72
S.C.	14,837.00	14,000.00	2,100.00		555.00			31,492.00
TENN.	3,519.23		8,450.00					11,969.23
TEXAS	43,500.00		3,000.00					46,500.00
VA.	5,780.00		650.00			2,500		8,930.00
Educational Film Assocs.	2,000.00						~~2,000~~	2,000.00
TOTAL	$142,967.17	$30,000.00	$46,280.00	$4,828.98	$10,255.00	$12,000	$~~2,000~~	$246,331.15

Note: A large portion of the grants to Independents represents direct grants to local affiliates of agencies listed above.

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS

April 1, 1962 to March 31, 1964

Table III

STATE	VEP RESULTS 1st FISCAL YR	VEP RESULTS 2nd FISCAL YR	VEP 2yr TOTAL	EST. TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRATION 4/1/64 ~~TOTAL NO. NEGROES~~	EST. NO * UN-REGISTERED NEGROES, 4/1/64	% ELIGIBLE NEGROES REG.
Ala.	5,598	9,777	15,375	104,000	377,320	21.6
Ark.	4,952	3,804	8,756	80,000	112,626	41.5
Fla.	22,790	30,651	53,441	240,616	229,645	51.1
Ga.	27,156	31,963	59,119	240,000 ~~236,160~~	** 372,910	39.1
La.	2,765	3,545	6,310	162,864	351,723	31.6
Miss	1,592	2,181	3,773	28,500	393,754	6.7
N.Car.	9,838	18,713	28,551	248,000 ~~[illegible]~~	302,929	45.0
S.Car.	7,357	24,783	32,140	127,000 ~~[illegible]~~	244,104	34.2
Tenn.	16,269	22,500	38,769	216,000 ~~[illegible]~~	102,873	67.2
Tex.	20,590	267,984	288,574	375,000	274,512	57.7
Va.	6,100	10,420	16,520	121,000 ~~[illegible]~~	315,720	27.7
TOTAL	125,007	426,321	551,328	1,937,982	3,078,118	38.6

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 30303

* BASED ON 1960 CENSUS FIGURES

** VOTING AGE 18 IN GEORGIA

Articles

~~Race and~~ Race Relations

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

REPORT NO. L-31
FEBRUARY 6, 1962

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Reprinted from The Wall Street Journal, January 16, 1962, with permission)

FEB 13 1962

Slipping Segregation: Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in South

Negro Demonstrations Weaken Dixie Whites' Battle Against Mixing

Macon Integrates Library, Golf Course; More Lunch Counters Open to Negroes

Pockets of Deep Bitterness

By DAVID KELSEY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MACON, Ga.—"We've been watching these freedom rides and boycotts in other cities, and we're getting the picture. Even Robert E. Lee finally had to surrender, didn't he?"

Thus Edgar Wilson, crew-cut mayor of this Deep South city, assesses the impact of the spreading Negro campaign to speed up integration through public demonstrations. Coming as they do from the top municipal official in this segregation stronghold, his words point up an important shift now developing in the attitudes of many Southern whites toward the question of segregation. After a year of often intense racial strife—climaxed by the recent arrest of more than 700 marching and praying Negro demonstrators in Albany, Ga.—a growing number of Dixie whites are resigning themselves to the inevitability of integration. Some whites once adamantly opposed to any integration are even assuming active roles in efforts to make the transition as smooth as possible.

This change in Southern attitudes was made abundantly clear in recent days in Wall Street Journal interviews with scores of businessmen, government officials, Negro and white leaders, students and men-in-the-street in six Dixie states. Though the sit-ins, freedom rides, boycotts and mass marches have churned up fresh bitterness in race relations in some communities, such as Jackson, Miss., and New Orleans, the demonstrations more often have convinced Southern whites that the segregation fight is futile and the time for compromise has arrived.

"The demonstrations have caused a thinning in the ranks of the hard-core opposition to integration," declares A. P. Tureaud, legal counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Louisiana. "Many whites who had opposed integration on the grounds that more time was needed are gradually coming to the realization that it's here and it should be handled in the best way possible. The significant thing is that a middle ground is developing for those whites who are ready to accept integration, however reluctantly."

A Texas Town Acquiesces

Marlin L. Brockette, white superintendent of schools in the southern Texas industrial city of Orange, voices much the same sentiment. "Generally, our folks have accepted integration as a fact," the school official declares. Orange so far has not been the scene of any integration demonstration, but "if the local Negroes felt integration was just marking time, a push would probably be made and most of us wouldn't be indignant at all," says Mr. Brockette.

The signs of compromise are often subtle. For example, in Orange, where about 25% of the 26,000 residents are Negro, the "colored" signs on service station restrooms have come down in recent weeks without incident. The Orange Memorial Hospital is preparing to integrate its staff dining rooms Feb. 1, and some lunch counters in town are starting to serve Negroes for the first time.

Despite the fervent segregationist views prevailing in Mississippi, in Greenville, the bus and train depots have been voluntarily integrated without the pressure of a court order. A variety store in the city recently announced it would begin accepting applications from Negroes for sales jobs, though the move didn't come until Negro leaders protested to the manager about job discrimination.

In Columbus, Ga., county commissioners a few months ago ordered the local airport desegregated, and about the same time the city's bus line decided to end segregation on its vehicles. Businessmen now are quietly laying plans to integrate the town's lunch counters within the next month or so.

Changes in Macon

Perhaps nowhere in the deep South has desegregation been carried out at a more rapid pace than here in Macon—only 100 miles from the strife-torn city of Albany. Since last May residents of the one-time capital of Georgia have watched racial barriers ripped down at the local golf course and the public library, and they have seen Negroes eat for the first time at 19 formerly segregated lunch counters. In addition, five Negro women, formerly employed as cleaning women at local department stores, have become sales clerks, the first of their race to hold such jobs here. Negro leaders here are confidently planning to seek a start on school desegregation next September.

For a town which until two years ago was the home of the Grand Imperial Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Macon has had surprisingly little trouble in the course of its moves toward desegregation. Robed Ku Kluxers formed a motorcade last October to protest the steps toward integration, and later shots were fired into an empty Negro home. But most Macon citizens appear to have tacitly approved the lowering of segregation barriers.

"Most of us didn't want any part of the trouble that cities around us have been experiencing," says a white member of a secret Macon businessmen's committee which spearheaded the integration drive. "We contacted cities like Atlanta and Savannah which have had trouble in the past, and we found out quickly what it could mean. In Savannah we learned a Negro boycott cut retail sales as much as 50% in some places. Stores weren't the only ones hurt, either. Bankers, insurance men, small loan companies—all of them felt it."

With these facts fresh in mind, the committee of businessmen acted quickly when local Negroes took seats at a lunch counter last July to open their campaign to integrate such facilities. "As soon as they began seating themselves at the counter, I walked up to one I knew well and asked him to talk things over," recalls one businessman. The Negro agreed, and the demonstration was halted. "Later we formed a committee of leading Negro and white citizens and before long we had things worked out."

Impact of Demonstrations

Macon Negro leaders are convinced the Negro demonstrations and agitation in other Southern cities played a major role in speeding desegregation in Macon. "There's no question that the action in other cities has accelerated our progress here," declares William Randall, a Negro building contractor and director of the Macon chapter of the NAACP.

In Memphis, Negro and white leaders alike point to demonstrations as the key to the rapid integrating pace being set in that city. "Every advancement we've had can be attributed at least in part to demonstrations of some sort—sit-ins, marches, stay-at-homes," says the Rev. H. C. Nabrit, a prominent Negro leader.

Rev. Nabrit is a member of a biracial committee set up on an informal basis some months ago to ease racial frictions quietly, sometimes secretly. He and other Negro leaders confirm that an agreement has been reached with merchants to desegregate downtown store facilities—eating places, restrooms, drinking fountains—on or before next Feb. 20. Memphis newspapers have made no comment on the plans, and white leaders are also keeping mum about them.

The agreement to integrate store facilities was based on a compromise. The Negroes agreed to stop sit-ins during the Christmas rush and January sales events provided they were promised action by Feb. 20, says H. T. Lockard, state NAACP president. Explains Rev. Nabrit: "There are a goodly number of outsiders from Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi who come in for Christmas shopping

and the January sales. It was the consensus that we should wait until February to avoid trouble." Before we began talks we had had sit-ins for 18 months, but we agreed to desist in November." Though Rev. Nabrit is convinced the white merchants acted in good faith, he asserts demonstrations would be redoubled if the deadline passed with no action.

Desegregating the Zoo

The move to relax segregation rules at Memphis stores has been preceded by a whole series of desegregation steps in other fields, often traceable, at least in part, to public agitation by Negroes. "We try first in the courts, but it usually takes demonstrations to get action," says the NAACP's Mr. Lockard. A suit was filed in 1956 to integrate city buses, he notes, but it wasn't until Negroes started sitting where they pleased and several arrests were made that integration was finally carried out in mid-1960. Demonstrations also preceded the integration of the Overton Park Zoo in the fall of 1960 and public library facilities early last year.

The pace of desegregation in Memphis has picked up in recent months. After the fall term of school started, 14 Negro students quietly entered previously all-white schools. Then two weeks ago the city desegregated three municipal golf courses. Last Tuesday the Memphis Park Commission proposed a plan of "gradual desegregation" which would integrate all the city's parks and playgrounds over the next 10 years. Negro leaders, however, indicate the plan would move too slowly to suit them.

While there's ample evidence that public demonstrations have softened white resistance to integration, it's also clear that in some communities the marches and sit-ins have made whites more determined than ever to maintain the status quo. This is particularly true in Mississippi and Alabama, where segregation forces are the strongest. Most white leaders in these states maintain the Negro tactics will lead only to further racial friction in factories, business dealings and wherever else whites come in contact with Negroes.

"White people around here are growing more resentful about this whole business, and I've never seen them so determined to resist," states Everette G. Truly, a Natchez, Miss., attorney and treasurer of the local White Citizens Council, a segregationist organization. "Those Negroes don't realize what they're doing. They're breaking down all lines of communications between the two groups, and they've made the whites suspicious of every move. A few years ago when a Negro bumped into you, you didn't think anything of it. Now you look to see if it was deliberate."

A Restaurant Is Closed

For an idea of Natchez whites' determination to resist Negro integration efforts, one only has to walk through the bus station there. A "closed" sign hangs across the door of the station's only restaurant. The restaurant was shut down two months ago in what white leaders describe as a "precautionary measure" against Negro efforts to integrate the station. The restaurant shutdown has worked a hardship on Negro riders. Previously they could eat in a segregated section of the station restaurant, but now they have to go five blocks to the nearest Negro restaurant. Whites, on the other hand, just have to go down the block to grab a bite to eat.

In Clarksdale, Miss., race relations are tense because of a boycott being conducted against white merchants by Negroes. The boycott began in early December when Clarksdale's mayor, W. S. Kincade, ruled that bands from the town's two Negro schools couldn't march in the annual Christmas parade.

The boycott failed to produce a reversal of the mayor's decision, though some white merchants in the northern Mississippi town saw volume plummet. "At the height of the boycott before Christmas our sales were 35% to 40% below a year earlier," says Ray Brake, manager of Braber's department store on Yazoo St.; Negroes normally account for about half the store's sales. Mr. Brake, says, however, that sales in recent weeks have picked up markedly and are now running ahead of a year earlier "partly because of an influx of new white customers and partly because the boycott is weakening."

The Christmas parade has passed, of course, and the original goal of getting permission for the Negro bands to march in the parade has given way to newer demands. For one thing, the Clarksdale Negroes want local merchants to begin hiring members of their race as sales clerks. "This would have the same effect as cutting my throat," says one Clarksdale merchant who is determined to resist the Negro demand.

New heat recently has been added to the controversy. Two weeks ago five Negro leaders were sentenced to six months in jail and ordered to pay $500 fines for their part in the boycott. They were convicted under a state law against conspiring to commit an act injurious to trade or commerce. The Negroes have appealed the convictions, however, and are now free on $2,500 bonds.

Despite these sometimes sizable pockets of strong resistance to integration, there is little question that Southerners generally are wearying of the fight. Standing on a street corner in Macon, Barbara Brickle, a 19-year-old bookkeeper who describes herself as "against integration," says bitterly: "Negroes ought to keep their place. I know they have to improve themselves, but they don't have to eat with us to do that. And I'd hate to see my little brother have to go to school with them." Then as an afterthought, she adds: "I guess its going to come sooner or later, though."

In his small fifth floor office in Monroe, La., lawyer Robert C. Downing takes note of recent demonstrations in New Orleans and Baton Rouge, where singing Negro students picketed business establishments and marched on state and municipal buildings. Such demonstrations have been anything but beneficial in improving race relations in his town, he declares.

"How can they help when it means the Negroes have declared war on us?' He asks. Nonetheless, the attorney looks upon the struggle as a losing one for the whites. "The white majority here strongly favors segregation and will do everything they can to maintain it. But we've got no weapons, and the Negroes have the strongest one of all—the U.S. Supreme Court."

Race Relations

Job Opportunity, Voting Rights Aired At Meeting

Atl. World 2-26-64

DALLAS, Texas — (ANP) — Organized labor and Texas liberals got a kick in the pants by several Negro speakers at the Annual Convention of the United Political Convention here at the Statler Hilton hotel last weekend, when job opportunities and voting education reigned as the top topics for panel discussions. San Antonio school administrator Joe Scott raped labor's knuckles, emphasizing the rivalry between the Negro leadership in the UPO and those who are part of the coalition of Latin Americans, labor and liberals.

New criticisms were also heard of the Texas Department of Public Safety for not hiring Negro highway patrolmen.

A series of speakers called for better vocational training and public education for Negroes, speedier integration and greater job opportunities, as well as voter education that would spur qualified Negroes to seek public office.

The convention opened Friday night with a mammoth banquet at which Georgia Senator Leroy Johnson was keynote speaker. Approximately five hundred heard Senator Johnson plead for a continuing "effort on the part of Negroes everywhere to break through the barriers of racial bias and injustice." He gave a historic backlog of Negro accomplishments in all fields of endeavor, and closed his brilliant address with dramatic proof that "we are somebody, and must be treated like somebody."

On Saturday during a panel discussion, Joe Scott charged:

" There has been progress in many areas in Texas, but one area in which there have been no moves toward employment opportunities is within the apprenticeship courses in the labor movement."

"Coalitions are good when all sides have mutal interests," he said, "There are no Negroes in the craft unions—No Negro carpenters, or electricians on the job."

Scott said, "we don't think much of a liberal who won't give us any jobs, when he has the opportunity. And we won't vote for labor's can-

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 7)

average, the income of non-whites is $70 under the average for the rest of the country."

"The average person in Dallas gets 11.8 years of school compared with a national average of 10.2. Yet the average Negro gets only 8.8 years of school in Dallas." he said.

A. Maceo Smith, Group Relations Officer for the FHA called integration of neighborhoods the "unfished business of the American Ne-

the individual is at liberty to decide the extent he or she will participate in the affairs of society. We, therefore, find, in a significant number of our people, and indifferent attitude towards government and a lack of understanding of citizens working together for the advancement of the country, and unless the individual is willing to accept the responsibilities of citizenship, this great system cannot be perpetuated."

Articles

KENTUCKY TAV

AMERICA'S BEST PREMIUM BOURBON, PROUDLY PRESENTED BY GLENMORE DISTILLERIES COMPAN
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PINE ST. FISH AND
POULTRY
174 PINE ST., N.E.
FRYERS ..... 16c lb.
LARGE HENS 20c lb.
ROOSTERS ... 10c lb.
4 Doz. Grade A Small
EGGS $1.00
All Fish Dressed Free
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latenus

soprano Shirley Verrett will conclude again on Friday, and Miss Verrett will rejoin the group for a final concert on Saturday evening.

Job Opportunities

(Continued from Page One)

didates to help perpetuate their discrimination against Negroes."

K. R. M. Crooks, an official of the National Urban League told the group:

Negro leaders must motivate and stimulate the youth to better themselves educationally. He said that while the average income in Dallas is $100 a year over the national average, the income of non-whites is $70 under the average for the rest of the country."

"The average person in Dallas gets 11.8 years of school compared with a national average of 10.2. Yet the average Negro gets only 8.8 years of school in Dallas." he said.

A. Maceo Smith, Group Relations Officer for the FHA called integration of neighborhoods the "unfished business of the American Negro." He told the group that they must break down the fallacy that when a Negro moves into a white neighborhood values drop.

Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr opened his key address with a glowing tribute to J. Philip Crawford, Texas' first State Assistant Attorney General. He said that Crawford had won the respect of the entire state because of his ability.

He opened the panel discussions with an address on "Responsible Citizens Working Together to Meet The Challenge of Change."

"Our form of government," he said, "demands more of the individual than any other system yet devised by man. Possibly, because of this, in the history of the world, the failures of Democracy far outnumber the successes. A nation cannot continue as a Democracy unless its citizens are willing to devote their time and energies to its well being. For freedom and responsibility are opposite sides of the same coin."

"Because we live in a free society, the individual is at liberty to decide the extent he or she will participate in the affairs of society. We, therefore, find, in a significant number of our people, and indifferent attitude towards government and a lack of understanding of citizens working together for the advancement of the country, and unless the individual is willing to accept the responsibilities of citizenship, this great system cannot be perpetuated."

Articles

Col. Eng. 5-11-64

Race Relations

Juries Must Be 'Color-Blind'

Southern judges and county officials would do well to note the disturbing frequency with which the U. S. Supreme Court is reviewing — and sometimes overruling —convictions of Negroes by all-white juries. At least one conviction was thrown out simply because the indictment was made by an all-white grand jury.

The Court's criteria apparently is whether Negroes were "systematically and deliberately excluded from the jury or grand jury."

This scarcely seems a valid reason for overturning a guilty verdict, if other facts of the case show that the jury reached a fair and proper decision. If carried to extremes, the Court's thinking could undermine law enforcement throughout the South.

There are many reasons that persons are not called for grand jury service, or even for trial jury service. To base the guilt or innocence of a defendant on the racial composition of a jury or grand jury is racism itself.

The basic reasoning behind the Court's direction is frightening to contemplate, hinting as it does that the presence on a jury of a Negro would provide a more sympathetic consideration of a Negro defendant.

This is exactly why some communities have been reluctant to include Negroes on juries, and the Supreme Court is ill-advised in feeding these fears and suspicions.

Juries, being composed of humans, are not always unbiased, of course, but if the jury system is to survive, the faith of the courts must be placed in it.

Negroes do serve as jurors in most Southern communities today if they meet the qualifications which are also incumbent on white citizens.

But we trust that all jurors, of whatever complexion, are indeed "color-blind" when judging a defendant on trial.

WASHINGTON COLUMN— Selma Times-Journal 5-11-64 Race Relations

Negroes Find North Also Resists Pressure Despite Court Ruling

By JAMES MARLOW
AP News Analyst

WASHINGTON (AP) — For three centuries American Negroes had been waiting at the gate that kept them in the Jim Crow cellar of American life. Then on May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court unlocked it for them.

That was 10 years ago but Negroes have been able to push it open only very slowly.

On that far-reaching day in May the court said public school segregation because of a child's race was wrong, that it meant unequal treatment and was therefore unconstitutional. But the ruling really went far beyond schools.

For in effect the court said the very principle of segregation is wrong, which meant from then on Negroes could fight with confidence against all forms of segregation and discrimination in public places.

They have been fighting since. And many white people — including the clergy — who had no racial prejudice but had sat idly by through the decades until 1954 have joined them in the struggle.

But prejudiced whites are an obstinate army who never really believed the Declaration of Independence which said all men are created equal and have tried to ignore or defy the court in preserving segregation and discrimination.

Even some white Christian churches still refuse to let Negroes in. And Negroes are discovering, if they doubted it, that the South has no monopoly on prejudice. They have found it intensely against them in the North, too.

Negroes, with increasing confidence and swelling numbers, have sought to batter down the barriers in a thousand places, a hundred ways, North and South through sit-ins, lie-downs, marches, freedom rides, demonstrations and court fights against discrimination in voting restaurants, schools, housing, unions.

As the struggle grows, so does violence, which causes national concern.

Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and had slaves but sought to end slavery, also had concern about the future when he thought about the condition of the Negro in America.

He said: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just."

If it had not been for that court decision of 10 years ago the American Negro might still be suffering discrimination in comparative silence for the law —or the court's interpretation of the law — was again him.

Police would probably have felt far freer to smash Negro protests because of a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896 which said segregation was constitutional.

It wasn't until 20 years later that Negroes were able to begin chipping away at that decision. This was against a discriminatory housing ordinance in Louisville. But the fight thereafter was tortured and slow.

The real march began in the 1930s when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People decided on a strategy which was crowned with the final triumph of 1954.

This was the strategy: but by bit, case by case, fight all the way up to the Supreme Court specific cases of discrimination, like segregation of Negroes on buses, trains, in graduate schools. They won case after case but never total victory.

In each specific case the court might say the segregation practiced was wrong without ruling out the principle of segregation. That finally came 10 years ago, thus wiping out completely the decision of 1896.

Negro agitation will increase this summer and even if Congress approves the kind of civil rights bill the Negroes want it will still be, as their leadership has said, only a part of what they feel is their due.

action guide for

racial justice now—

voter registration

NO. 3 • COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION • UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

JMC
JTC

"We, the people of the United States"...

INTRODUCTION

In the United States one third of our adults do not vote in presidential elections and half do not vote in congressional elections, according to the report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation, November 1963. The problem is serious, for in this nation *there is basic power in the use of the ballot.* We change things through the vote. Furthermore, as a result of intimidation, discrimination, despair, and lack of training, a disproportionate number of those not voting are Negro.

The Council for Christian Social Action, in cooperation with the Committee for Racial Justice Now of the United Church of Christ and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has prepared this action guide as one of a series on Racial Justice Now. In it we are lifting up various facets of the task before us on which we believe Christians are called to work; and focusing largely on the situation in the South because that is where the constitutional right to vote is most forcibly denied. However, the approaches suggested are generally useful, and the churches in northern metropolitan centers where minority group populations are large will need to take a serious look at their responsibility for work in this field.

This guide is pointed particularly for use in church social action groups and civil rights organizations, but it could be very readily used by other types of organizations and groups. Many of the suggestions and resources are from political parties and other secular sources.

WHAT IS THE CHURCH'S RESPONSIBILITY?

We cannot be spectators on the stage of history; we are under orders as Christians to become involved in the total life of the world. We are under orders to work for all those things which make for life that upholds human values and for conditions in which man can grow toward wholeness and life abundant. Christians, then, who care about their brothers, must work for effective structures which give men opportunity freely to effect change toward a more responsible society of free and equal men. As sons of God we are commissioned to acknowledge that the whole world is under his rule, and to be obedient to his rule.

The church, therefore, must be concerned when citizens are denied their rights and are prevented from taking their full responsibility in choosing those values and candidates for leadership in our democracy. This is a denial of the right to be fully man. Are we not called in Christ's spirit to release the captives and to set at liberty those who are oppressed?

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

The privilege of sharing in the decision-making process is granted to all citizens by birth or naturalization. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted March 30, 1870, states that this right to vote shall not be abridged or denied to any on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and gives Congress power to enforce this article. An Enforcement Act was passed in 1870, but in 1876 its effect was virtually nullified by the Supreme Court. It was not until 1957 that another civil rights bill was passed to enforce this amendment. The civil rights bill which was passed in June, 1964, and signed by the President on July 3, 1964, will strengthen this power of enforcement to insure the right of every citizen to register and to vote. A realistic appraisal of the present situation, however, indicates how far we are from implementation of the Fifteenth Amendment.

In two years—April 1, 1962-March 31, 1964—more than a half million Negroes were registered to vote in eleven Southern states. The estimated total number of Negroes registered as of April 1, 1964, in these same eleven Southern states was 1,937,982. The number of Negroes not registered was 3,078,118.

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
>
> The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.
>
> Amendment XV, Sections I and II
> Ratified March 30, 1870

The percentage, therefore, of the Negro population of voting age registered to vote was 38.6%. Tennessee had the highest percentage with 67.2% registered. Mississippi had the lowest figure—6.7%.[1] Yet this increase in voters brought scant increase in the ratio of Negro to white voters in that region. It moved the percentages of Negroes among the voting population from 10% to 12%.

The widest disparity was reported to be in Mississippi, where Negroes comprise 42% of the population and 5.3% of the voters. In particular counties in certain areas of the South it is even worse. In Dallas County, Alabama, where 55% of the population is Negro, the percentage of voters is only 2.3%. East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, has about 2,600 white voters and 120 Negro voters, though the white population is in the minority. (NEW YORK TIMES report, November 24, 1963)

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, is a non-partisan program endorsed by both the Republican and Democratic Parties. It concentrates its activities in the South because this is where non-whites have been intimidated and kept from registering.

It is the area of lowest registration in the nation. Many also have lacked understanding of the political processes and of their rights as citizens. The right to vote in a democracy is precious; participation in decision-making is a symbol of worth and dignity. Responsibility for using this precious right is also basic to good citizenship.

The stories of Negroes who have been prevented by devious means from registering to vote are many. Hundreds of Negroes have lost their jobs, been arrested, jailed, beaten, shot and sometimes even killed for

attempting to exercise their constitutional right to register as voters. In some counties the risk is so great it takes unusual courage to go to the city hall and ask to be registered.

While many Southern Negroes have been directly prevented from voting, many more have been deterred by what has happened to others. In addition to this, many thousands of Negroes, North and South, have neglected to register through ignorance, carelessness, and feelings of futility and despair, doubting that their participation would make any significant difference.

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.
>
> Amendment XIV, Section I
> Ratified July 23, 1868

1 From a chart of the Voter Education Project, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

HOW CAN CHURCHES HELP?

1. **Organize and conduct a voter registration drive.** Registration requirements and procedures often constitute a major obstacle to voting. No mattter how interested and excited a person is on Election Day, if he lives in any one of 46 states and has not previously registered, he cannot vote.

In most of these states, the registration books are closed well before the election – before political campaigns hit full stride, before peak interest in the upcoming election is achieved. Therefore, the registration of voters must be accomplished during a period of relatively little political activity. It requires organized effort to determine how many persons are unregistered, find out who they are, locate them, contact them, and get them registered. It is also important for the Committee to identify critical issues directly affecting the community so that the individual can see how his voting may result in meaningful change where he is.

A. The first step in programming a registration drive is to organize a steering committee of four or five knowledgeable individuals who have a sincere interest in solving the problem of registration. The committee could well be the social action committee of the church or a subcommittee appointed for this particular project. This committee should have the responsibility of organizing various committees to locate the unregistered individuals and get them registered.

B. Next, a committee of two or three persons should have the responsibility of determining the number of unregistered persons in the community. The procedure for doing this is as follows:

1. Locate the identifiable Negro-American wards and/or precincts in the city, and secure from the Board of Elections the number of persons registered therein. Calculate the total for all wards and/or precincts. This represents the approximate total of Negro registration in the city.
2. Obtain the total number of non-whites in your city who are 21 years of age or over. (This information can be found in Table 20 of the Bureau of the Census publication for each state, entitled GENERAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, 1960. The volume for your state may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., or from any field office of the Department of Commerce.)
3. Subtract the total number of Negroes registered from the non-white population 21 years and over. The difference would be an approximate number of Negroes who are not registered to vote. (Obviously, however, this procedure can also be utilized in **any** ward or precinct where voter registration is needed.)

C. A small committee then should have the responsibility for locating the unregistered persons by name, address, and telephone number; they should also be located by ward and precinct numbers (or similar political subdivision). This information should be noted on a set of file cards made in duplicate, one set filed alphabetically by last name, the other filed by street.

Where a city directory is available, it lists residents by streets. Checking the voting list against the directory is the easiest way to ascertain non-voters. The limitations are: 1) Directory information is usually at least one year old; this is a great handicap when the population is mobile. 2) Directories are least thorough where the population is highly concentrated.

Unregistered persons can also be located by:

1. Securing a list of registered voters from the Board of Elections and checking it against:
   a. Organizational lists
   b. Church membership lists
   c. Residents of housing projects
   d. Street telephone directories
   e. Teachers directories
   f. College personnel directories
   g. Files of college registrars, and any other lists
2. Using a street telephone directory and telephoning persons in the Negro-American area who have a telephone to see if they are registered to vote. If they are not registered, their names, addresses, and telephone numbers should be noted; the caller should be sure to ask if there are additional members of the household who are eligible to vote; if so their names and pertinent information about them should be noted also.
3. Canvassing door-to-door in the Negro-American wards and/or precincts.
4. Having workers located in shopping centers, in front of supermarkets, etc., asking people if they are registered to vote. The names and addresses of those not registered should be obtained for the files.

D. Having spent some time in locating the unregistered persons in the above manner, the workers now should contact them for the purpose of getting them registered. The job should not be too difficult because the workers are now in possession of their names, addresses, and telephone numbers. Contact is established as follows:

1. The chairman of the steering committee should send a short letter to each person in the

card file urging the individual to register and listing the times, dates, and places to register. The letter should also mention that someone will call upon him to explain the importance of registering and exactly how to do it.

2. Teams of volunteer workers should be organized for the purpose of house-to-house canvassing. Each worker should be given 25 or 30 cards with names of the unregistered persons and instructions to call on these persons at their homes to emphasize the importance of being registered, to explain the mechanics of registration, and to urge them to register. In places where registration by mail is permitted, the worker can explain the procedure and help a person to register on the spot. The workers should also tell the unregistered persons that they will be called at a later time to see if they have registered.
3. Transportation systems should be set up to bring the unregistered persons to registration centers. Prospective registrants could make appointments by telephone, and drivers could be dispatched to take them to the centers. Workers could serve as babysitters to enable parents, especially mothers, to register.

Volunteer workers can be recruited in many ways. Organizations should be able to enlist membership support by presenting the registration drive as an important group project which would be meaningful to the community and in which all members could participate. The steering committee should seek the cooperation of as many organizations as possible, particularly young people's and college groups. Letters urging support could be sent to leaders of organizations, some of whom might be included on the steering committee or other committees. In publicizing your effort to recruit volunteers, stress the fact that your activities are non-partisan, and are already underway, not just being discussed.

Voter registration is a laborious process, but the burden can be lightened if the program is logically planned and executed. Don't forget: before any attempt is made to register, an estimation must be made of the population that is unregistered; names, addresses, and telephone numbers must be obtained. Following that, the unregistered may be brought to the registrar's office. Such an organized effort will help to insure maximum citizen participation on Election Day.[2]

LEARNING FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS

Both REPUBLICAN and DEMOCRATIC PARTIES are interested in voter registration on a non-partisan basis and can provide helpful material. Their headquarters can give you an election calendar telling you when the primaries are, the registration period for the general elections, and certain other pertinent facts that will be helpful. Texas, for example, has no registrations as such. Voters must have paid a poll tax before January 31 to be eligible to vote in 1964. In New Hampshire registration deadlines vary throughout the state. Delaware has no primaries. Nominations for U. S. Representative are made at party conventions. Oklahoma allows registration by mail. North Dakota has no registration requirement.

Suggestions regarding techniques can be gleaned from the experience of a voter registration project in Greensboro, N. C., sponsored by the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE. The three-week project was centered in the Negro-American community, although they never discouraged white persons from registering. In this county (Guilford) in 1960, 66.8% of the white population was registered, whereas only 33.5% of the Negroes were registered. Ten interracial teams of two were sent out weekday evenings from 7:00 to 9:00 and Saturday afternoons from 2:00 to 6:00. (See Appendix I for a description of techniques used.)

2 For most of the material in the above outline of methods we are indebted to Dr. T. L. Spraggins, Department of History, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia.

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE has had wide experience across the South in voter registration. They have set up training for workers, have assigned staff supervisors to states and areas, and are concentrating large resources on preparing Negroes to gain and use responsibly the power of the ballot. (See Appendix II for some of their charts and suggestions for organizing.)

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE has had some experience in helping on voter registration. For example, early in 1964 they brought a group of clergy into Canton, Mississippi, to aid the attempts of Negroes to register to vote. According to the NEW YORK TIMES (March 2, 1964), "The Rev. B. Elton Cox, a CORE field secretary from High Point, N. C., contended it was highly significant that Negroes had been permitted to line up in front of the court house. This is a milestone, not just a stepping stone, in Mississippi," he declared. Perhaps the observers from the NCC and their interviews in the community did help prevent violence. Of 260 who waited outside the registrar's office one day and 50 the next, a total of seven got inside to take the test.

> Those seven must have sensed the futility anew as they passed through the office door of L. F. Campbell, the circuit clerk and voter registrar. On its glass window is a red, blue and grey sticker bearing a Confederate battle flag and the message, "Support Your Citizens' Council," a militantly segregationist organization.

Negroes in Madison County, Mississippi, are 72% of the population of 32,904 persons. In 1962, 1.1% of those Negroes were registered to vote—97% of the white adult population were registered. The CORE field secretary reported on March 2, 1964, that of 1,000 attempts to register only 30 have been successful in the recent campaign.

Since this beginning, the Council for Christian Social Action, in cooperation with the Committee for Racial Justice Now of the United Church of Christ, has taken some responsibility for continuous observation and vigilance in relation to the Canton situation.

The Presbyterians have worked in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, to bring pressure on the registrars there by bringing in relays of clergy to demonstrate, and seeing that they are committed to continue until there is some real change. There have been some arrests and harassment, but persistent efforts are being continued.

Projects of this kind have operated through the summer of 1964. The National Council of Churches Commission on Religion and Race has been involved in 20 cities in Mississippi. They took responsibility for financing and staffing the orientation and training center for the volunteers going to participate in the Mississippi summer project in 1964. They were involved in observing voter registration and also in going to people on a person-to-person basis to help them understand the registration forms, etc.

The futility of trying to register large numbers when the whole society is overwhelmingly organized to prevent it led to the NCC staff's becoming quasi-official observers at the efforts to establish the Freedom Democratic Party. One staff member testified to the Credentials Committee at the Democratic Convention, for example, regarding the Freedom Party.

There are creative possibilities, it seems, no matter how difficult the situation is. The fact that COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) and the Mississippi Freedom Party were shut out in their registration efforts resulted in the birth of a parallel political organization which grew from a handful of people to a powerful political institution which commanded the attention of the American people and of the President himself at Atlantic City.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON REGISTRATION AND VOTING PARTICIPATION sets forth in their report twenty-one standards which they believe, if implemented, would guarantee the right to vote of every citizen, thus assuring in fact what we proclaim in theory—the supremacy of the individual in American political life.[3] In accepting their report and extending the Commission by Executive Order, President Johnson said:

> I am told that it is easier today to buy a destructive weapon, a gun, in a hardware store, than it is to vote. The whole problem that we have in each state in this Union, in each precinct in each state, is to make it easier for people to vote instead of harder. Why should we make it difficult for people to vote? It is easier now to register and enlist in the Service in many cases than it is to vote. Why should a man have an easy path provided for him to go and fight, but a difficult path for him to go and vote?

2. Develop a program of citizenship education or assist with one.

A second way in which churches and church members can take positive action is to work in the area of citizenship education. In addition to voter education which interprets the need to vote and provides motivation and information concerning procedures, fundamental education in citizenship is required for a large group of citizens. There are estimated to be ten million illiterates in our nation. Because of discrimination in schools, employment, voting, etc., a large number of those in this underprivileged group are non-white. Many of the civil rights groups are developing programs of education to overcome this handicap and to help prepare adults for full participation as citizens now or as soon as situations can be changed to make possible equal access to the polls.

3 See Appendix III for listing of 21 standards.

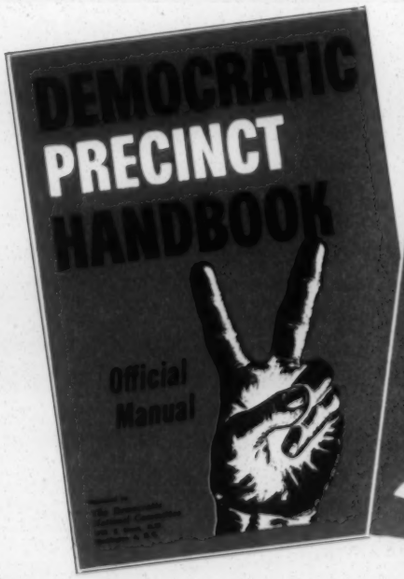
LEARNING FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS

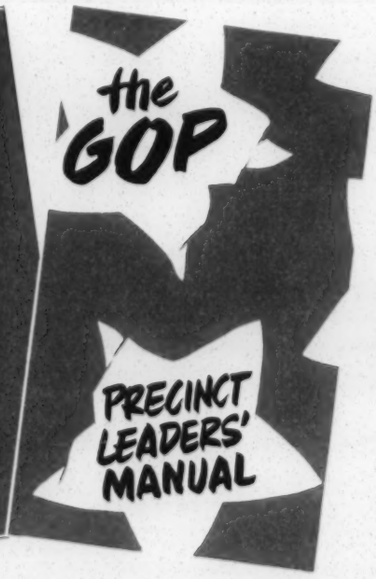
One excellent example of this is the development of the Citizenship Education Project of the Division of Higher Education and the American Missionary Association of the Board of Homeland Ministries financed by a grant from the Field Foundation and conducted in close cooperation with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in training connected with their work in voter registration. About once a month the staff bring people from all over the South for a five-day training program to prepare them to organize citizenship schools (of 14 persons each) in their own communities. Such a citizenship school meets in two-hour sessions two nights a week for three months.

The course includes teaching people to read and write. It trains them to fill out tax and social security forms, to write checks, reconcile a bank statement, and to do simple arithmetic. It shows them how to read a newspaper critically and gainfully, and helps them to understand some of the basic facts about the social revolution taking place, as well as the importance of participation in the political decision-making by voting.

After conducting such groups the teachers are brought back for a weekend refresher course. The leadership team consists of skilled and sensitive persons who help the potential teachers, for example, to deal with a person's shame for not being able to read and write. They demonstrate how the teachers may draw out the potential leadership of their students, and help them to understand that many Negroes who have not had the opportunity for an education are "like good land that has never been cultivated." Of course, registration for voting is a part of the goal of such citizenship training. (Their workbook and other materials are available upon request. Write to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 332-34 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.)

THE NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT has developed a program in northern cities in which volunteers tutor Negro students, helping them to make up for inadequate education, poor background and attendance records. This supplement to the regular public education fills a real need for preparing youth to be first-class citizens; it will prevent such a high dropout rate in the schools, and should be a significant deterrent to juvenile delinquency. For information about this program write to the Northern Student Movement, 73 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027.





Interpretation and education on why voting is important are often needed before motivation for registration and participation in the election process is felt. THE AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION can provide some interpretive material. A pamphlet on WHY VOTE? THE ABC'S OF CITIZENSHIP published by the Channin L. Bete Co., Inc., Greenfield, Massachusetts, is used by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in its citizenship education training.

3. **Encourage persons to work in the local precinct of the political party of their choice.** Getting **all** persons registered to vote is only the first step. Educating them to be able to register and to vote intelligently is another step. But it is not enough **just** to vote even though this is primary.

Delegates go from the precinct to the county convention, from the county convention to the state convention, from the state convention to the national convention. Participation in the political structures begins in the precinct. As one civil rights leader remarked, "If you don't work in the precinct you are lost."

It is important to **be there** when the decisions are made. Local and neighborhood issues are discussed, such as the need for better lighting, improvement of roads, and adequate sewage. In addition there are persons needed to run the voting machines on election day. Negro and white persons alike should have access to this paid employment. The jobs are available to persons who participate actively and show responsibility.

This is just to remind us that voter registration is only the beginning of the process of helping citizens of voting age to be responsible. It

"The most important step a Negro can take is in the direction of the ballot box."
Martin Luther King

is also important to study the issues – local, state, and national – *and* to participate in the building of machinery, beginning in the precinct. It is a continuing process of facing the obligations and opportunities of citizenship, if we are to be effective in moving our nation in the direction of greater unity between profession and practice.

IN CONCLUSION

All churches wherever they are can work on getting the one third to one half of the adults who never vote registered and prepared to participate intelligently in the political structures by use of the ballot. All churches can inform their people about programs being carried on to eliminate discrimination in voting and can encourage financial support of those programs. The Southern Regional Council is acting as the coordinator for the civil rights groups at work in this field in the South. They accept and distribute funds as needed for the Voter Education Project. Their address is: 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303. The organizations cooperating in the Voter Education Project coordinated through the Southern Regional Council are:

- Congress of Racial Equality
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
- National Urban League
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference
- Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Many churches will find it fruitful and practical to canvass their own neighborhoods or inner-city neighborhoods where non-whites are concentrated and organize a voter registration drive.

Others will be able to encourage their members to volunteer for such drives being sponsored by civil rights groups. The Canton and Hattiesburg, Mississippi, illustrations show concretely one kind of support that can be useful. Many young men and women have postponed graduate school or given a summer or a year to work on a voter registration team full-time in the South under such organizations as CORE, SCLC, AFSC, SNCC, and others.

Some churches will want to provide facilities and/or teachers for the tutoring programs in northern cities. Others will cooperate with civic groups in citizenship training programs or will organize their own in the church. All churches can work for the adoption and enforcement of effective state and local civil rights legislation and for the implementation of the recommendations of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Even when we have strong legislation, concern needs to be expressed that implementation be effective. Complaints must be filed. Test cases will be needed. The right to vote is the cornerstone of a free society. While the Constitution appears to guarantee it, and legislation appears to facilitate its exercise, it will be achieved only when there is a serious and continuing campaign to extend the franchise to those who, through fear or indifference, have never attempted to vote.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal"; . . .
—from the Declaration of Independence

APPENDIX I: Techniques used in the Greensboro voter registration project

"The more we canvassed, the more we realized the challenge in getting people to register to vote. There is a problem not only in getting people to register, but also in informing them and motivating them to vote. We were prepared as we knocked on doors to introduce ourselves as working with the American Friends Service Committee in cooperation with the NAACP and CORE on a voter registration drive. We asked them to come with us to register at the place in the area where our registrars were. We found that now was best. We offered transportation and baby-sitting. As you can imagine, it was often difficult to get a good reception. We found it was better to be asked inside than to talk through a darkened screen door. We tried to be informal and humorous.

"There were many things we could do in this short time in a home. We needed to learn whether the adults had already registered. We tried not to ask this question outright, for if we did it was easy for them to say 'yes' to get rid of us. And yet we often wasted time trying to get people to register when they already had. It was our job to weed out people for the registrar; we were to send those who needed to change their address (or name) and those who needed to reregister if they had not voted in the past six years. We had to be careful not to send those who had registered but didn't understand that they need register only once and those who couldn't read; yet encourage those who could read some, for the oath is not difficult and the registrar will help. We had to overcome their apathy; at the same time we had to educate them about the procedure and importance of registering and voting.

"It was important to learn from what they said how much they knew and cared about voting. We had to direct our conversation to their level of education in answering their questions and dispelling their fears. The local support that is discovered in the process of canvassing should be utilized. Many said they would have liked to help if they had known about our work. Due to lack of preparation and organization, our only answer could be: 'Well, what you can do is talk to your neighbors and people at work and make sure they're all registered and that they vote in the next election.'

"In this respect publicity is important. If people know where to go, they can exercise their own initiative in registering without using our time or the time of those who are more civic-minded. The first Sunday we were there we visited several Negro churches. The ministers had received letters about the campaign before we arrived. Many had it written up in the bulletin and also spoke of it that morning or introduced a group member to make an announcement. We put up posters in the windows of neighborhood stores telling people where they could register. By the end of the first week the campaign had been publicized by both local newspapers and one of the radio stations in town. On Thursday, August 15, we had a featured article in the GREENSBORO RECORD.

"The following Sunday (August 18) we were featured on WEAL's half-hour program 'Viewpoint' at 1:00 p.m. . . .

"Other radio stations were contacted to give spot announcements. The importance of publicity can never be underestimated; there is always more than can be done."

(From the report of the AFSC Voter Registration Project in Greensboro, N. C., pp. 3-4.)

APPENDIX II: Suggestions for a voter registration campaign

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference gives the following suggested outline for planning a voter registration campaign:

Planning a Voter Registration Campaign

A good citizen must be a registered voter. But the job does not stop there. We cannot rest until **every** citizen is a registered voter. You have been helped to register through this citizenship course. It is now your turn to help your neighbors. Plan a registration drive for your neighborhood or community:

1. Select a site (neighborhood or town) .....
2. What is the size of the Negro population? .....
3. Number of registered voters.....
4. Number of Negroes of voting age .....
5. How many can we get to register? .....
6. During what period of time? (give dates) .....
7. Areas of concentration ....
8. Number of volunteer workers needed to cover area .....
9. Organizations to take part in the drive (churches, voter's leagues, youth groups, clubs) .....

CANVASS YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

VOTER REGISTRATION CRUSADE

Street or Road_____ Canvasser's Name_____

Block Number_____ Address_____

Dates Worked_____

Box or House Number	Name of Citizen Canvassed	Registered (Yes) (No)	Will register at once	Wishes transportation	Last time voted?	Need to report change of address	Left material	Recommended follow-up

Begin at one corner and circle the block without crossing the street, turning right at each corner. Call at each house or apartment. (PLEASE CHECK EACH ITEM CAREFULLY)

The SCLC also uses the following chart for a canvass of the neighborhood selected for concentrated work. (See p. 8.) They recommend a block party to help neighbors understand the importance of voting, to tell them how and where to register.

Suggested Steps for a Block Party

Have a meeting at your home to help your neighbors to understand the importance of voting, how to register, and where to register.

1. Invite every adult on your street, from corner to corner, to come to your home for an evening of information and fellowship. (In rural communities, select all houses within walking distance.)
2. Have voter registration information and material on hand.
3. Have someone there who can talk on **why, how,** and **where** to register.
4. Following speaker, have a discussion on some of your community problems and how voting can help solve them.
5. Tell why your block should have 100% voters.
6. Plan a meeting for the next week to give help to each other. (If possible, arrange to start a Citizenship School.)
7. Plan trips to take people down to register when they are ready.
8. Have someone contact the persons who did not show up at the meeting.

APPENDIX III—Twenty-one standards

The twenty-one standards outlined by the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation in its 1963 Report are as follows:

STANDARD I: Each state should create a Commission on Registration and Voting Participation, or utilize some other existing state machinery to survey in detail its election law and practices.

STANDARD II: Voter registration should be easily accessible to all citizens. [Among suggestions urged by the President's Commission are door-to-door canvassing by deputy registrars as practiced in Idaho, and mobile registration units in precincts or neighborhoods.]

STANDARD III: State residence requirements should not exceed six months.

STANDARD IV: Local residence requirements should not exceed 30 days.

STANDARD V: New state residents should be allowed to vote for President.

STANDARD VI: Voter registration should extend as close to Election Day as possible, and should not end more than three or four weeks before Election Day.

STANDARD VII: Voter lists should be kept current.

STANDARD VIII: No citizen's registration should be cancelled for failure to vote in any period less than four years.

STANDARD IX: Voter registration lists should be used only for electoral purposes.

STANDARD X: States should provide absentee registration for voters who cannot register in person.

STANDARD XI: Literacy tests should not be a requisite for voting.

STANDARD XII: Election Day should be proclaimed a national day of dedication to our American democracy.

STANDARD XIII: Polling places should be so equipped as to eliminate long waiting periods.

STANDARD XIV: Polling places should be open throughout the day and remain open until at least 9 p.m.

STANDARD XV: The states should provide every possible protection against election fraud.

STANDARD XVI: Voting by persons 18 years of age should be considered by the states.

STANDARD XVII: Candidacy should be open to all.

STANDARD XVIII: The right to vote should be extended to those living on federal reservations.

STANDARD XIX: Absentee voting by mail should be allowed for all who are absent from home on Primary or General Election Day.

STANDARD XX: The poll tax as a qualification for voting should be eliminated.

STANDARD XXI: Each state should keep informed of other states' practices and innovations in election administration.

ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES

American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Penna. 19102

Committee for Racial Justice Now, United Church of Christ, 289 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10010

Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027

Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038

Democratic National Committee, 1730 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006

League of Women Voters, 131 East 23rd St., New York, N. Y. 10010

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y. 10018

Northern Student Movement, 73 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027

Republican National Committee, 1625 I Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006

Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 332-34 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Commitee, 8½ Raymond Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30314

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CITIZENSHIP WORKBOOK. Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

HOW TO REGISTER VOTERS. Washington, D. C.: AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education.

LOUISIANA STORY, 1963, edited by James Peck. New York, N. Y.: Congress of Racial Equality. The story of efforts to conduct a voter registration drive in a Louisiana parish and the brutal methods used by officials to prevent it. 10¢.

ORGANIZING AND CONDUCTING A VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE, by T. L. Spraggins; mimeographed. Available from Dr. Spraggins, Department of History, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON REGISTRATION AND VOTING PARTICIPATION. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

WHY VOTE?—THE ABCs OF CITIZENSHIP. Greenfield, Mass.: Channing L. Bete Co., Inc. A 16-page "scriptographic" booklet.

AUDIO-VISUAL RESOURCES

MEANING OF ELECTIONS, THE (Coronet) — 16 mm.; 10 minutes; b&w. Rental, $2.00 from the Department of Film Services, Division of University Extension, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. A presentation of the meaning of elections in our democracy, this film shows the concepts of equality, the relationship of the elected official to his constituency, the importance of citizens voting, the operation of election machinery, and the necessity for people to strive continually to improve their election system.

PRICE OF FREEDOM, THE (NAM) — 16 mm.: 23 minutes; b&w. Rental, $1.00 from the Department of Film Services, Division of University Extension, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Designed to demonstrate that "the price of freedom" is a matter of individual responsibility and that personal freedom can be lost through apathy, disunity, and misunderstanding. It is the story of a newspaper man who returns from Europe and realizes the threats to freedom that we have here at home.

RIGHT NOW — 16 mm.; 28 minutes; color. Rental, $12.00 from USS Audio-Visual Office, 1501 Race Street, Philadelphia, Penna. 19102. Produced by Robert Newman. Sponsors: United Church of Christ Board for Homeland Ministries; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Committee for Racial Justice Now, UCC; Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. A documentary of the Negro's struggle for equality in the American South.

WE'LL NEVER TURN BACK — 16 mm.; 25 minutes; b&w. Rental, $3.00 from AFL-CIO Film Library, AFL-CIO Building, Washington, D. C. 20406. (Make reservations at least three weeks in advance, with alternate dates listed.) A new documentary film on voter registration in the South which represents a series of interviews with Negroes who tell of violence, coercion with economic reprisals brought down upon them because of their attempts to register as voters.

SIT-IN (McGraw-Hill) — 16 mm.; 54 minutes. Purchase price, $250 from Text-Film Division, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 West 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 10036. An NBC "White Paper Production," narrated by Chet Huntley. Negro customers sat down to a snack at lunch counters in six downtown Nashville stores. This film focuses on this event, the consequences that flowed from it, and the story of how this explosive issue was settled peacefully.

VOTING PROCEDURE (Indiana University) — 16 mm.; 14 minutes; b&w. Rental, $3.00 from the Department of Film Services, Division of University Extension, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Explains the importance of registration, registration requirements and procedures, and the preparation of voting lists.

STREETS OF GREENWOOD, THE (Brandon) — 16 mm.; 20 minutes. Rental, $7.50 per day from Brandon Films, Inc., 200 West 57th St., New York, N. Y. 10019. Deals with the voter registration campaign in Mississippi that led to the formation of the Freedom Schools — efforts of Negroes and whites to achieve the right to vote in the State, despite prejudice, illegal pressure, and actual violence.

WHERE WERE YOU? — 16 mm.; 28 minutes. Available rent free, except for postage and insurance, from Ford Film Libraries (4316 Telegraph, Oakland, Calif. 94609; The American Road, Dearborn, Mich. 48121; and 16 East 52nd St., New York, N. Y. 10022). A dramatic presentation of the need for all people to participate in the political processes of government. The story of a typical election, the film shows how apathy on the part of citizens may result in the election of unqualified candidates.

KNOCK ON EVERY DOOR (Christopher) — 16 mm.; 23 minutes; color. Rental, $5.00 from the Department of Film Services, Division of University Extension, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. This film presents a story of how individuals can be stirred to protect their God-given freedom; stresses the obligation of each citizen to participate in strengthening political life.

PHOTO CREDITS: Photos on pp. 1, 2, 4, 9, and 12, Kenneth Thompson; Republican and Democratic Precinct Manuals on p. 6, courtesy of the National Democratic and Republican Committees.

The quotation used as a caption on p. 1 is from the Preamble to the Constitution of the U.S.A.

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It's a Two-Party South! Republicans Gain Five New Congressmen in Dixie

All GOP Congressional Incumbents Reelected; Breakthrough Hailed

It's a two-party South! There's simply no other conclusion for what happened in the South in the historic elections of 1962.

Item: All Republican congressional incumbents were reelected, every one of them winning handily despite Kennedy intervention in their district or state, and gerrymandering redistricting.

Item: Five brand new Republican Congressmen were elected — two of them in districts in which Republicans failed to nominate candidates in the 1958 mid-term elections, the last comparable year.

Item: Republican candidates smashed through at local and county levels, picking up a host of offices ranging from State Senator to School Board Member.

Item: "Moral victories" were many —a tight Senate race in Alabama and a handful of votes separating the contenders in several congressional districts in which GOP candidates never before were rated a chance.

But "moral victories" aren't seats in Congress. What does count is that in addition to the above, eight more congressional districts in the South must be marked "marginal" because GOP candidates, although losing, polled at least 45% of the vote. The spadework has been done, and GOP candidates will be odds-on choices in the next elections.

A recapitulation of Southern GOP victories, "real" and 'moral", could go on indefinitely. It's sufficient to state that in every area of the South, Republicans scored a major breakthrough. The force of competition for public office is now felt by every officeholder, and the people will reap the benefits.

(Continued on Page Eight)

Window Shopping in Dixie

The Republican
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WAB 1 (A 3 + 6) vet file

EDITORS
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ALL Democrats Voted with New Frontier--

Southerners Betrayed by Democrats On Very First Vote in New Congress

Republicans Voted For Conservative Committee Leaders

Southern voters were betrayed by their Democratic congressmen on the first vote in the New Congress!

There is no doubt voters in the South intended to send conservatives —Jeffersonians—to represent them in Congress. But on the very first vote, the Democrats deserted them and voted for radical leadership of the House and Senate and their committees.

All Republicans, whether from the North or South, voted for conservative Congressional leadership.

The Kennedy forces, because Democrats are the majority in Congress, won the showdown.

Of all the votes taken in Congress each year, the first is the most important because it decides the leadership and committee chairmanships. Leaders and chairmen can bottle up or push legislation in line with their political philosophy.

To show how this will affect legislation enacted by this Congress, compare the voting records of these Republicans and Democrats in the House:

John W. McCormack (D-Mass.) was chosen Speaker. He was JFK's choice, and was supported by all Democrats. Because he is Speaker, he does not now usually vote. But before the New Frontier came to power he had a voting record of 0%—repeat,

(Continued on Page 7)

February, 1963

4- make file "The Republican Southern Challenge."

New Congress Organizes; Freshmen Fare Well - - -

GOPs from South Gain Seniority, Win Many of the Top Committee Assignments

Advancing seniority, high-ranking Party posts and top-notch committee assignments for new members marked the organization of the new Congress for Republicans elected from Southern states.

In the House, a Republican from the South is now ranking minority member of one committee, while on two others, GOPs from Dixie rank second, and on three others, third.

Senate assignments were still up in the air at press time, but it was clear Republicans from the South would stand high in seniority.

Topping the list of party assignments was the election of **Senator Thruston Morton** of Kentucky as the new chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, succeeding Senator Barry M. Goldwater. Senator Goldwater, whose term expires next year, could no longer serve under the rules of the committee.

Texas' **Senator John Tower** also serves on the Senate Campaign Committee. **Senator John S. Cooper** of Kentucky is on the Committee on Committees, the group which awards committee assignments.

'Happy New Year, Host!'

Republicans from the South achieved two of the top posts in the Republican Conference. **Congressman William C. Cramer,** Florida, was elected vice chairman of the group, which achieved national attention. Virginia's **Richard Poff** is secretary.

North Carolina's **James T. Broyhill** was appointed a regional member of the House GOP Policy Committee, one of the nine regional members in the U. S. It's the first time a freshman representative has been named to a regional post.

The highly-important Republican Congressional Campaign Committee will be served by six Republicans from the South. **Cramer** and North Carolina's **Charles R. Jonas** are both vice chairmen. Members include **Poff** and three of the South's brand new GOP Congressmen—**M. G. Snyder** of Kentucky; **William E. Brock** of Tennessee, and **Ed Foreman** of Texas.

In the House itself, Virginia's **Joel T. Broyhill** will be ranking Republican on the District of Columbia Committee. The assignment is appropriate because Broyhill's district borders D. C. He also is third-ranking on Post Office and Civil Service.

Florida's **Cramer** is second on Public Works, while Tennessee's **Howard H. Baker** is second on the powerful Ways and Means Committee. **Cramer** also ranks fourth on Judiciary.

Third-ranking Republican on Judiciary is Virginia's **Poff** and Kentucky's **Eugene Siler** is third on Banking and Currency.

Jonas, who overcame Democrat gerrymandering to win reelection, now ranks sixth among the 20 Republicans on the important Appropriations Committee, and **Bruce Alger** of Texas is seventh on Ways and Means.

Outstanding assignments were given to freshmen Republicans from the South.

Foreman won a highly coveted seat on the Armed Services Committee, of high importance to his district; **Brock** was assigned to Banking and Currency, there to do battle against New Frontier inflationary ideas; **Snyder** won a spot on Education and Labor and will keep a watchful eye on federal aid to education.

North Carolina's **James T. Broyhill** won a seat on Interstate and Foreign Commerce where he will be in an ideal spot to protect the free enterprise system; **James H. Quillen** of Tennessee received a post on Public Works where he can guard against wild spending schemes, while Florida's **Edward J. Gurney,** whose district includes Cape Canaveral, appropriately was assigned to Science and Astronautics.

Mrs. Mary Ellen Miller Named to 'Operation Dixie'

Republican National Committee Chairman William E. Miller today announced the appointment of Mrs. Mary Ellen Miller of Mobile, Ala., as field representative for "Operation Dixie," the GOP's effort to win the South.

The announcement follows closely a meeting of the Republican National Committee, at which Chairman Miller announced the GOP effort in Dixie would be expanded.

Mrs. Miller will travel throughout the 12 "Operation Dixie states—the Confederacy plus Kentucky—and assist Republican groups in organizational matters and campaign techniques.

(Continued on Page 7)

Mrs. Mary Ellen Miller

A News Roundup from Southern States

Republicans On the March in Dixie!

Alabama—Republicans were bitterly disappointed by the defeat of their senatorial candidate, Jim Martin. We planned our work, worked our plan, and were fully confident of victory, but it was not to be in 1962 . . . State Chairman John E. Grenier has just completed holding meetings in all nine districts in Alabama in which he briefed workers and leaders, pointing out the highlights of the campaign where we succeeded, where we failed, our weaknesses etc. He requested all sixty-seven counties to have by March 1st a precinct organization director, finance director and permanent headquarters.

State Director of Organization Manyon Millican outlined a program for 1963 for training and recruiting precinct leaders to get maximum registration and to turn out a maximum Republican vote in 1964.

Over 1,500 people attended the nine district meetings. Alabama is happy to report that we approach our politics 365 days a year and we intend to elect more Republicans in 1964! Correspondent: Carolyn R. Golden, GOP State Executive Committee of Ala., 1031S. 21st St., Birmingham, 5.

* * *

Arkansas—Newspapers, TV, and radio headlined the biggest State Budget ever adopted in the history of the GOP, as Arkansas Republicans made plans for '64. Though the exact amount of the 63-64 budget is confidential, it's no secret that the GOP is selecting 25 target Legislature seats, much as the National Committee selects "target" Congressional seats.

County organizations, having undergone strong reorganization in the past campaign, are setting up precinct canvasses. The State Headquarters staff is now up to three field men, and requests for organizational meetings, strategy sessions, and field help are pouring in.

State Vice-Chairman Roy Mitchell has undertaken to establish a Statewide Speaker's Bureau—another first. State Chairman Bill Spicer and National Committeeman Winthrop Rockefeller were interviewed long distance from the National Committee meeting in Washington by a Little Rock Radio Station . . . and public relations as well as grassroots organizing is being stressed.

The State GOP adopted a financing plan termed the United Republican Fund—it's patterned after Mississippi's highly successful fund raising effort.

Washington County elected a County Judge and Coroner . . . and several other courthouse officials and Justices of the Peace were successful on the ticket over Arkansas. Latest plans are for a big Lincoln Day Dinner. Correspondent: David Bledsoe, 530 Tower Bldg., Little Rock.

* * *

Florida—Republican voter registration has increased approximately 495% in the past 12 years. In 1950 there were 60,595 registered Republicans; in 1962 there were 360,274 . . . A record number of Lincoln Day activities is planned throughout the state, with a number of prominent GOP speakers scheduled from Washington.

Sure Sounds Pretty, Don't It!

'Have You Cleared That With The Pentagon, Mister Franklin?'

Mrs. Clare B. Williams, assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee, in her role as Florida National Committeewoman, has announced the appointment of Mrs. Charles R. Fischer, 1251-A Park St., Clearwater, and Mrs. Lyle Chaffee, 806 16th Ave. N., St. Petersburg, as chairman and publicity chairman respectively for the state's delegation to the Republican Women's Conference, April 25-27 in Washington. Correspondent: Republican State Executive Committee, Suite 230, Hotel Hillsboro, Tampa.

* * *

Georgia—Focal points of political news in Georgia are the newly elected Republican officials. The first day the 1963 General Assembly convened, the oath for State Senator was administered to two Republicans who were appointed to the following committees: Senator A. Perry Gordy, 15th District in Muscogee County, Education, Public Utilities and Transportation and Senate Administrative Affairs; Senator Dan I. MacIntyre III, 40th District in Fulton County, Education, Industry and Labor, and County and Municipal Matters—all plush assignments for both.

A new election has been ordered for the senatorial seat in the Third District in Chatham County. Republican Joseph J. Tribble won on a district-wide basis, but the Democrats claimed they won on a county-wide basis. The Senate refused to seat either.

A. C. Duncan of Fannin County and B. C. Logan of Gilmer County were officially recognized as members of the House of Representatives. In addition to the officials in the General Assembly, Georgia Republicans are celebrating the elections of Leonard J. Hanna, Justice of the Peace in Oak Grove Militia District of Atlanta and Earl J. Roberts, member of the City Council in North Atlanta. Correspondent: Miss Charlotte J. Taylor, Republican State Headquarters, 416 Palmer Bldg., Atlanta, 3.

* * *

Mississippi—Republicans have entered this gubernatorial election year with renewed "vigah" . . . State headquarters has obtained larger quarters in the Lamar Building, Jackson, and invites visitors . . . Bill Wilkins, former field representative in the Second District, has been named state GOP Organization Director . . . Jack Geary is chairman of a committee to recruit field representatives.

Mary Ann Starnes, injured in a horseback riding accident, has returned to work and is devoting full time to the United Republican Fund of Mississippi . . . Mrs. James F. Hooper, Republican National Committeewoman, announced the appointment of Mrs. Robert T. Hardeman, Egypt Plantation, Cruger, and Mrs. John W. Slaughter, Columbus, as Mississippi Conference Chairman and Publicity Chairman respectively, for the 11th Annual Republican Women's Conference in Washington April 25-27. Correspondent: Mississippi Republican Party, Lamar Life Building, Jackson.

* * *

North Carolina—Our excellent showing in the November elections was naturally very encouraging: but even more encouraging is the fact that there is no "post-election slump" in evidence this time.

We're starting off the new year with a full slate of political activity lined up: The N. C. Federation of Republican Women held its annual convention in Raleigh on January 18, with a fund-raising dinner featuring Senator John G. Tower as one of the main events. The N. C. Federation of Young Republicans will follow close behind with a convention scheduled for February 8th and 9th in Winston-Salem.

Guilford County Republicans, who

(Continued on Next Page)

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GOP Wins in Mississippi!

Georgia Nabs New Victory

Florida GOPs Turn Out Mass of Candidates For Legislature Seats

Mississippi Republicans made history by electing a state legislator and Georgia GOPs added another member to their State Senate delegation in special elections last month.

The victories touched off an explosion of optimism at grassroots levels as the South continued its march toward a two-party system and competition in government. Following as they do the 1962 congressional elections when Republicans elected a record number of congressional, state and local officials in the South, the new triumphs hold significance for coming state and national campaigns.

Next on the agenda will be Florida special elections to fill legislative seats created by reapportionment.

Victorious in Mississippi was L. L. McAllister, Jr. of Meridian. A 30-year-old certified public accountant and chairman of Mississippi Young Republicans, "Mac" trounced the Democrat opposition for the Lauderdale County State House seat, 3,086 to 2,298. It was a clear-cut battle between a Republican and a Democrat on political philosophies.

McAllister's youth typifies the vitality of the two-party drive in Dixie. Like many other Southerners, he took note that the Kennedys are firmly in control of the Democrat Party, and stated "I decided that the only place for a conservative was within the Republican Party."

L. L. McAllister Jr.

Joseph J. Tribble

McAllister attributed his victory to an active precinct organization.

Victorious in Georgia was Republican Joseph J. Tribble, Savannah. He clobbered three Democrats, polling 14,127 votes to 8,096 for his closest opponent.

Tribble called his election a victory for the two-party system and said it would be beneficial to Chatham County and Georgia. In the State Senate he will join two other Republicans, the first GOPs elected to that body since Reconstruction.

The two special election victories will serve as inspirations to Republican candidates and workers throughout the South. Mississippi will elect a new governor this year, as will Kentucky. Virginia elects its entire legislature. The grassroots special election triumphs have demonstrated again the Republicans can win in the South —anywhere!

Meanwhile, Florida Republicans have chalked up an impressive candidate turnout for special elections to fill seats in the state legislature. Sixty-three Republicans are contesting for nominations for 30 House seats and four Senate seats.

The big candidate turnout will leave only two House seats and four Senate seats uncontested in the March 26 election. There was only a brief period between the ordering of the election and the filing deadline, making the GOP turnout even more impressive.

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Breakthrough in Florida! GOPs Win 12 More Seats

Republicans hailed an "outstanding breakthrough" for two-party government as Florida GOPs chalked up an impressive 12-seat victory in special elections for the legislature March 26.

The GOP swept five counties—Broward, Orange, Palm Beach, Pinellas and Seminole—in the election to fill vacancies created by reapportionment of the House and Senate, and tripled their delegation to the legislature. Republicans now have two senators and 16 House members; had one senator and five representatives.

Notable "firsts" included in the victories were the election of the first GOP legislator since Reconstruction in Seminole County, and the election of the first Republican woman to the legislature—Mrs. Mary Grizzle of Pinellas County.

It was the third straight special election triumph for Republicans in the South this year. Earlier victories were chalked up for the Georgia Senate and Mississippi House. The wins were held to be unusually significant because they were at the grassroots level and demonstrate that Republicans are developing the organizations and attracting the candidates to win.

The victories in Florida were a demonstration of teamwork between national, state, county and local GOP organizations. As an example, a Republican "Operation Dixie" field worker was assigned to aid the campaign committees.

With the opposition in control of the White House, Republicans must rely on teamwork and the dedication of workers. These victories belong to the irrepressible drive of citizens interested in achieving competition in government through a two-party system.

Republican Winners!

**State Representative
Mary R. Grizzle
Pinellas County**

**State Senator
Warren Henderson
Sarasota County**

**State Representative
Robert Elrod
Orange County**

**State Representative
John Brumback, Jr.
Orange County**

State Representative John Bell Broward County	**State Representative David C. Anderson Pinellas County**	**State Representative James R. Eddy Broward County**
State Representative Chester Stolzenburg Broward County	**State Representative Richard J. Deeb Pinellas County**	**State Representative Jan Fortune Seminole County**
State Representative Raymond J. Moudry Palm Beach County	**State Representative Donald H. Reed Palm Beach County**	

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New Triumphs in Tex., S. C. —

GOPs on Victory March, Notch 5th Straight Win!

Republicans are batting a thousand in elections in the South so far this year, and last month notched their fourth and fifth straight victories.

In Corpus Christi, Tex., traditionally a strong Democrat area, Charles "Chuck" Scoggins, 31, became the first GOP state legislator from Corpus Christi this century.

In North Augusta, S. C., F. Irvin Schueler and Lloyd E. Stahl became the first Republican councilmen in the history of the city.

Scoggins won by 170 votes over his closest opponent, a former Democrat state legislator who had the active support of the Texas Democrat State Chairman. Some 16,000 votes were cast for the nine candidates in the special election.

Scoggins' election raises the GOP delegation to eight in the Texas House and provides additional proof that Texas is on the march toward achieving competition in government through a two-party system.

Three seats were up for grabs in North Augusta, and the victories rewarded years of persistence by the GOP organization. Heavy emphasis was placed on precinct work, and it paid off.

In the view of some, this may have been "just" a city election. But victories at the grassroots level build the organizations to win higher offices. Furthermore, Republicans elected at local levels provide the leadership necessary to defeat those who would expand federal control over the cities and states.

Lloyd E. Stahl

F. Irvin Schueler

By electing Republicans, voters in Corpus Christi and North Augusta joined citizens throughout the South in the drive to achieve a two-party system, and united with voters across the nation in building the grassroots organization necessary to rid the country of the Kennedys in 1964.

Earlier GOP victories were in Georgia, Mississippi and Florida.

Charles "Chuck" Scoggins

Fort Worth Names GOP As Mayor!

Fort Worth, Texas, has a Republican mayor!

Bayard Friedman—youngest member of the City Council and believed to be the youngest mayor in the history of the city—was elected by his fellow council members. He is the second GOP mayor in Fort Worth history. Friedman is 36 and an attorney.

The only previous Republican mayor was Tom McCann, elected in 1957 who served for two terms, resigning in 1961.

Friedman was elected to the Council in a non-partisan election.

The Republican
SOUTHERN
CHALLENGE

EDITORS
FOR
RELEASE UPON
RECEIPT

Published by the Republican National Committee, Southern Division, 1625 Eye St. N.W., Washington, D. C.

Sixth Victory This Year in South—

GOP Sweeps High Point, N.C.! Drive Gains Across the State

"Republicans Sweep Into City Hall" banner-headlined the High Point, N. C., "Enterprise." A thumping good sweep it was—a mayor and eight councilmen riding into office, but it didn't stop there! Throughout the state, North Carolina voters spurred the drive for two-party government.

Mayor Mehan

Here's the way the North Carolina victories shaped up:

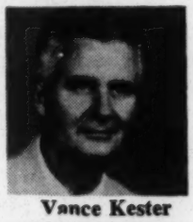
✔ William M. Greene, brother of last year's GOP senatorial candidate Claude Greene, led the ticket in his bid for the Robersonville City Council and became the first Republican official there this century.

✔ When opposition candidates made an issue of the fact that Dr. John Costlow was a registered Republican, he was promptly elected mayor of Beaufort in a "non-partisan" election.

✔ In Chapel Hill, when the opposition tried the same tactics on Ed Terney, he won a seat on the school board—and led the ticket!

✔ Totaling it up, the municipal elections in North Carolina were the GOP's sixth major victory in the South this year. Earlier triumphs were scored in state legislative races in Georgia, Florida, Mississippi and Texas, with another municipal breakthrough in North Augusta, S. C.

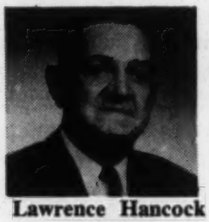
High Point GOP Councilmen



Vance Kester

Bill Bencini

Virgin Carrick



Lawrence Hancock

Arnold Koonce Jr.

Paul Clapp

James Shelton

John Eshelman Jr.

Photos Courtesy High Point Enterprise

The High Point victory electrified Republican forces throughout North Carolina and the South. As noted by "Challenge" Correspondent Hubert O. Teer Jr., (3609 Exeter Way, Durham, N. C.), most N. C. municipal elections are nonpartisan, so this, one of the few partisan elections, was considered a key test of party strength. The victory was all the more notable since a hard-fought GOP primary preceded the election.

Floyd Mehan, a businessman, was elected mayor as the Republican ticket toppled 20 years of Democrat rule.

The High Point election was important for another reason, too. It demonstrated one of the often overlooked advantages of the two-party system—increased interest and citizen participation in government.

The total vote exceeded even the most optimistic estimates. Observers could not remember when High Pointers turned out in such numbers for a city election, and in some instances, city elections there have been decided by less than 10 per cent of the electorate.

The North Carolina victories were seen as an inspiration to Republicans throughout the South, with great psychological impact on the 1964 elections. Recognizing this, Republican National Committee Chairman William E. Miller attended a victory celebration in High Point June 3.

The Republican
SOUTHERN
CHALLENGE

EDITORS
FOR
RELEASE UPON
RECEIPT

Published by the Republican National Committee, Southern Division, 1625 Eye St. N.W., Washington, D. C.

South in Turmoil —

Mass Defections Cripple Party of the Kennedys!

Wholesale defections are ripping through Democratic Party ranks as the Kennedys continue to ride roughshod over the principles of Jeffersonian government on which the Party was founded.

Significant in the burgeoning drive to oust the Kennedys is the fact that most of these discerning Democrats are bringing their strength to the drive to create a two-party system. There is a growing awareness throughout the South that the Republican Party, nationally, more closely respresents Jeffersonian principles, and that voters must be united in the Republican Party if these goals are to be attained. Convention walk-outs and "third party" ideas have been tried and just won't do the job.

Evidence of the widespread bolt to the Republican Pary include:

• **Officers of the Shelby County, Tennessee, Young Democrats voted 8-6 to support policies of the Kennedys. The vote indicates almost half of the officers opposed to the Kennedys and the club president warned, "There may be a recission" of the resolution . . . "some directors were not present."**

• The Burke County, Georgia, Democratic Executive Committee endorsed a Republican for President of the United States.

• **Proceeds from the first bale of cotton ginned in Irwin County, Georgia, were donated by a life-long Democrat to the campaign of a Republican for President.**

• A Tyler, Texas, attorney resigned from the Smith County Democratic Executive Committee "to aid in overcoming the detrimental policies of the Kennedy brothers."

• **Florida's governor and a U.S. Senator from Georgia admitted strength for Republican candidates in their states.**

• According to a survey by Dick Preston of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, five of the governors at the Southern Governors' Conference are "on the fence," unwilling to say they are either for or against the Kennedys in 1964, while three are definitely against them.

• **The 1960 campaign manager for Kennedy in Hamilton County, Tennessee, a life-long Democrat, said he would oppose the Kennedy's reelection and fired off a letter to them stating, "You are destroying the trust that the people of this nation have always had and should have for their chief executive."**

• Officers of the Fulton County, Georgia, Democratic Club voted to support a Republican for president.

• **The Democratic governor of Arkansas said he might vote Republican in 1964, and that the "independent elector" movement won't work.**

• 22 of the 25 residents of Kennedy Boulevard in Albany, Ga., petitioned to have the name of their street changed "because of our aversion to the policies of the present national administration."

The Republican
SOUTHERN

EDITORS
FOR
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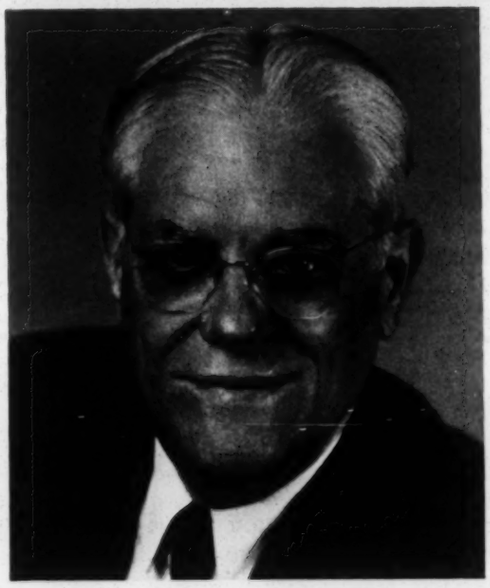
Published by the Republican National Committee, Southern Division, 1625 Eye St. N.W., Washington, D. C.

'Best Chance Yet'

Lyons for Governor Drive Sweeps Across State of Louisiana



Charlton Lyons

Louisiana Republicans are making an all-out organizational effort to elect GOP gubernatorial candidate Charlton H. Lyons in his determined campaign to break the century-old one-party monopoly in the state's general elections March 3.

According to Louisiana political observers, a bitter Democratic primary fight has given Republicans their best chance in history to elect a governor.

Lyons, Louisiana's GOP National Committeeman, has played a major role in sparking new interest and sharply increased activity among Louisiana Republicans in recent years.

A Democrat until 1960, Lyons gained prominence in Louisiana politics by resigning from the Democratic Party and issuing a widely-publicized statement describing the 1960 Democratic national platform as a blueprint for destroying states' rights and imposing socialism on the American people.

After making the break with the Democrats, Lyons lost no time in demonstrating that his opposition to their welfare state was sincere and "for real.'

In 1961, he entered the race for Congress on the Republican ticket in Louisiana's Fourth District, undaunted by the fact that political observers regarded his chances of gaining even token support as virtually non-existent.

The campaign, however, turned out to be one of the most hotly-contested Congressional races in Louisiana history. Polling an amazing 46% of the vote, Charlton Lyons narrowly missed upsetting Joe D. Waggoner, who is regarded as a conservative.

In 1962, Lyons became Republican

(Continued on Page 2)

Former Gov. Jones Cites Lyons' Ability, Integrity

Former Governor Sam H. Jones of Louisiana has put the major issue in the March 3 gubernatorial election squarely up to the voters. Said he: "Some knowledgeable people think he (Republican candidate Charlton Lyons) is the best qualified candidate to run for governor in the Twentieth Century."

Here is the former governor's complete statement to the Lake Charles Young Men's Businessmen's Club on January 6, as he was attempting to clarify his position on the coming election:

"Now I am about to make a statement which I have made before, with which one reporter took some literary license; so let me explain in advance before I make this statement that, having held the highest office within the gift of the Louisiana Democratic Party, it would require circumstances of compelling importance for me to go outside the Democratic Party in a state election.

"But frankness compels me to state that, for the first time since Reconstruction, Republicans threaten this bastion of political Democracy. And they do it with a candidate of surpassing ability and integrity. Some knowledgeable people think he is the best qualified candidate to run for governor in the Twentieth Century. Some think he can win. Others say this is far-fetched. So was the idea that the Republicans could carry the state for President in 1956. But it happened."

To Receive Southern Challenge Each Month, See Page 7

The Republican
SOUTHERN
CHALLENGE

EDITORS
FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT

Published by the Republican National Committee, Southern Division, 1625 Eye St. N.W., Washington, D. C.

Eyes of Nation on Nov. 5 Vote—

Two-Party Drive Roars Across Mississippi; Phillips Tops Slate!

Stanford Morse Seeks Lt. Governorship; 20 Vie for Legislature

The challenge of the century confronts the voters of Mississippi!

For the first time, they have the opportunity to vote for the two-party system. If they do, they will win the power to make the national political parties compete for their votes in future elections, and at the same time, set the pace in a South already afire with two-party gains.

At the head of the two-party ticket is Rubel Phillips—former chairman of the State Public Service Commission, proven administrator, articulate conservative.

The candidate for lieutenant governor is Stanford Morse—two-term State Senator, vital force in the legislature, leader in obtaining reapportionment.

Backing up the state-wide ticket are 20 legislative candidates—businessmen, community leaders, exceptionally qualified by experience and training for the offices they seek.

The Mississippi campaign has already won national attention, and, almost certainly, more will be forthcoming as the press seeks information on the "new" South.

Issues in the campaign have been crystallized. In addition to state objectives—such as Phillips' plank for a state merit system—the issues are identical to those in many Southern states: The need for competitive, two-party government; recognition that the liberal Democrat Party no longer represents the Jeffersonian concepts of Southerners; and, of course, the issue of "The Kennedys."

SHAKE, PARTNER!—U. S. Senator Barry Goldwater, left, congratulates Rubel Phillips, Republican candidate for governor of Mississippi.

The vote in the Mississippi gubernatorial contest could reveal whether the Kennedys can take the South for granted in 1964, as they have in the past. The contest is important to Republicans, also, for it is a well-recognized axiom that victories at lower levels of government build the organization and spirit necessary to capture higher offices—in this case, the supreme office, the presidency.

In this edition, the first of a planned series spotlighting 1963 campaigns in Southern states, we salute the two-party forces in Mississippi, and congratulate the Republicans and discerning Democrats who made it possible to field the outstanding ticket.

February 23, 1962

Rev. Theodore Gibson
3841 Hibiscus Street
Miami 33, Florida

Dear Father Gibson:

Mr. Paul Rilling of the Southern Regional Council has told me of his conversation with you regarding voter registration efforts in the greater Miami area. Our project will be interested in voter registration activities throughout the southern states, and of course we will want to know more about the Miami situation.

Unfortunately, we are at a standstill at the moment while trying to clear up some legal and administrative problems, but just as soon as we get these things cleared up and make a public announcement regarding the start of our project I will be in touch with you further.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

April 11, 1962

Mr. Galen Martin
Executive Director
Commission on Human Rights
168 Capitol Annex
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Martin:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar has requested that I answer your letter to him of March 29, 1962, and he wishes to thank you for the copy of the editorial which you sent him. Our records reveal that the copies of the report regarding civil rights which you requested were mailed to you on April 2, and we assume that you have received them.

Les Dunbar suffered a slipped disc over the week-end and will be laid up at home for a few days. He is not yet using the telephone, but we hope to be able to talk to him by tomorrow and he will be able to come back to the office by the end of next week.

Our Voter Registration Project will be working primarily with five major agencies which are already operating in several different states in the south. Although we are reserving some of our funds for use by local organizations, we had not contemplated any voter registration activities in such border states as Kentucky. We recognize the fact that you probably have areas in your state which present voter registration problems similar to some found in the deep south, however, we are operating on a limited budget and perfer to confine our initial activities to the deep south. I am sure that we will be in contact with you in the event that we decide to expand our Project into the border states. In the meantime, we would appreciate your interest and support of our Project.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/wcb

BM BP

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

168 Capitol Annex
Frankfort, Kentucky
Phone 227-9661, Ext. 505

Chairman
The Rev. Canon Robert W. Estill,
Lexington

Vice-Chairman
Jesse J. Dukeminier,
Lexington

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Mrs. Robert Low,
Pineville

Jack Page,
Pikeville

Frank L. Stanley, Sr.,
Louisville

Charles Williams,
Paducah

Executive Director
Galen Martin

please return letter to me

March 29, 1962

Mr. Les Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Congratulations on your recent report analyzing the actions of the Kennedy administration in the civil rights field. I enclose a copy of an excellent editorial which appeared in the Louisville Courier Journal March 27. Please send us at least two copies of your report when they are available. Mailed 4/2/62 mmg

Would you also please send us some detailed information about the work which the Southern Regional Council is doing or will be doing in the voting field. I suppose this may not yet be available, but I would like to be kept informed so that we can discuss this with Kentucky groups that might qualify to participate. In particular, a voting registration effort is needed in Lexington as well as some of the towns in Western Kentucky. I am sure SRC can perform a meaningful service in this way and we want to help involve Kentucky groups to the extent possible.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen Martin

GM:njj

Encl.

WB — could you do reply? Tell him Dan expanded

April 26, 1962

Reverend Thomas F. Luce
West Presbyterian Church
Washington and Eighth Streets
Wilmington 1, Delaware

Dear Reverend Luce:

Your letter dated April 19 and postmarked April 24 does not indicate receipt of my letter to you of April 10, 1962. In that letter I informed you that "the Voter Education Project does not currently plan any operation in the Border States."

In a meeting held here in Atlanta on April 17 we reached a final and definite decision that we will not do any voter registration work outside of the deep South for the balance of this calendar year. Unless we get a substantial increase in funds, I am certain that we will not go into the Border States during the life of this project. We regret that we cannot include the state of Delaware in our program.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

AIR MAIL

Air Mail
Special Delivery

APR 26 1962

PASTORS
ALBERT H. KLEFFMAN
THOMAS F. LUCE

West Presbyterian Church
WASHINGTON AND EIGHTH STREETS
Wilmington 1, Delaware

TELEPHONE OL 6-8326

MINISTER OF MUSIC
EUGENE T. WILSON, JR.
SECRETARY
MISS MARY F. ARRANTS

April 19, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

A week or so ago I phoned you to inquire about the possibility of our submitting an application to you for a grant to aid us in our Negro voter registration campaign in the State of Delaware. We hope that your group will look favorably upon this possibility.

Although approximately 55% of the Negroes eligible to vote in Delaware are registered, the influence of the Negro in the affairs of the state government is negligible. The only civil rights legislation that has passed through our legislature has been an emasculated Fair Employment law, which up to this point has never been put into operation because of the failure to appropriate funds. After ten years or more of trying we finally managed to get a public accommodations bill out of committee this year, but it was recommitted immediately in a completely unprecedented manner. There is universal agreement among our forces that racial justice cannot be furthered in our State without a radical breakthrough in voter registration and political action by the Negro people.

We are therefore in the process now of organizing a Delaware Leadership Council to conduct a voter registration campaign and to spark citizenship education and political action among the Negro people. The Committee for Fair Practices has endorsed this action, as has the Presbytery of New Castle, which appropriated $100 toward the costs of organizing. The support of other organizations is assured. Both the president and the vice president of the NAACP are on the organizing committee, as is Mr. Louis Redding, whom you know, I believe.

Our plan is to employ a full time executive director under the supervision of a Board, and to appeal for wide popular support. We earnestly appeal for your favorable consideration of this request for aid to an effort which we are convinced could bring about a healthful change in the social and political life of a state which suffers from racial injustice which compares in many ways with that found in the deep South.

Faithfully,
Thomas F. Luce
Thomas F. Luce, for the organizing committee.

April 10, 1962

Reverend Thomas Luce
West Presbyterian Church
8th and Washington Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Dear Reverend Luce:

As a follow-up to our telephone conversation last week, I regret to inform you that the Voter Education Project does not currently plan any operation in the Border States.

We recognize the fact that there are many problem areas in all of the Border States (and perhaps in the North) but we are working with a limited budject and a tight schedule and must confine our activities to Southern States.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/wcb

May 11, 1962

Mr. W. E. Solomon
Executive Secretary
Palmetto State Teachers Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Solomon:

Leslie Dunbar has requested that I furnish you with information regarding the Voter Education Project which was recently launched under the sponsorship of SRC.

I am enclosing a copy of a statement of conditions which we impose upon recipients of grants and which is self-explanatory regarding the requirements of our project. We will be working primarily in the eleven deep southern states, including East Texas. We do not plan to work in such border states as Oaklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, or Delaware. There will be five major participating agencies working throughout the region, namely the NAACP, the National Urban League, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Congress of Racial Equality. We intend to reserve some portion of our available funds for participation by local organizations where special circumstances justify working through such a local group in lieu of participation through one of the major agencies.

In your own state we have launched a special 90-day program which will have CORE working in the 6th Congressional District, Clarendon and Sumter Counties; NAACP in Beaufort, Columbia, Greenville and Charleston; and SNCC in Orangeburg County. We will appreciate any support which you and the Teachers Association can give to increasing voter registration in South Carolina, and if we can furnish you with any additional information, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Enclosure
WAB/mr

Mt. Vernon, N.Y.
called May 17. { PElham 8-2320

May 11, 1962

Mr. William Peters
44 Witherbee Avenue
Pelham, New York

Dear Mr. Peters:

Dr. Leslie Dunbar has requested that I give you some information regarding voter registration activities currently going on in the State of Mississippi. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is working currently in Marshall County around Holly Springs, and in Cohoma, Bolivar and Washington in the old Third Congressional District, and throughout the old Fourth Congressional District and in the area of Hattiesburg in the Sixth Congressional District. SNCC, NAACP, and CORE are all working in the metropolitan Jackson area. Bob Moses is directing the SNCC program out of Jackson, and Tom Gaither is directing CORE activities there.

There is a current drive also underway in Baton Rouge, where NAACP and CORE are both operating, and there is a very strong local organization known as the Second Ward Voters League which is doing a very effective job in the Scotlandville area, which is immediately north of the city limits of Baton Rouge. This organization is working with a parish-wide organization known as FOCUS (Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development). Mr. Acie J. Belton is President of FOCUS, and also directs the activities of the Second Ward Voters League.

If we can furnish you with any additional information please feel free to contact us.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

AIR MAIL

WAB/mr

September 25, 1962

Mrs. Eva M. Clayton
General Delivery
Warrenton, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Clayton:

Mr. Branton has asked me to reply to your letter of September 13. I am sending under separate cover publications of our parent organization, the Southern Regional Council, which deal with various aspects of the political, social and economic deprivation of the Negro in the South. Additional copies of this material are available for the cost of mailing. This comes to about 5¢ per piece, and we shall be happy to forward as many as you may request.

The Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO publishes a handbook for political education, the title of which is "How to Win." It is the best source of information and guidance on organizing for political action that I know of. I suggest that you write to:

AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education
815 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

for copies of the handbook.

I think it is imperative that leadership training include an introduction to sources of factual information about the community. I do not, of course, know to what extent you are familiar with the various sources from which such information is available. Therefore I will suggest some of these sources to you.

You can order from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., "The U. S. Census of Population, General Population

Characteristics, North Carolina," which provides information about the age, race, etc. of the population of North Carolina by counties and cities. From this publication the potential voting strength of the Negro in each community can be determined. Also from the Superintendent of Documents you can order the "Congressional District Data Book, 87th Congress." This publication contains population and electoral data for each congressional district in the United States. Unfortunately, the electoral data contained in this publication refers to general elections, rather than primaries; you will have to get primary results from the appropriate county or state party officials (in some cases the Secretary of State of North Carolina may compile primary returns). This publication also contains valuable information about the economic structure of each congressional district. Along with it you may order the "Congressional District Atlas," which is a map showing the geographic area of each congressional district in the United States.

The Superintendent of Documents can also send you the "U. S. Census of Agriculture: 1959, Vol. 1, Part 26." This publication shows the land distribution in farms and in crop land harvested for each county in North Carolina. It also includes information about the kind of use which is made of the land in each county. Such information can be very valuable for the leader who must be able to show the people how political issues can affect their own personal affairs.

The Superintendent of Documents publishes the 1961 report of the Commission on Civil Rights, which comes in five volumes: "Voting," "Justice," "Education," "Housing," "Employment." I would suggest also that you order the 1961 report to the Commission on Civil Rights of the North Carolina State Advisory Committee from the Superintendent of Documents.

The publications listed above, along with those that we are sending you, should provide a framework for leadership training and education. The publications of the U. S. Census Bureau are designed primarily for the use of statisticians, and they may appear somewhat formidable at first. However, they do contain information that is essential for deciding what can and should be done in the community to advance the cause of human rights. If you have any difficulty using these publications please let me know, and I shall be pleased to give you all the help that I can.

There is, of course, a great deal of political information which can be gathered only at the county and the community level. For example, the states vary considerably in the kinds and functions of county governing bodies, and in many other ways. I would suggest that the first step to be taken by any leader is to determine the number of whites and Negroes who are presently registered to vote in the county. This information should be obtainable from the county registration authority. If you anticipate any difficulty obtaining registration information, then before attempting to do so you should determine whether or not such information is covered by a public records act. Most any lawyer or politician can show you how to look this information up in the state laws, if you do not already know. If you have any difficulty in this regard, let me know, because I expect to begin compiling information about the public records acts of the southern states shortly.

There is certain other basic information which every leader should have at his fingertips. This might include the names of the principal county and community officials and the length of time they have been in office. It might also include the electoral history of the county and/or community--that is, the voter turnout as a percentage of the total registered voters and as a percentage of the total voting age population for some years past; the record of law enforcement authorities in the county and/or community--do they habitually observe or ignore the provisions of the state laws regarding arbitrary arrest; the manner in which juries are selected and the manner in which selecting authorities are placed in office--jury commissions usually are appointed by county or district judges; the manner in which property tax assessors obtain office and the manner in which they observe the strictures of state law in the conduct of their office; the provisions of any state or local sales tax law including the way it is collected and the effect on total revenues of any bracketing system for which the law provides--for example, in Georgia it has recently been charged that the sales tax bracketing system makes the legal 3% sales tax an actual tax of 3.7%. By familiarizing himself with these and other issues of community political life, the leader can effectively explain the practical reasons for increased political participation.

The leader should thoroughly understand the way key officials get their positions. For example, who appoints the registration authority in your county, and how long have those who are presently in office been serving?

Since registration is the key to voting and voting is the key to political change, this is very vital information, and it might be well for a leadership workshop to undertake as its initial project a study of voter registration in each county from which participants come. The Voter Education Project is presently attempting to secure accurate information on the number of both Negroes and whites who are registered to vote in each county of the South. Any such information which you could develop for us about counties in North Carolina we should greatly appreciate.

If we can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM/mr

AIR MAIL

General Delivery
Warrenton, North Carolina
September 13, 1962

SEP 14 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Volunteer leaders from several counties in North Carolina are planing a Leadership Workshop, starting October 5, 1962.

This workshop will be centered around an "Action Course in Practical Politics. We are interested in supplimenting this with literature (voter-registration, desegregation, civil rights and etc.) from various agencies.

Would you please send information that would be helpful in organizing evening classes in voter-registration. And any other materail that may be of assistance to these various leaders (30) in being more effective in their individual communities.

Please bill for the above materials.

Sincerely,

Eva M. Clayton

(Mrs.) Eva M. Clayton

September 26, 1962

Mr. Thomas Hayden
715 Arch Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Tom:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 23 regarding the article which you are to write for The Progressive. I think you should write directly to Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, Washington, D. C., to get the information regarding the counties in which the Justice Department has filed voting suits. I am sure they will give you this information and will also tell you which ones were filed since January, 1960. You should also inquire of them as to the circumstances under which they intervened or filed suits.

I am enclosing a copy of a map prepared by the Southern Regional Council which will readily reveal the racial composition of all of the counties in the South, and you could use this to check the list of Justice Department suits against. For information as to how many of these counties are urban in nature I refer you to "U. S. Census, 1960 Report, General Population Characteristics (Vol. I)." For agricultural information I refer you to the "U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1959;" and for industrial information you should see "U. S. Census, 1960, Subject Reports (Vol. II)." The 1960 presidential vote figures by county are carried in the 1961 (and possibly 1962) World Almanac. I have asked Jack Minnis, the Research Director for VEP, to give his views regarding your question number two, and his memo is attached hereto.

I regret that we are not able to furnish you with more information, but your request comes at an extremely

busy time for us and this is about all that we can furnish you with prior to October 1.

With sincere personal regards to you and Sandra.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

SEP 25 1962

23 September

Thomas Hayden
715 Arch
Ann Arbor,
Michigan

1- Justice Department
2- SEC map
3- U.S. Census, 1960 Report, General Population Characteristics (Vol. I.)
4- U.S. Census of Agriculture, 1959
5- U.S. Census, 1960, Subject Reports (Vol. II)
6. World Almanac, 1961
7. See note attached

Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton;

I am preparing an article for The Progressive on the role of the Kennedy Administration in the area of civil rights; the article will appear as part of a special issue on civil rights in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The following questions are sensitive ones, and probably oversimplified as well. I wish there was a more convenient mechanism than this letter by which we could communicate; but I hope you will write me freely, and caution me to prudence where you do not personally wish to be associated with an observation or opinion.

1. I want to know what pattern, if any, exists in the legal efforts of the Justice Department. For this I'll need the names of the 33 counties in which they have pressed voting suits, particularly the ones begun since 1960! Under what circumstances does the Department susually intervene? How many of the counties are "black belt" in character;[2] how many urban[3]? How many are one-crop;[4] how many are industrial[5]? For which Presidential candidate did these counties opt in 1960[6]? My surface impresssions are that the Kennedys move only where they have overwhelming evidence, where the risks to the Democratic Party are low, or where publicity demands Federal action; that they definitely prefer to avoid volatile counties; that they are using the voter registration drives to political advantage, although not primarily in an effort to change the reactionary character of the Dixiecrats.

2. "Where poverty exists, liberty is always in peril", wrote the Civil Rights Commission in its conclusions in Voting. Have you turned up evidence for or against their view that a diverse and vigorous economy is vital in securing political rights and promoting political participation by southern Negroes?[7] Do you perceive any breakthroughs, potential or actual, for an integrated labor movement? Besides possible grants through the Area Redevelopment and Small Business Administrations, what other economic stimulants are available to local communities?

3. Has your work enabled you to evaluate the relative merits of the ballot, the boycott, the court suit, or nonviolent direct action in obtainigg civil rights? Bluntly, how do you rank the instruments of social change? In addition, what and who are the agencies(which institutions, class groupings, etc)?

I'd appreciate any repleis to the above, plus any other information you might think important for me to have. I hope to hear from you by October 1.

Sincerely,

Thomas Hayden

Thomas Hayden

cc. Howard Zinn

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

School of
LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1963

WB' pls reply

January 11, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Harry Fleischman has suggested that I contact you concerning some information on the voter regsitration campaign for Negroes in the South. As you may know two students from this University were recently arrested in the process of delivering food and clothing in Clarksdale, Mississippi.

As a result of these arrests there is interest in conducting a University and community food raising campaign for people in this part of Mississippi. Before the campaign is undertaken however, we would like some factual information concerning problems in the counties around Clarksdale.

When did the voting registration drive begin? Has it run into any particularly difficult problems? How many families have been affected, either by being cut off from relief roles, loss of credit or by the bad weather during the last few months? In short, the kind of information we want would serve as a basis for a fact sheet to be used in a food raising campaign.

Any help you can give will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Bob Repas
Assistant Professor

BR:lm

B4
1-25-63

January 16, 1963

Mr. Anthony Polsky
245 West 104th Street
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Polsky:

Your letter of January 9th to Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of Southern Regional Council, has been sent to me for reply.

We are conducting voter registration programs in each of eleven southern states, but suggestions of localities which might be suitable for your photo essay would, of necessity, depend upon the exact time when you plan to do the job. These voter programs will not be running simultaneously in every locality where we are working, and in some areas, the registration offices will be closed so that no registration work can be carried on at that particular time.

If you will give me some tentative dates when you would like to make your photographs, and tell me something of what you hope to try and portray in them, I will be pleased to give you suggested locales.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jcs

5- Requests for Info.

WB photography pend 1/11/63

January 9, 1963
245 West 104th St.
New York 25, N.Y.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have become acquainted with the various aspects of the Southern Regional Council's program through my work in the publications department of the Anti-Defamation League where I am employed as a writer and editor.

In addition to my work for ADL, I am an occasional free lance photographer. It is in this latter capacity that I am writing you at the suggestion of Mr. Henry Schwarzschild. I would like to do a photo essay for a national magazine on a Negro voter registration drive in a Southern county. In all likelihood, I would write the article which would accompany the photographs. This project would be undertaken independently of my affiliation with ADL, although Oscar Cohen knows of it, and I would probably travel south sometime during my vacation in late Spring.

If you could advise me in the selection of one, or several localities which might be suitable, this would be of enormous help. I am most troubled by the problem of being able to work for a one or two week period in a rural southern community, without arousing suspicion or rancor sufficient to hinder me. This will, I suspect, depend on what personal qualities I can bring to bear in dealing with the people involved.

I realize that a project of this nature is fraught with many difficulties, especially since I am anxious to portray on film, the just-beneath-the-surface tensions that exist in such situations. I would like to select a Southern locality where things have not reached an incendiary point--where I can, with sensitivity, tact, and reasonable objectivity develop a good essay.

When I am a little further along in my research, I intend contacting LOOK magazine for an initial committment from them on this type of story. If they prove not interested, there are several other media outlets I have in mind.

Thank you for your consideration. I'll look forward to hearing from you.

Most sincerely,

Anthony Polsky

Anthony Polsky

January 18, 1963

Mr. Bob Repas, Asst. Professor
School of Labor and Industrial
Relations
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Repas:

Mr. Dunbar has asked that I reply to your letter of January 11th, inquiring about conditions in the Mississippi Delta. I spent three days in and around Clarksdale, Mississippi, last week conferring with people who are involved in the Civil Rights movement there.

I should like to be able to give you precise figures on the number of deprived families who are in desperate need of assistance. Unfortunately, I do not have such figures, nor I suspect, does anyone else. The people who are working with Mr. Aaron Henry, Fourth Street Drug Store, Clarksdale, have assembled a file of applications from people who need assistance. I do not know the exact number of applications they have taken, but I believe it would be in the neighborhood of 150. I would imagine these 150 applications represent somewhere between 700 and 1,000 people, and this number refers only to Coahoma County.

Similar circumstances exist in at least half-a-dozen other counties in the Mississippi area. In at least one county, Leflore, the county governing body has refused to participate in the distribution of federal surplus commodities. In those counties in which federal commodities are distributed, the programs are under the direct control of local white officials. Such officials are able to play off the desperate need of the people against their desire to vote, so long as the whites control distribution of the federal largesse. It is extremely difficult actually to document any connection between the deprivation of the right to vote and the distribution of federal commodities; However, responsible persons, both Negro and white, with whom I discussed this matter, have no doubt there is a connection. They speak of it as a fact, and not as speculation.

An active, continuing and determined drive to get Negroes registered to vote in the Mississippi Delta has been going on for the past thirteen months. You ask has the registration program run into any particular problems. I can assure you that the program has run into every problem which the white authorities could devise. These problems range from outright physical violence to registration workers, through arrests and trials and convictions on spurious criminal charges and the loss of jobs

4 - Requests for Info.

and credit, to slow-down tactics by registrars themselves - even the outright refusal of registrars to accept registration applications, and the refusal of sheriffs to accept payments of Poll Tax. The whites in Mississippi who do not want Negroes to vote have the benefit of several generations of experience in preventing Negro political participation, and they are extremely effective in bringing this experience to bear every day. Their determination to prevent Negroes from voting is equaled only by the determination of the Negroes to register and vote.

The genesis of the present destitution of Negro families in and around the Clarksdale area appears to lie in a series of natural occurances. As I understand it, it has been an extremely dry year in the cotton producing areas, and the drought caused the cotton to mature about two months earlier than usual. This meant that a large number of Negro families whose subsistence throughout the year is dependent upon that last two months of cotton chopping are now faced with the problem of feeding, clothing and housing themselves without money, and without the prospect of jobs. Then, too, I understand that the unusually wide-spread use of machines for picking the cotton has added to the Negroes' difficulty.

I have attempted to give you here an objective appraisal of all I have observed on two field trips to the Clarksdale area, one recently and one in the early fall. My own personal observations have been, of course, supplemented by the reports of the registration workers which come into our office on a regular monthly basis. If the foregoing appears to be emotion-laden, please be assured that emotions have had nothing to do with observing and reporting conditions as they exist.

I hope this will be of some help to you, and if we can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Best regards,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Encl.

MAR 7 1963

8300 North Wisner Street
Niles 48, Illinois
March 2, 1963

Dear Mr. Branton:

I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy of your 3 page announcement of the registion campaign that you released; also a copy of any other material of this nature that you may have.

Sincerely,

V. B. Howard

Dr. V. B. Howard

Please mail news release

3-7-63

March 7, 1963

Mr. Saul Joseph Wiseman
419 Frederick Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Wiseman:

The Voter Education Project is primarily a research project making a current study of voter registration problems in the South, and we simply have not been in business long enough to print any reports on the subject ourselves. We do plan to publish something at an early date but it would not be in time for your term paper.

By way of source material I would like to refer you to Congressional Quarterly for March 27, March 30, and April 18, 1962. I also refer you to the 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, Volume 1, "Voting."

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

MAR 4 1963

WB.

March 1, 1963
San Francisco, California

Mr. Wiley Branton
% Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am writting a term paper in an American National Government class at San Francisco State College on "The Negroes Right to Vote in the South". The scope of my paper will deal with facts, theories, and practices relating to the subject. I would appreciate it if you would send me any source material which your organization has printed regarding the subject of my paper. I would also appreciate it if you could suggest other sources from which I might obtain additional source material.

Thank you,

Saul Joseph Wiseman

Saul Joseph Wiseman

419 Frederick St.
San Francisco, California

March 13, 1963

Miss Naomi B. Kies
1902 Maple Avenue
Evanston, Illinois

Dear Miss Kies:

Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council has asked that I reply to your letter of February 21st.

Let me begin by regretting that we are unable to provide literature which would systematically answer the questions you pose. The fact is, these are very much the same questions our whole research project is asking, and, of course, eventually we are expecting to publish a book which will tell the result of our research. I will do what I can to answer your questions in a very general way, and will enclose what we have available which I think might be of use to you.

We have voluminous field reports and evaluations from the agencies who are participating in the Voter Education Project. Unfortunately, these reports and evaluations are not presented in such a form as to permit our sending you copies. The field reports we get vary, and depend upon the type of area in which the registration project is being conducted, and upon the talents and abilities of the registration workers. We are enclosing a copy of the NEW SOUTH in which we published a field report from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee project in southwest Georgia. We have a great many reports of a similar nature from this particular project. However, this is the only project from which we have been able to get this kind of material. Other projects simply give us statistics and information on forms we provide them as to the number of persons contacted, by what means contacted, the number of persons registered, the number of persons refusing to register, the number of persons denied registration, and the seasons therefore.

4- Requests for inform.

The Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council. It is the largest research project ever undertaken by the Southern Regional Council. It occupies separate office space from the Council, and has its own staff under the direction of Wiley Branton. The objective of the Voter Education Project is to study the methods and techniques used by civil rights organizations to promote political participation on the part of Negroes in the South. While our primary purpose is research, we are in the unique position of being able to generate our own data by providing financial assistance to civil rights organizations who wish to do work in voter registration. Since the civil rights agencies themselves are the ones who gather our data for us, we have been faced from the first with the problem of getting action-oriented civil rights workers to compile records, reports and information that we need. It is only honest to say that this conflict between action and research has produced many problems which we have not yet resolved satisfactorily. In spite of this, we have been able to accumulate a significant body of information about what is going on in voter registration work in the South, and how that work is being conducted.

As I have noted above, we have been able to get really analytical reports from only one of the "Big Five" civil rights organizations. We have made a number of grants to purely local organizations, several of which have produced reports and analyses which are valuable for our research purposes. We work very closely with the student leaders particularly in Mississippi, southwest Georgia, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Orangeburg, South Carolina, Selma, Alabama, and Miami, Florida. These are the areas in which SNCC and CORE are conducting Voter Education Project supported registration drives. We make no attempt to dictate the methods and techniques which the students will use in these drives. We do, however, encourage them, as well as all other participants, to call upon us for assistance and advice of any kind. From the outset, we felt that no one individual or group was in a position to state with any authority what are the most effective ways of carrying on voter registration and education programs. Our purpose, therefore, is to compare the effectiveness of programs conducted by organizations which have experience in the field. When the Voter Education Project makes a grant through an agency, the agency commits itself to make regular financial and progress reports, and to cooperate fully with the Voter Education Project staff in making information available.

It is rather frustrating to write a letter like this because I feel that I know precisely what it is that you want, and I also know that what I have said does not go very far in filling your needs. The difficulty is that our operations are of such a broad scope that it is impossible at this time to organize our data systematically in such a way that we can generalize confidently. I would strongly urge, if it is at all possible, that you undertake to spend some time in our office selecting such data as you would like from our files. It may be that your schedule does not permit a trip to Atlanta, but if you are interested in going into this subject beyond your Master's thesis, I don't know of any place where you would be more likely to find the data you need.

I know that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 6 Raymond Street, N. W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, would be happy to put you on their mailing list, and so probably would the Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York,38, New York, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York. You might also write to Mr. Aaron Henry, Fourth Street Drug Store, Clarksdale, Mississippi, and ask that he put you on his newsletter mailing list. We hope to begin publication on a monthly newsletter within the near future, and we will, of course, put you on our mailing list. I would be happy to do the best I can in answering any further inquiries if you do not feel that my answers to these were totally hopeless.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Enclosures: 2

Air mail

VEP

1902 Maple Avenue
Evanston, Illinois

FEB 22 1963

February 21, 1963

$10 check enclosed
mk

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a graduate student in Political Science at Northwestern University and am now engaged in a research project in connection with my Master's thesis. I am working on various aspects of the problem of Negro voter registration in the South, particularly with regard to the current drives in Georgia and Mississippi. As you are undoubtedly aware, systematic information concerning the situation is difficult to come by, if not completely unavailable. This seems to be true whether one wants reliable figures regarding numbers attempting registration, succeeding, or already registered; as well as thorough descriptions of the method and relative success of the projects themselves. I am writing to you in the hope that you may be of some assistance to me.

Specifically, I would appreciate any available literature, particularly field reports and evaluations. Besides information about the actual activity of workers in the various counties, I would like information regarding the overall organization of the drive- the extent to which it is coordinated (between participating individuals, organizations, regions, etc.) the relative importance of the different channels of support (financial, legal, and "moral"), and the role of the different groups participating. What is the specific relationship between the Southern Regional Council and the separate projects in terms of personnel and financing? What other activities are now being undertaken by the SRC and how important is the Voter Education Project relative to these? How close is the SRC to the student leaders, the decisions they make in the field, and the methods they use? Are there established lines of communication- regular reports, visits, evaluations, etc.? Is it at all possible to generalize about such things at this point?

I realize that some of these questions may be unanswerable, or to difficult and involved to begin to analyze. However, I felt that including them might provide a better idea of the kind of information I would be interested in. I would appreciate suggestions as to other sources of information, any literature you have available, and -if at all convenient- possibly, general comments by one of your staff on some of these questions. I would appreciate a reply at your earliest convenience. I am also enclosing a check for ten dollars to cover mailing costs, literature, or a contribution, whichever is applicable.

Sincerely,

Naomi C. Kies

APR 9 1963

Jones Hall 1A, Box 124
State University College
Geneseo, New York
April 4, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Director, Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

As a fourth year college student, I am required to complete a term project in some area of United States Government. I have elected to make a study of the effect of student worker groups in regard to their fight against voting restraint in the South. Miss Barbara Carter, staff member of The Reporter Magazine, suggested that I might write to you for information.

I am particularly interested in the Southwide Voter Education Project and the type of program it has launched in the South. I would appreciate any phamplets, brochures or information you could furnish me on this project and its effectiveness in the fight against voting restraint. In addition, I wonder if you could direct me in reaching Robert Moses, John Hardy or others who have been particularly influential in the registration drives.

This project has a definite time limit so I would appreciate your earliest attention. Thank you for your kind consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Linda G. Jessup

Linda G. Jessup

May 6, 1963

Mr. Max Steinbock
Retail, Wholesale, and Department
Store Workers Union
132 W. 43rd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Steinbock:

Mr. L. W. Dunbar, Director of the Southern Regional Council, told me several days ago of his telephone conversation with you and of the interest which you had manifested in the Council and in the Voter Education Project. I promised him that I would get a letter off to you but the demands and pressures of the Voter Project have prevented my writing you any earlier.

The Voter Education Project is working in eleven southern states, including East Texas, but we are not currently doing too much in Arkansas and Texas because these two states have no registration procedure other than the payment of a poll tax each year. We note that 32 of the required 38 states have already ratified the anti-poll tax amendment and with the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting then Arkansas and Texas will probably have to adopt some kind of a registration procedure and we will then step up our activities in those states.

Our second fiscal year started April 1, and we are operating on a budget of $250,000 per year which represents the full amount of the grants which we have received thus far. We were able to stay within our budget during the first fiscal year primarily due to the fact that there was some delay in the hiring of necessary personnel and in getting various programs off the ground; but now that we are operating at full strength we are certain to experience financial frustrations in several areas.

5 - Request for info.

We are receiving some additional fimncial help by reason of a cooperative arrangement which we set up with the aid of COPE (AFL-CIO) whereby COPE is making a rather nice financial contribution to our Greater New Orleans registration effort. Other than this help we do not currently receive any other financial assistance from organized labor.

We are presented, from time to time, with many unusual problems which result in financial expenditures which we had not anticipated and which result primarily from instances of harassment and intimidation by persons opposed to Negro voter registration. For example, when a young registration worker in our Mississippi project was shot several weeks ago by persons opposed to the registration activities, we felt obligated to pay the doctor and hospital bills which were incurred. We had previously offered out assistance to the families of two Negro college girls who were injured when unknown parties fired into their home which had been used for housing registration workers.

We have expended money for legal fees for the payment to lawyers who were retained to represent registration workers arrested in Georgia and Mississippi for activities connected with voter registration. Our workers have been arrested for such things as disbributing literature without a permit, parading without a permit, failure to obey an officer when ordered to leave the court house and other such episodes.

We are now in the process of preparing our first annual report and this should be ready for release within a few days. You will be sent a copy. I am enclosing, for your information, copies of press released which have gone out from the Voter Education Project, a copy of the first status report which was released a few months after the project had been in operatinn and a copy of the financial statement of the Southern Regional Council for 1962.

We appreciate your interested in our work and if we can supply you with any other information regarding the activities of the Voter Education Project or of the Southern Rgyional Council in general, then please let us know.

Very truly yours,

WAR:ll

cc LWD

American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa

WB ✓

Suite 700A, 15 East 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y./LE 2-1640-1

All communications to:
Theodore E. Brown
Director

CALL
COMMITTEE
James Farmer
Dorothy Height
Martin Luther King, Jr.
A. Philip Randolph
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young

MAY 4 1963

May 3, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Whenever I read the news from Mississippi and other places in the South regarding voter registration, I cannot help but think of you and the good work of the Project. Keep up the good work.

I hope to see you soon, perhaps in the next two weeks. In the meantime, however, I heard about your March 31st release regarding the problems encountered by Negroes seeking to vote in Mississippi since January 1961, and would very much appreciate receiving a copy.

With every good wish, I am,

Cordially,

Ted

Theodore E. Brown
Director

TEB:kw

Sent 5/6/63

CONFERENCE SPONSORS
(partial list)

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE/NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION/NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION/NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
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BIBLE WAY CHURCH OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST WORLD WIDE

5- Requests for info

File quotes. These figures to me by Bob Moses on 5/3/63

~~Flanner~~ FLANNERY of J. Dept.

WB

Marshall County

Whites over 21 - 4342
Whites registered - most

Negroes over 21 - 7168
Negroes registered - 80 to 100

Panola County

Whites over 21 - 7639
Whites registered - 5345

Negroes over 21 - 7250
Negroes registered - 2

Benton County

Whites over 21 - 2514
Whites registered - most

Negroes over 21 - 1419
Negroes registered - 150(?)

Lafayette County

Whites over 21 - 8074
Whites registered - probably more than half

Negroes over 21 - 3239
Negroes registered - 134

Quitman County

Whites over 21 - 4176
Whites registered - probably more than half

Negroes over 21 - 5673
Negroes registered - 435

Tunica County

Whites over 21 - 2011
Whites registered - probably more than half

Negroes over 21 - 5822
Negroes registered - 22

Tate County

Whites over 21 - 4506
Whites registered - probably more than half

Negroes over 21 - 4326
Negroes registered - 3 (?)

De Soto County

Whites over 21 - 5338
Whites registered - probably more than half

Negroes over 21 - 6246
Negroes registered - 4

SCHWELB

SOME ESTIMATE OF REG. STATISTICS (NOT RELIABLE)

COUNTY	NEGROES ADULT	NEGROES REGISTERED	WHITES ADULT	WHITES REGISTERED
CLARKE	2988	40+ (Crane before trial)	6072	5,000 ~~40+~~ ~~Crane before~~
JASPER	8675	~~1201~~ 6	5327	4500 ~~20,000~~
KEMPER	3221	Probably 0	3113	3000
LAUDERDALE	11,924	1200	27,806	20,000
LEAKE	3,400	120	~~10,559~~ 6,754	7,000
NESHOBA	2,565	0 or very few	9,143	7,500
NEWTON	3,018	Very few	8,014	6,000
NOXUBEE	5,172	0	2,997	2500
SCOTT	3,752	5-10	7,742	6,000
SMITH	1,293	24	6,597	6000
WINSTON	3,611	57	808	5250

Percy Whale near Thomastown

5 - Justice Dept

May 22, 1963

Mr. Matthew Holden, Jr.
Assistant Professor
Department of Political Science
Wayne State University
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Mr. Holden:

In reply to your letter of May 14, 1963, to Dr. Leslie Dunbar, I would suggest that you write to the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice for any information regarding voter registration cases brought under the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

We are enclosing herein a copy of the chronology of violence in Mississippi which you referred to in your letter to me on May 14, together with a photocopy of selected subsequent episodes pertaining to Leflore county.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc.

5 - Request for inform

WB

WB

file handle

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1963

May 14, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am interested in securing a run-down of the voter-registration cases brought under the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Insofar as your office may have documents available for distribution, which will bear on this, please let me know. In addition, I am specifically interested in a chronology of the LeFlore County situation beyond that which I can construct from the press. Might you have material which bears on this also? I understand that Mr. Wiley Branton has prepared a report on the LeFlore County situation and I have written him directly today.

Sincerely yours,

Matthew Holden, Jr.

Matthew Holden, Jr.
Assistant Professor

MH/amj

Rec'd 5-17-63 JS

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

May 14, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I have been trying to get a chronology of the LeFlore County situation, beyond that which I can construct using newspaper sources, and it has been suggested to me that you have a report on that situation which might be helpful. If this is so, and if your material is available for distribution on some basis, please do let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Matthew Holden, Jr.

Matthew Holden, Jr.
Assistant Professor

MH/amj

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

THE MORSE COMMUNICATION RESEARCH CENTER
HENRY MORGENTHAU III, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

JUN 10 1963

June 7, 1963

Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Could you please send us 2 copies each of all available releases on the intimidation of and violence against Negroes in relation to your project.

If there is any charge, please direct the bill to me at the above address.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Nancy Burrington

Nancy Burrington
Administrative Assistant

Sent 6-12-63
2 copies march 1 Release
" " march 31 "
"

5 - Requests for Info

SPELMAN COLLEGE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 11, 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jack:

Hope everything is going well with you.

(Pardon the stationary; but I am still officially chairman of the history dept. atSpelman, and I'm hanging on by a sheet of stationary.)

Can you send me a copy of your First Annual Report of VEP? Would appreciate having it. Bob Moses showed me a copy but he couldn't spare that one.

Best of luck.

Howard

Summer address:

Zinn c/o McGuire
600 W. 115 St.
NY 25, NY

Sent 7-17-63

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

July 12, 1963

Miss Nancy Burrington
Administrative Assistant
Brandeis University
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Burrington:

Your letter of July 11th was received in this office today.

In compliance with your request, we have mailed you 35 copies each of our press releases (March 1st and 31st, 1963).

If we can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

JL:js

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

JUL 12 1963

THE MORSE COMMUNICATION RESEARCH CENTER
HENRY MORGENTHAU III, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

July 11, 1963

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We would like, if possible, 35 copies each of your press releases for March 1st and March 31st, 1963, as soon as possible.

These copies will be used in the Multi-National Communications Specialists Seminar of Brandeis University, in co-operation with the Department of State. This year there are 25 participants from 21 countries, all of them on the policy-making and creative levels of their various broadcasting systems.

If there should be any charge for the copies, please send the bill direct to us.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Yours truly,

Nancy Burrington

Nancy Burrington
Administraive Asst.

HMIII/ch

July 29, 1963

Mr. Carleton Mabee
3149 Kawkawlin Road
Bay City, Michigan

Dear Mr. Mabee:

You will remember that we met in connection with your visit to the SNCC conference at Tougaloo University earlier this year. It is a pleasure to be able to assist you in the preparation of your article.

Unfortunately, your question number one seeks information, so far as I know, is not all available. I am enclosing a table which I have drawn up from our records providing all of the data that we have in answer to question one.

I am sending, under separate cover, a copy of the VEP Annual Report, which is the only publication we have thus far drawn up. You will note when you receive it that it is stamped confidential. This means, simply, that it should be used for general background information rather than for direct quotation. If you feel that direct quotation from the report would add materially to the value of your article, let me know the section you want to quote, and I will find out whether or not Mr. Branton has any objection.

In answer to your question number three, I should be most interested in reading and commenting upon your article.

We shall look forward to hearing from you when your article is completed.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:ja
Encl.

July 18, 1963

Mr. Carleton Mabee
3149 Kawkawlin Road
Bay City, Michigan

Dear Mr. Mabee:

Your letter of July 13th to Mr. Wiley Branton has been referred to Mr. Jack Minnis, Research Director for the Voter Education Project.

Mr. Minnis has asked that I let you know that he is in the process of compiling the figures you requested, and you will be hearing from him regarding this and the rest of the questions in your letter within the next few days.

Very truly yours,

Janet Shortt
Secretary to Jack Minnis

js

JUL 15 1963

3149 Kawkawlin Rd.
Bay City, Mich.
July 13, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
Director, Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlatna, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

Since I made a visit to Miss. and Tenn. in May and June, I have been writing an article on the progress of voter registration in Mississippi's delta and Tennesee's Fayette and Haywood counties.

I am a teacher at Delta College, University Center, Mich., have won a Pulitzer Price, and have published four articles on the nonviolent movement for integration. I expect to be in an AFSC voter registration project in August in Greensboro, N.C. I called on you, as you will scarcely recall, a year ago in Atlanta.

If possible I would appreciate your help in these ways:

(1). Can you give me the % of eligible Negroes registered in the following counties for the 1960 election and the % registered now or as recently as figures are available ?

Tenn.	N.C.	Miss.	
Haywood	Alamance	Bolivar	Panola
Fayette	Guilford	Coahoma	Quitman
	Forsyth	Leflore	Issaquena
		Sunflower	Washington
		Holmes	De Soto
		Yazoo	Tate
		Humphreys	Tunica
		Starkey	Tallahatchie

(2). I have a copy of your release of March 31, 1963. Do you have any other information which you think would be helpful ?

(3). Would you be willing to criticize the article I have written if I send it to you ?

Sincerely,

Carleton Mabee

Carleton Mabee

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT
DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

August 5, 1963

AUG 6 1963

OK
WAB

AUG 6 1963

Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

Dear Mr. Branton:

Please send, at your earliest convenience, a copy of the FIRST ANNUAL REPORT of the VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT of the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., For the Fiscal Year April 1, 1962 through March 31, 1963.

An early shipment would be appreciated.

Yours very truly,

R. C. Crutchfield Jr.

R. C. Crutchfield, Jr.
Superintendent of Buildings & Grounds

RCC Jr:SBR

OK
WAB

Send
8-8-63

August 22, 1963

Mr. Michael J. Kuhn
467 Rio Grande National Building
Dallas, Texas 75202

Dear Mr. Kuhn:

Your letter of August 20 to Mr. Branton arrived while he was out of the city. So that you may have an early reply I am taking the liberty of writing you briefly concerning the activity of the Voter Education Project and of its tax exempt status. Your letter will be brought to Mr. Branton's attention upon his return, at which time he may write you further.

The Voter Education Project is primarily a research project, non-partisan in nature, and does not engage in any direct action program. As such we have received tax exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service, which matter was handled for us by tax attorneys in New York.

A copy of the letter from the U.S. Treasury Department which granted the tax exempt status is enclosed for your information. If we can be of any other assistance to you please do not hesitate to write us.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

enc. 1

5-Requests for info.

MICHAEL J. KUHN
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT
RIVERSIDE 8-0373 AREA CODE 214
467 RIO GRANDE NAT'L BLDG.
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

August 20, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

We are organizing a voter registration group here in Dallas and are attempting to give it federal tax status to qualify contributions to the group as charitable.

My initial research has failed to find any groups organized for voter registration who have achieved this tax qualification, and I was wondering whether your group has, or whether you know of any like groups which have.

If you have qualified, I would appreciate knowing what wording you have used for your purpose, and any other information which would help us in guaranteeing our qualification.

Thank you for your cooperation, and keep up your good work.

Very truly yours,

Michael J. Kuhn

Michael J. Kuhn

MJK:ak

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Lloyds - N.Y.

[illegible] is primarily a

research [illegible]

[illegible]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

Mrs. Jeanne Levine
5 Forsyth Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

August 30, 1963

Dear Mrs. Levine:

Mrs. Barbara Patterson has sent us some very helpful material on High Schools in Mississippi. I wish to thank you for contacting her and for the interest you have shown in this matter.

Sincerely,

Ruby Magee

RUBY MAGEE
Department of Justice

September 5, 1963

Mr. Alfred Baker Lewis
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council has sent me your letter of September 3 in which you seek information regarding the results which have been obtained in the voting program with the money contributed from the Taconic Foundation.

The money from the Taconic Foundation is deposited into our general bank account along with any other grants which we receive and, therefore, we do not maintain separate figures for Taconic money.

I am pleased to send you, under separate cover, a copy of our first annual report which describes the source of our income, the grants made, and the results achieved. If you desire further information please feel free to communicate directly with this office.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Sept 3-'63

Mr Leslie Dunbar
c/o Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta - Ga.

Dear Mr Dunbar:-

As national treasurer of the N.A.A.C.P I have been trying to get some information on the results which we, & the other civil rights organizations, have been able to get in putting new voters on the list in the Southern states, with the money contributed through you by the Taconic Foundation.

Is such information available & if so may I have it, please.

Sincerely yours
Alfred Baker Lewis

422

September 5, 1963

Miss Maud Coggs
847 Pine Lane
San Rafael, California

Dear Miss Coggs:

Your letter of September 2, to Mr. Branton, arrived while he was out of the city. Since he will not return until next week and you did mention a deadline I am taking the liberty of replying to your letter.

The Voter Education Project has not published any materials or pamphlets, but we have just begun the publication of a monthly newsletter. I am enclosing a copy of this and will request that your name be placed on our mailing list. I am enclosing also, samples of flyers which some of our projects have used in their campaigns.

I hope these will be helpful to you and if we are able to assist you in any other way please don't hesitate to write us.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Mr. Branton

enc.

5 - Requests for info

847 Pine Lane
San Rafael, California
September 2, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
5 Forsythe
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

As co-chairmen of our local FOOD FOR FREEDOM DRIVE in Terra Linda, California, we are in great need of factual information that we may use in talks, lectures and discussions with small groups on the voter registration projects. Dates of the commencement of your various aspects of the projects, and also results or lack of results as the project continues, would be very helpful to us.

If, in addition, you can share with us newspaper clippings, on the spot photographs of any kind, flyers of meetings, or pamphlets, these would be of tremendous value. Also slides, tapes, and movies (we can pay whatever costs are needed for mailing, rental, etc.) would be very helpful, or, if lists are available that give information as to how we may secure these, it would help us plan our meetings.

We have scheduled September 13 and 14 as FOOD FOR FREEDOM DAYS in Terra Linda, so if any releases can be sent to us immediately, we would greatly appreciate your help.

Thank you for any help you can give us.

Very truly yours,

Maud Coggs

Maud Coggs
Co-chairman
FOOD FOR FREEDOM, TERRA LINDA

MCC/sbt

SB

WB

OUR LADY OF MERCY WELFARE CENTER
THE NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE
77 AMERICA STREET
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

SEP 25 1963

September 24, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for your kind attention to my request for information concerning tuition grants.

I appreciate your referring this serious matter to Mr. Staige Blackford, and we will look forward to hearing from him.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours in Our Lady,

Sister Mary Anthony

Sister Mary Anthony, M.S.W.
Director

SMA:n

August 6, 1963

Sister M. Anthony, M.S.W.
Our Lady of Mercy Welfare Center
The Neighborhood House
77 America Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Sister M. Anthony:

In reply to your letter of July 16, I regret that I have no information pertaining to possible loans or assistance to persons seeking training in the nursing field.

It is possible that the Souther Regional Council might have such information and I am passing your letter on to Mr. Staige Blackford, Director of Research for the Southern Regional Council and requesting that he furnish you with such information as the Council might have available.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mr. Staige Blackford

5 - Requests for Info

November 13, 1963

Mr. David E. Mason
Special Assistant to the
President
1011 Harrison Street
P. O. Box 131
Syracuse 10, New York

Dear Mr. Mason:

Mr. Branton has asked that I reply to your letter of October 30.

VEP has not been directly involved in the literacy training aspect of the registration movement. However, we are aware of several efforts which are presently underway, and we have done what we could to assist them. We would suggest that the following individuals could give you the information you are seeking: Rev. Andrew Young, Program Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia; Miss Mary Verelli, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 8½ Raymond Street, N. W., Atlanta; Mr. Robert Moses, 1708 Everett Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

If we can be of any further assistance, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Executive Office: 1011 Harrison St., P.O. Box 131, Syracuse 10, N. Y.
Phone: 476-4051 (Area Code 315) Cable Address: Laulit

LAUBACH LITERACY FUND, INC.

FRANK C. LAUBACH, Founder and President

JM Please reply WB

October 30, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
5 Forsyth Street
Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia - 30303

Dear Mr. Branton:

Your name has been given to me by Mr. Bernhard of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

I am seeking information concerning the techniques and methods used in the literacy effort of the Negro "Voter Registration Drive." As our organization is deeply concerned about literacy, we are interested in not only information about the extent of these efforts, but we are also interested in distinct details of the methods used and their success.

You may be familiar with Dr. Frank C. Laubach who has helped develop the whole world concern for literacy. We are the instruments through which he works today. We have recently worked in cooperation with AID and the Peace Corps. I mention these things because I realize that you may not wish to divulge details of this program except to responsible people.

I shall appreciate anything you can do.

Cordially,

David E. Mason

David E. Mason
Special Assistant to
the President

dem/m

"EACH ONE TEACH ONE"

November 13, 1963

Mr. Robert L. Anderson
1805 N. E. 6th Terrace
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Mr. Branton has asked that I reply to your letter of November 7.

We are sending you, under separate cover, studies of Negro registration in the South which were done by Southern Regional Council in 1956 and 1959. We are also sending you a copy of the First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project.

Acknl 11/14/63

VEP is a research project which is scheduled to run up until the close of registration for the presidential election next year. It is our intention to publish a book on our experiences during the two-and-a-half years of the existence of the project. This book will probably see publication sometime in 1965. We have accumulated an enormous amount of data from the registration projects which we have supported throughout the South; however, we have not, at this point, attempted to bring these data together in any kind of comprehensive interpretation. We would be pleased to make our data files available to you, if you would find them useful.

With regard to citizenship training, I would suggest that you get in touch with the Rev. Andrew Young, Program Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta.

If we can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to ask.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

11/9/63
J M
Please reply

NOV 9 1963

1805 N.E. 6th Terrace
Gainesville, Florida
November 7, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

At present I am engaged in a writing of a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Florida dealing with efforts to broaden the suffrage since 1957 - with emphasis on the past several years.

I would like to inquire if your organization has available any information or data concerning your activities in this area which you could send me. Of particular interest would be any sort of information on voter registration drives, citizenship training activities (i.e., for voter registration), harassments met with, etc.

I would also be greatly interested in any personal comments or observations you might care to make concerning the efforts in the suffrage field since 1957.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Robert L. Anderson

Robert L. Anderson

October 31, 1963

Mrs. Freddye G. Ashford
Reference Librarian
Lincoln University of Missouri
Jefferson City, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Ashford:

Your letter of October 23 which was addressed to Mr. Harold C. Fleming, former Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, has been forwarded to this office for reply.

I am enclosing a copy of the VEP Newsletter which was issued in August of this year and while we had hoped to be able to put out an issue every month we know now that our next issue will not be released until some time in November.

The Newsletter will tell you something of the foundation and strcture of VEP. Most of our funds come from three foundations. These are the Edgar Stern Family Fund, the Field Foundation, and the Taconic Foundation.

VEP is primarily a research program and we require participating agencies to submit period financial and progress reports to our office. However, it is not contemplated that any meaningful reports will be issued by this office until the conclusion of the project late next year. The article by Penelope Patch, which appeared in New South was taken from our files because we thought it would be of interest to New South readers and we have many such field

Request for Info.

reports, but they are one of a kind and constitute a part of our research data and cannot be made available. If you have specific questions regarding any phase of our program we will be pleased to try to furnish you with such information as you may desire.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc. 1

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

JEFFERSON CITY

WB please reply

INMAN E. PAGE LIBRARY

October 23,1963

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 133803

My dear Mr. Fleming:

Could you direct us to the source for information concerning the Voter Education Project or Voter Registration Project reports?

It is our understanding that a group has been working on this project since last June. It is supposedly financed by several Foundations.

We receive "New South" your monthly publication which gave us this lead. Is the "Report From South Georgia", by Penelope Patch to Wiley Branton a part of it?

This material is needed for a research study. We will appreciate any effort to help us secure this report.

May we hear from you soon?

Very truly yours

Freddye G. Ashford

(Mrs.) Freddye G. Ashford
Reference Librarian

November 11, 1963

Miss Stephanie Wenkert
Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Wenkert:

We have not yet published any material on our experiences during the past year-and-a-half with voter registration in the South. Though we have accumulated an enormous amount of data in our files which I am sure you would find useful, we have not drawn it together in any comprehensive fashion.

We are sending you, under separate cover, a copy of our annual report of last April. I think you may find some things in it which you can use. In addition, we are sending you copies of two recent court decrees in voter registration cases in Louisiana. In the court's finding of facts in these two decrees, you will find listed some specific details of discrimination in voter registration in the two Louisiana parishes involved in the litigation. It is our opinion that these descriptions are generally accurate for techniques of discrimination throughout the South.

We regret that we are unable to provide you with any more comprehensive information at this time. If there is anything else of a specific nature that we can do for you, please do not hesitate to ask.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Request for info

Bryn Mawr College - Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

OCT 30 1963

Rhoads Hall
Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Oct. 25, 1963

Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a student at Bryn Mawr and the chairman of the Voting Committee for a civil rights conclave to be held here next February. My committee is at the moment engaged in preparing a working paper (i.e., extended bibliography) on voting. We wonder if you could send us any relevant material; we would be especially interested in information regarding techniques of discrimination and your present activities.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly
Stephanie Oventer

December 4, 1963

Mr. Robert L. Anderson
1805 N. E. 6th Terrace
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Anderson:

We shall be pleased to accommodate you at any time you find it convenient to come in during the month of December.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

NOV 18 1963

1805 N.E. 6th Terrace
Gainesville, Florida
November 17, 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Thank you for your letter of November 13 and the materials which followed. I am sure that they will be of invaluable assistance to me in my research.

I would also like to thank you for your offer to make your data files available to me. Such an opportunity to obtain first-hand data for my research is indeed appreciated and I would like to take advantage of it if it would work no inconvenience on you or your staff.

In the event that I could arrange to come to Atlanta, could you suggest a time in December when I would be least apt to interrupt your work?

In any event, many thanks again for your generous response to my inquiry.

Yours truly,

Robert L Anderson

Robert L. Anderson

Sent: Annual Report (VEP)
The Negro and The Ballot (Price)
The Negro Voter in the South (Price)

December 6, 1963

Ms. Margit David
1326 Balboa Street
San Francisco 18, California

Dear Ms. David:

In reply to your letter of December 3, we are sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the first annual report of the Voter Education Project and two pamphlets published by the Southern Regional Council. We feel that this material will be helpful to you in preparing your term paper.

If we may be of further assistante to you please let us know.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

Request for info.

DEC 5 1963

1326 Balboa Street
San Francisco 18, California
December 3, 1963

Voter Education Prject
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

For my civics class term project I have chosen to do research work on the matter of minority voting rights in the South. I am particularly interested in the Southern attitude toward the Negro vote, in the actual voting requirements for Negroes, in the conditions as they exist today, as well as in any changes which are taking place. I would greatly appreciate any material which you could send me pertaining to this topi c.

Thanking you in advance for your kindness, I am,

Sincerely yours

Margit David
Margit David

Price pamphlet
annual report

January 4, 1964

Mr. J. Francis Pohlhaus
Washington Bureau
N.A.A.C.P.
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Mr. Polhaus:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 16, requesting information on voter registration statitistics in the south and on the success of the Voter Education Project.

I am enclosing a copy of the first annual report of the Voter Education Project. Our second fiscal year will not end until March 31, 1964, and it will be some time following that before we will have another report.

We expect to release some statistical information pertaining to voter registration by states within a very short time and we will be pleased to send it to you as soon as it is ready.

I think I should explain that the Voter Education Project is a temporary program which will end this year and it is contemplated that a full report in considerable detail will be prepared at the conclusion of the project. For this reason we have not bothered to issue interim reports. If you desire specific information in any certain area, then we will be pleased to try to furnish you or the Congressional office seeking it with this information.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

Request for info

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

Please direct reply to:
Washington Bureau
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.
Telephone: National 8-5794

DEC 20 1963

December 16, 1963

Wiley Branton, Esquire
Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

We have been requested by a Congressional office to provide information on voter registration statistics in the South, and particularly on the success of the Voter Education Project.

Any information you may have on this would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Francis Pohlhaus

J. Francis Pohlhaus
Counsel
Washington Bureau

JFP:cw

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Milton R. Konvitz
Z. Alexander Looby
Edward P. Lovett
Arthur J. Mandell
James Marshall
Loren Miller
William Robert Ming, Jr.
Loring B. Moore
James M. Nabrit
Shad Polier
Louis Pollak
Louis L. Redding
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Frank D. Reeves
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Official Organ: The Crisis

January 6, 1964

Mrs. Jenis L. Williams
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Williams:

Thank you for the November bank statement. Our books reflect these figures now and I am returning it to you for your files.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

enc. 1

Core
3-5

January 7, 1964

Miss Rosetta E. Gardner
National Student YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Miss Gardner:

Here it is!

I'm sorry that it appeared to take so long, but this list was something we've been wanting to do for a long time and had not been able to get to. Your need proved to be the catalyst which got us going.

Mr. Branton has asked me to remind you again, Miss Gardner, that these programs, while current now, will expire (most of them) on March 31, 1964, the end of our current fiscal year.

Mrs. Shields is here in our office now, and has been most helpful to us in the final phase of this task this afternoon. It was kind of you to permit her to come over to help us. Thank you for your patience.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

enc.

MG for info

Executive Office: 1011 Harrison St., P.O. Box 131, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210
Phone: 476-4051 (Area Code 315) Cable Address: Laulit

LAUBACH LITERACY FUND, INC.

FRANK C. LAUBACH, Founder and President

WB this is a very good output - could you please find someone reply or reply yourself

January 30, 1964

Mr. Lester Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am seeking information relating to a study of efforts and materials used for literacy training for unregistered Negro voters in the Southern states.

A glance at the enclosed pamphlet will tell you that our organization is greatly concerned about the problem of illiteracy and has accomplished a great deal toward conquering this problem in 311 languages in over 100 countries in the world.

I am seeking to gather information about any and all organized efforts since 1954 to teach illiterate Negroes in the South to read in order to qualify to vote or to meet job requirements. Any information you can give me as to these efforts -- the methods and techniques and/or the success or failure -- will be greatly appreciated and may ultimately lead to benefits for these people. It is quite possible that on the completion of this study, when recommendations are made as to methods and follow-up publications, our organization or some other may be in a position to provide valuable technical assistance.

If you do not have such information or if you do not have access to it, I will appreciate your making any suggestions as to persons I can contact or sources I can study to get such information.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and assistance.

Cordially,

David E. Mason

David E. Mason

dem/m

"EACH ONE TEACH ONE"

LAUBACH

LITERACY

FUND, INC.

LAUBACH LITERACY FUND, INC.

Laubach Literacy Fund, Inc. (LLF) is a nonprofit, educational organization founded by Dr. Frank C. Laubach, originator of the "Each One Teach One" literacy concept.

OBJECTIVE

The objective of Laubach Literacy Fund is to aid in the reduction of adult illiteracy throughout the world.

MOTIVATION

Laubach Literacy Fund is convinced that the ability to read and write opens a door for the new reader to a more abundant life, and that every nation needs a literate people.

ACTIVITIES

Laubach Literacy Fund works through its own staff, field representatives and literacy centers, and in cooperation with other individuals, agencies and governments in three major types of activities:

Teaching adult illiterates to read and write their own language.

Training teachers and writers for new literates.

Providing teaching materials and follow-up reading matter.

Among the current activities of Laubach Literacy Fund are:

—Aiding the work of individuals and literacy centers in East Pakistan, India (four places), Mexico (three places), Kenya, Nigeria (two places), Jordan, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, Congo (Brazzaville), and the United States.

—Developing a series of graded books for new readers in Spanish, and working on similar series in other languages, including Portuguese, Yoruba, Igbo, Tamil, Bengali, Kannada, Santali, and Malayalam.

—Developing in English:

1. A new adult reading series leading to functional literacy.
2. Graded, informative books in the New Readers Press series.
3. A series of books leading to the ability to read the Bible.
4. A weekly periodical, News for You, on three grade levels.

—Providing scholarship aid to literacy and writer training programs in several colleges and centers, including Syracuse University, San Francisco State College, American University, Hislop College (India), Memphis State College, Upland College, and California Western University.

—Conducting workshops for training volunteer teachers and writers concerned with illiteracy in their own communities in the United States.

—Conducting research in new literacy methods, and in the use of audio-visuals, television, radio and automated instruction.

—Providing a program of information and training on literacy as a vocation for American and international students in colleges, and informing America about world literacy needs.

EXPERIENCE

Laubach Literacy Fund draws upon the experience, materials and ideals of Dr. Frank C. Laubach, who, with his teams and associates, has worked with government leaders, educators and missionaries in more than 100 countries. His unique literacy methods, developed over a period of 35 years, have been adapted to more than 310 languages.

The Executive Director, Dr. Robert S. Laubach, has been on the faculty of the School of Journalism, Syracuse University, for twelve years, where he developed the training program in literacy-journalism. Graduates of this program have worked in more than 35 countries.

Laubach Literacy Fund staff members and field representatives are qualified by training and experience to teach illiterates, conduct literacy programs, write for new literates, and train teachers and writers.

SUPPORT

The work of Laubach Literacy Fund is supported by a broad base of thousands of individuals, many of whom are pledging one dollar per week. Laubach Literacy Fund seeks to work with the United States Government, with other governments and with grants from foundations on specific literacy contracts. Laubach Literacy Fund is also exploring ways to use surplus American food to aid literacy programs in developing nations.

"Each One Teach One"

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Special Assistant to the President

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Alice Sanderson
Secretary

Mrs. May McMillan

Laubach Literacy Fund was incorporated in the District of Columbia, U.S.A., as a private, nonprofit corporation on June 22, 1955. Contributions are tax deductible.

Executive Office
Robert S. Laubach,
Executive Director
1011 Harrison Street, P.O. Box 131
Syracuse, New York 13210
Phone: 476-4051 (Area code 315)
Cable Address: *Laulit Syracuse*

In the Nation's Capital
Richard W. Cortright,
Director of Education
2000 P St. N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
Phone: 483-4010 (Area code 202)
Cable Address: *Laulit Washington*

In Southern California
Mrs. May McMillan, Director
248 E. Main St.
Alhambra, California 91801
Phone: 281-5413 (Area code 213)

Write for further information.

February 3, 1964

Mr. Thomas J. Foley
852 National Press Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Foley:

In a telephone conversation with you last week Mr. Branton promised to send the enclosed chart showing VEP registration results as soon as it was ready.

I am pleased to enclose this chart.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Mr. Branton

enc.

Reg. for info
Green

February 3, 1964

Mrs. Ellen Broderick
Special Assistant to
Assistant Secretary Moynihan
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Broderick:

In reply to your letter of January 23 requesting information regarding registration and voting among Negroes in key southern cities or Congressional Districts, I regret to inform you that we do not have materials on hand which would reflect this information in a form which we can readily send you. Most of our materials are in our own research files and we had not planned to publish this until the conclusion of the project which will run for another year.

We are sending you two copies of a recent report which we have prepared showing the results of our Voter Education Project to date.

If there are any specific questions you have about certain cities, counties or Congressional Districts then please list these and we will prepare the information for you.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc.

Requests for info

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

JAN 27 1964

January 23, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Please send me a copy of whatever materials you have available regarding registration and voting among Negroes in key southern cities, counties or congressional districts.

Sincerely,

Ellen Broderick

(Mrs.) Ellen Broderick
Special Assistant to
Assistant Secretary Moynihan

February 4, 1964

Mr. Charles Cobb
State Office Coordinator
COFO
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39203

Dear Mr. Cobb:

Mr. Branton has asked me to reply to your letter of January 30.

Last summer, we had occasion to order maps of several counties in Mississippi, but they were of a different type than those you will need for your project.

In order to receive the exact type you described, you can request a price list which shows the description, size, and price of the maps that are available from the Mississippi State Highway Department there in Jackson. You should address your request to:

Mr. W. J. Crecink, Jr.
State Manager
Traffic and Planning Division

If we can be of assistance to you at any time, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Very truly yours,

Janet Shortt
Secretary
Research Department

js

Requests for Info

Memo from **JEAN LEVINE**

2-4-64

Janet:

Some time ago Jack ordered, or attempted to, ~~XXXXXX~~ county maps from someone in Mississippi state office or somewhere. Would you see if you can find this correspondence. If you can and it gives information Mr. Cobb needs would you reply to this letter and tell him where he can procure them - tell him we have no other way of getting them for them - and we have none on hand.

Thanks.

Council Of Federated Organizations

JAN 31 1964

1017 Lynch Street

(601) 352-9605

Jackson, Mississippi 39203

Wm. Bette

January 30, 1964

Aaron Henry
President

Robert Moses
Program Director

David Dennis
Assistant Program Director

Congressional District Coordinators

Frank Smith, 1st
Columbus

James Jones, 2nd
Greenwood

Jesse Morris, 3rd
Vicksburg

Matteo Suarez 4th
Meridian

Lawrence Guyot, 5th
Hattiesburg

State Office Coordinator
Charles Cobb, Jackson

Welfare and Relief Committee
Vera Pigee, Clarksdale
Annelle Ponder, Greenwood

Political Program Committee
Lawrence G. Guyot, Hattiesburg

Finance Committee
Rev. R. L. T. Smith, Jackson

Federal Programs Committee
Jesse Morris, Jackson

Attorney Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, Rm. 206
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

We need, for a future project, large county maps for every county in Mississippi. Ideally, the maps should be large enough to show clearly, every house, on every road in the county. In fact, this is essential.

Could you get these maps for us, and send them here as soon as possible, or would it be better to write the State Highway Department?

Thank you.

Warmest regards,

Charlie

C. Cobb

WB

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

February 6, 1964

FEB 10 1964

Dear Mr. Branton:

I most appreciate your letter of February 3, enclosing the report showing the results of your Project so far.

In the future, as we have further, specific questions about particular areas, I shall take advantage of your offer and ask them of you.

Sincerely,

Ellen Broderick

Ellen Broderick

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Requests for info

February 7, 1964

Miss Sara Pelles
1749 Hummingbird Lane
Atlanta 7, Georgia

Dear Miss Pelles:

Mr. Branton has asked me to reply to your letter of February 1, 1964, regarding the mock Supreme Court case which your class is planning. As you probably realize now, Mr. Branton is also Executive Director of the Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense, Inc., from which you also requested assistance in this project.

Mr. Branton asked me to tell you that the most valuable information available was the brief which they sent you from New York. If there is any further information you need just let us know.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Mr. Branton

Requests for info.

1749 Hummingbird Lane
Atlanta 7, Georgia
February 1, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton,

I am a Senior at Druid Hills High School in DeKalb County, and am enrolled in an American Government course. My class is planning a mock Supreme Court case concerning the anti-trespass laws, and I am to be a lawyer for the plaintiff, claiming the laws are unconstitutional, discriminatory, a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, and a violation of the plaintiff's liberty and his rights as a citizen. Could you send me some material that would help me in preparing my brief?

Thank you very much.

Respectfully yours,
Sara Pitts

[illegible]

22 N.Y. office

February 10, 1964

Mrs. Faye Goldberg
317bHertford Circle
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Goldberg:

Mr. Branton has requested me to send you the enclosed material which he promised you during your telephone conversation last Friday.

I am enclosing a copy of an election calendar for 1964 which VEP has made up, as well as a copy of a report issued by VEP last week, showing results of the VEP program during its first 21 months.

If we can help you in any other way please call and let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Mr. Branton

enc. 2

Requests for info

February 11, 1964

Mr. Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Rich:

Thank you for your note of congratulations dated January 28. I am indeed challenged and stimulated by my work here.

I am enclosing information on the number of non-white registered voters in 1961 and 1963. I hope this information will be useful to you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Reg. for info

ALABAMA-Est.*

1961	1963
66,870	90,000

ARKANSAS-

1961 (OFF)	1963 (EST)
72,604	80,000

FLORIDA-Off.**

1961	1963
183,497	213,128

GEORGIA-Est.

1961	1963
165,535	221,919

LOUISIANA-Off.

1961	1963
158,763	162,084

MISSISSIPPI-Est.

1961	1963
25,921	28,000

N. CAROLINA-Est.

1961	1963
210,450	233,773

S. CAROLINA-Est.

1961q	1963
90,901	111,628

TENNESSEE-Est.

1961	1963
150,869	202,974

TEXAS-Est.

1961	1963
174,387	300,000

VIRGINIA-Off.

1961	1963
99,819	108,312

	1961	1963
TOTAL	1,399,616	1,751,818

*Est.-Estimate
**Off.-Official

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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secretary
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James Peck
COREIator editor
Gordon Carey
program director
James T. McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

JAN 30 1964

January 28, 1964

Mrs. Barbara Whitaker
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Barbara Whitaker:

Congratulations on being appointed to the staff of the Voter Education Project. I hope that you enjoy your work and find it challenging.

Do you have information as to the number of registered voters in each state at the beginning of the V.E.P and the number registered at the end of 1963. Such a comparison would be most useful to us here at CORE.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Rich

Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director

MR/jj

February 11, 1964

Mr. David E. Mason
Special Assistant to the President
Laubach Literary Fund, Inc.'
P. O. Box 131
Syracuse, New York 13210

Dear Mr. Mason:

Thank you for your letter of January 31 addressed to Mr. Minnis. Mr. Minnis is no longer a member of the staff.

In addition to the names given you earlier, we would suggest that the following individual might be of assistance to you: Mr. Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director, Congress of Racial Equality, 39 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Reg. for Info.

Executive Office: 1011 Harrison St., P.O. Box 131, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210
Phone: 476-4051 (Area Code 315) Cable Address: Laulit

LAUBACH LITERACY FUND, INC.

FRANK C. LAUBACH, Founder and President

2/3 BW: Would you care to follow this up further? JS

January 30, 1964

FEB 3 1964

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia - 30303

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 13, 1963, in response to my inquery directed to Mr. Branton.

I appreciate your giving me the names of the key people in the various Negro organizations. I have written to all of these people twice and regret to say that I have not received any acknowledgements thus far. Perhaps I failed to say the magic word or something.

Other inqueries uncovered a program of the Urban League. Mr. Heman M. Sweatt of their Southern Regional Office provided much information.

If you encounter additional information or other sources of information, I would appreciate your keeping me in mind.

Very truly yours,

David E. Mason

David E. Mason

dem/m

"EACH ONE TEACH ONE"

February 12, 1964

Miss Sandra Murphy
89 Pierce Street
Westerly, Rhode Island

Dear Miss Murphy:

Mr. Fleming is no longer with the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director, requested that I answer your letter.

I hope the printed materials which are being mailed to you under separate cover will prove helpful.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Reg for data

BW
please reply

Miss Sandra Murphy
89 Pierce Street
Westerly, R. I.
February 5, 1964

Mr. Harold C. Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

I would like to know some information concerning the negro voting and registration laws in Georgia, or in the south. I know that this organization is set up to improve the race relations in the south.

However, I would like very much if you would answer this letter personally, telling me the present conditions on voting in the south.

I am doing a project which requires much information, and I have chosen racial discrimination in the south. O feel as though this project will broaden my knowled[illegible] hat is going on in the [illegible]

[redacted]

Yours truly.

Sandra Murphy

slm

February 26, 1964

Mr. Slater King
P. O. Box 1641
Albany, Georgia

Dear Slater:

Here are the materials I promised.

Love to Marion and the children. See you on April 4 in Moultrie.

Yours truly,

Barbara I. Whitaker

BIW:js

Enclosures:
1. VEP Newsletter
2. The South of the Future (SRC)

Ref. for info.

March 4, 1964

Mr. Richard F. Bellman
Staff Attorney
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Bellman:

In response to your letter of February 26, 1964, to Mr. Branton, who is out of the city, I am enclosing a copy of the news release which contained the figures you referred to as having been contained in the recent New York Times article on the Voter Education Project.

I am also enclosing a copy of a table which gives more specific information than that contained in the release and hope that these both will be helpful to you. We would be happy to assist you in any other way we can.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Mr. Branton

enc. 2

Reg. for Info

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

FEB 27 1964

February 26, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Director, Voter Education
Project
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

A recent article in the New York Times reports of the success that the Voter Education Project has had in registering Negroes to vote in Southern states.

The Commission is desirous of receiving a copy of the Southern Regional Council's report on their voter registration efforts. We would appreciate it if a copy could be forwarded to us.

Sincerely yours,

Richard F. Bellman

Richard F. Bellman
Staff Attorney

WB
Return to BW
File

March 9, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

Re: Telephone Conversation with James Wilson, Dept. of Government

I talked with James Wilson, Department of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Maryland, (UN 8-7600, Ext. 2650) re information requested in his letter to WAB on 3-2-64. I indicated the unavailability of this material from our files. I did state we would probably gather information on some of the cities for the coming election.

I suggested that it would be a difficult assignment to obtain this information even if he had local contacts in the local 20 listed cities. He communicated an impression that this was what he expected, and expressed appreciation for any leads we could give him as to possible sources. I stated I would explore further and try to provide what information I could gather within a week.

BIW
BIW

BIW:js

Req. for Info

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

March 2, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am sending, as you suggested in our telephone conversation last week, a list of the questions to which I hope to find answers in preparation for the article on the Negro in politics which I am writing for the American Negro Reference Book of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

For as many as possible of the cities on the list below, I should like to know:

(1) The wards (if no wards, then precincts) which are approximately 90 per cent or more Negro.

(2) For these wards or precincts, the approximate total population.

(3) For these wards, the total number of registered voters.

(4) For these wards, the total number voting in:

(a) the 1956 and 1960 Presidential elections

(b) the most recent gubernatorial Democractic primary (and run-off primary, if applicable)

(c) the most recent mayoralty election (for cities with an elected mayor); in cities with the council-manager or commission form, the most recent local election <u>if Negro voters were presented with a significant choice.</u>

(5) For these wards, the percentage of those voting who voted for Democractic and Republican candidates for President and Governor and for the two leading candidates for the principal local office.

The twenty cities in which I am interested are:

* Atlanta, Ga.	Little Rock, Ark.
Birmingham, Ala.	* Louisville, Ky.
* Charlotte, N.C.	Memphis, Tenn.
* Charlston, S.C.	Miami, Fla.
Columbia, S.C.	Montgomery, Ala.
Columbus, Ga.	* Nashville, Tenn.
Dallas, Tex.	* New Orleans, La.
Greensboro, N.C.	Norfolk, Va.
* Houston, Tex.	Richmond, Va.
Jackson, Miss.	Shreveport, La.

(* Indicates the city has a directly-elected mayor.)

Obviously this is a tall order. If it proves too time-consuming for your research assistant, I can send mine down for two or three days. In order to schedule this, I would appreciate your letting me know by March 6 whether it will be necessary. (My assistant cannot make the trip after March 10.)

If Negro voter participation in some of these cities is so minimal as to make a complete analysis meaningless, then a notation to that effect will suffice.

Many thanks for your kind offer of help.

Cordially,

James Q. Wilson

James Q. Wilson
Associate Professor

Un 8-7600
Ext. 2650

JQW/sc

March 27, 1964

Dr. Stanley H. Smith, Chairman
Division of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Dr. Smith:

Mr. Branton has asked me to answer your letter of March 16. I am enclosing copies of a statistical report recently prepared, and the VEP newsletter which contains a table showing official and estimated voting strength in 1961 and 1963.

Two publications which deal, in part, with the question under study are:

Lipset, Seymour M. - Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics; Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960, Part II.

Campbell, Angus, et al. - The American Voter; New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960: Chapters 8, 11, 12.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Director

BIW:js
Encls.

Request to fed Gov't

BW
Please reply
WB.

WB
BW

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

MAR 23 1964

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

March 16, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am interested in studying the political status of the Negro in the South with particular emphasis in his voting strength and potential.

At your earliest convenience. Therefore, please mail me any information relevant and appropriate to the above.

Please bill me for any cost incurred.

Sincerely yours,

Stanley H. Smith

Stanley H. Smith, Chairman
Division of Social Sciences

SHS:bsc

March 31, 1964

Mr. Frank Millspaugh
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Millspaugh:

Connie Curry has requested that we inform you as to the places where voter registration programs will be conducted under VEP sponsorship during the summer of 1964. We are not in a position to state positively, at this time, the exact location of our summer projects as the dates will depend upon the schedules most convenient to the local groups and will be determined also by whether the books are open. There is a possibility that programs will be going on at some time during the summer in the following places:

ALABAMA:

Birmingham
Montgomery
Mobile
Macon County (Tuskegee)

Special Note: The registrar's office is open two days only per month in most of the counties but will be open for a one-week continuous period beginning July 1, and we will be supporting a special program in some 40-50 Alabama counties during this period.

(more)

Requests for Information

ARKANSAS:

The Arkansas legislature adopted a new registration law on March 27, in a special session and it will have to be tested in court.

Registration in Arkansas is represented by payment of a poll tax and under the new bill a person can get a free poll tax receipt during the period April 10 to 30, and again from September 10 to 30. This rules out any summer projects in Arkansas.

FLORIDA:

Orlando
St. Petersburg
Miami
Tampa
Jacksonville
Tallahassee
Pensacola

GEORGIA:

The present deadline for registration for voting in the November election is May 2; however, the Georgia legislature will meet in special session on May 4, and the deadline is expected to be extended until about July 2. If so, then programs will be conducted in:

Atlanta
Columbus
Macon
Augusta
Savannah

(more)

LOUISIANA:

21 rural parishes under the direction of CORE

New Orleans
Baton Rouge
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI:

A statewide program under the direction of COMMCil of Federated Organizations but which is not likely to receive financial support from VEP.

NORTH CAROLINA:

2nd Congressional District (northeastern part of the state)
Charlotte
Winston-Salem
High Point
Greensboro
Durham
Raleigh

SOUTH CAROLINA:

A statewide program covering every congressional district and every county.

Special note: Registration is possible in most counties for only 3 days per month. However, there will be a two-week continuous period when registration will be possibly in May and in August.

TENNESSEE:

Memphis
Nashville
Knoxville
Chattanooga

(more)

TENNESSEE:

No further registration possible in 1964.

VIRGINIA:

4th Congressional District
(southeastern part of state)

Norfolk
Newport News
Portsmouth
Richmond
Lynchburg
Roanoke

As a word of caution, in planning any summer program you should check with local officials to determine whether registration will be possible during the period you plan to conduct a program. We have had the unfortunate experience of seeing projects started only to have the registrar's office close one week later.

If we can be of any further help then kindly let us know.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Connie Curry

WB.

430 Columbus Avenue
Syracuse 10, New York
April 1, 1964

APR 3 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

At the beginning of September of last year, I talked with you about my intentions of writing a thesis on voter registration. You will recall that I had just left the CORE "Task Force" in Plaquemine, Louisiana, and was returning to Syracuse University. Initially my plans were to start research immediately, however, as you well know, the "struggle" has not restricted itself to the South, and thus, we in the North often find ourselves in rather "Southern situations."

In any event, after jail and extended action projects in this city, I am finally in the midst of the fore mentioned task. In this regard, your offices could be of tremendous help in providing me with information about VEP activities in the South. Specifically, I am dealing with Louisiana and Mississippi in an effort to illustrate in depth, the peculiar situations a person of color is subjected to when he attempts to register to vote.

Particularly, I am interested in registration figures for the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana, and the Mississippi Delta region. While the academic community has sparingly dealt with Negro suffrage in the South, little emphasis has been placed on matters of community mobilization, economic and violent intimidation, land ownership, and "direct-action." Relative to these areas, I would think that copies of "field" reports from Ronnie Moore, and the Greenwood office would be helpful. These would be sent back to your offices immediately if they could be made available.

Wade Martin Jr. Sec'y State

In your First Annual Report, the problem is raised about the involvement of getting to the "rank and file of the Negro community with the message." Has their been any significant progress in this area?

Request for Copy

I read with interest Mr. Waters' article on "Negro Registration in the South," in The New Republic and hope that we get a lot of activity in "the church." If there is a copy of this latest report on hand, I would greatly appreciate one.

Your prompt consideration of this matter would be very much appreciated. Please bill me for whatever cost are incurred with regard to this data. I shall inform you on the outcome of this project, and expect to have it completed by the CORE summer project, in which I shall again participate.

Thanks very much for your consideration.

Respectfully,

Daniel B. Mitchell

Daniel B. Mitchell

bc: Dr. C. H. Thomas, Jr.

April 4, 1964

Mr. Robert J. Moore
Acting Chairman
Columbia Council on Human Relations
835 Stebondale Road
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Moore:

In reply to your letter of April 1, in which you request information about the voter situation in South Carolina I am sorry but we do not have available, for release, any published information on this subject. VEP is engaged in research relating to the whole question of voter registration and voter education and it is our intention to publish a lengthy report at the conclusion of the project which will end this year. This report, however, will not be available until sometime next spring at the earliest.

We do maintain data in our research files pertaining to the voter situation in South Carolina but it is not the kind of information which is written up for release. If you have specific questions which you would like answered perhaps we could supply you with some of the information if you would let us know what it is that you would like to know.

The Voter Education Project has been working in several places in South Carolina and during the 21-month period ending December 31, 1963, there had been an increase of 20,727 new Negro registrants in the state as a result of VEP-supported programs. As of April 1, 1964, we are

Requests for info

launching massive programs in every South Carolina Congressional District on a locally organized Congressional District basis where the residents of each district provide the leadership. Grants are being made direct to each district organization and these programs will run for approximately three or four months to begin with. The First and Second Congressional Districts have been working under such a program with us for the past several months and the Third, Fifth and Sixth District programs are being launched immediately.

We are experiencing some delay in getting a district program started in the Fourth but we have had a very successful registration program in Greenville under the local sponsorship of NAACP.

We prefer that you release no publicity regarding these programs and while it is too early to tell what the results will be we are very optimistic that excellent results will come from this special effort which, incidentally, is the only one of its kind for any state in the eleven-state VEP territory.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mrs. Alice Spearman

WB

APR 1 1964

835 Stebondale Road
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am interested in learning more about the voter situation in South Carolina. Your group has studied this, I understand. Would you please send me any information you have available for release on this subject?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Moore

Robert J. Moore
Acting Chairman
Columbia Council on Human Relations

WB

Putney, Vermont
April 21, 1964

Dear Sir:

On Wednesday, May 13th I will present a paper on the leadership of the negro community to a graduate seminar at the University of Massachusetts. As a negro leader mentioned in William Brink and Louis Harris's book, The Negro Revolution in America I would like to ask you the following questions:

1. What part have you played in the negro struggle for equality? (Could you send me some biographical data?)

2. Do you feel that positive legal enactments can settle or improve the racial situation? In general what laws do you feel would be more effective? In particular how helpful do you consider the Civil Rights Bill now before Congress?

I would appreciate as detailed an answer as possible and would welcome any printed material you can send.

Thank you very much for taking the time to answer.

Sincerely,
Nathaniel Hendricks
Nathaniel Hendricks

Requests for Info

April 22, 1964

Mr. Daniel B. Mitchell
430 Columbus Avenue
Syracuse 10, New York

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Louisiana registration figures are fairly accurate and you may obtain official figures for each parish by writing to:

Honorable Wade O. Martin
Secretary of State
State Capitol Building
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

~~These~~ These figures will be by race and political parties. Figures for Mississippi are extremely hard to come by, and we have no figures for any of the counties other than those contained in the 1961 Civil Rights Commission Report on Voting.

Most of the research data which we get in is simply filed for subsequent study when we start compiling our final report following the November Election, and for this reason, we would not be able to send you copies of any field reports. If there is a particular field report you have reference to, perhaps we could make you a photocopy.

There has been considerable improvement in getting the message over in the Negro community and the results have been reflected by increased new registration. I am enclosing a copy of the latest figures. The information contained in Pat Waters' article in The New Republic resulted from an interview with me rather than from a report.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Director

WAB:bs
Enclosure

Requests for info

April 23, 1964

Mr. Harry Holloway
Department of Government
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Holloway:

In reply to your recent letter requesting information, I am enclosing a release prepared at the end of 1963. We estimate, conservatively, that there has been an increase of 70,000 since that time.

The NEW YORK TIMES release which you mentioned does reflect our position at this time. However, this does not preclude VEP support for Mississippi programs in the future.

I am also enclosing a subscription blank to NEW SOUTH.

We are amassing a volume of information, as you might suspect. If you are ever in Atlanta, we invite you to c come by to compare notes.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Encls: 2

request for info

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

April 16, 1964

Les,

I remember that Mr. Holloway is a friend of yours and that you have corresponded with him in the past. Do you want to answer this, or shall I?

BW

Please answer — Holloway is a political scientist who has done considerable research in this field, especially in Texas

(Please enclose a New South subscription blank)

DEPARTMENT OF
GOVERNMENT

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN · OKLAHOMA

April 13, 1964

Southern Regional Council
Room 201
Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Do you have recent data on registration in the South? I am especially interested in Negro registration but white registration is pertinent also. By "recent" I mean figures for any or all of the last few years and in addition to those given in the three reports of the Civil Rights Commission.

I am myself engaged in research on Negro politics in the South, so any figures you have are welcome.

Incidentally if you are still publishing New South, I would appreciate being on the mailing list.

One other matter. A New York Times dispatch reported that the Voter Education Project in Mississippi was pulling out. If you have available a report on this or any other VEP projects I would certainly like to see such reports. I have wondered how successful these projects would be and what kinds of difficulties were encountered. I have my own ideas but am very anxious to compare notes with others.

Thank you, in advance, for your cooperation and good luck in your work!

Sincerely,

Harry Holloway

Harry Holloway

HH:jm

April 23, 1964

Mr. Stephen Conn
Box 778 Colgate Station
Hamilton, New York

Dear Mr. Conn:

I apologize for the delay in getting this information to you. Under separate cover, I am sending you the information on the voting age population and registration in Virginia, as well as a release prepared by our office on registration results in the eleven southern states in which we support voter registration activities. I am also sending, for your information, copies of the VEP Newsletter.

If we can be of further assistance, let us know. Official information on voter registration can be secured from:

Levin Nock Davis, Secretary
Board of Election
Commonwealth of Virginia
Richmond, Virginia

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Request for info

MAR 3 1964

Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

M. Carl Holman, information officer for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, suggested that I write to you for information to be used in a high honors project in political science at Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y.

Could you send me any information or statistics you might have on the numbers of Negro citizens eligible to vote in the state of Virginia, that is, over 21, and the number actually registered, by county if possible? Also general information on Negro voting discrimination and information on numbers of Negro with agricultural occupation now registered to vote in Virginia would be appreciated.

Thank you for your help and information.

Sincerely yours,
Stephen Conn
Stephen Conn
Box 778 Colgate Station
Hamilton, New York

VSJ
VEP - file

April 23, 1964

Mr. Danny Mitchell
430 Columbus Avenue
Syracuse 10, New York

Dear Danny:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 10, 1964.

In checking with Mr. Branton's office, I find that he has already complied with your request for materials relative to voter registration in Mississippi and Louisiana, and The New Republic article. However, if you have need for additional material, please let us know.

By all means stop by to see us, when you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Acting Assistant Director

VEJ:nm

Request for info

Rec'd 4-21-64

430 Columbus Avenue
Syracuse 10, New York
April 19, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Acting Assistant Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Gerogia

Dear Vernon:

In a letter of two weeks ago to Mr. Branton I requested some data on voter registration in Mississippi and Louisiana. I have yet to receive this material.

I had requested a copy of the report on which Pat Waters based his article in The New Republic, as well as information concerning VEP's activities in the above mentioned states with particular emphasis on "community mobilization" and the barriers confronting Negroes who become involved in the "struggle." Also, it would be greatly appreciated if actual figures (i.e. numbers attempting and those successful) on voter registering attempts. Originally I had requested copies of field reports, however, this will no longer be necessary.

This material will be used for a thesis that is presently underway at Syracuse University. Your immediately consideration of the above request would be greatly appreciated. Please bill me for any expense encountered.

Again, thanks very much for your help. Give "Mac" my regards when next you see him.

Sincerely,
Danny Mitchell
Danny Mitchell

P.S.
Expect to be in Atlanta sometimes in June — will stop by.

April 28, 1964

Mr. Gerald P. McDoker
c/o Boston College Law School
St. Thomas More Drive
Brighton, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. McDoker:

In reply to your letter of April 10, I am enclosing herein a copy of the First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project which describes the program from its inception up to April 1, 1963. I am also enclosing some statistical information showing registration results through December 31, 1963, and a copy of our most recent newsletter. We estimate that we have registered an additional 70,000 people during the period January 1 through March 31, 1964.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB:bs

Enclosures 3

Requests for Info

WB — April 10, 1964
164 Strathmore Rd.
Brighton, Mass
02135

Dear Mr. Branton -

Upon application to the Civil Rights Commission, I was given your name as the one most likely to possess current information on the drive to obtain Negro enfranchisement.

Could you, at your convenience, supply me with any up to date materials on the extent of the voter registration activity and its recent successes or failures?

Thank you so much for your kind consideration -

Gerald P. McCarker

c/o Boston College Law School
St. Thomas More Drive
Brighton, Massachusetts
02135

Note: May Lee this correspondence for Leon's attention

August 26, 1964

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Debbs:

Leslie Dunbar asked me to reply to your letter to him of July 28, regarding the plans for a continuation of a voter program in South Carolina following the termination of VEP. Les was leaving for a much needed vacation, and I wanted to explore further our own plans for South Carolina before replying to your letter. I subsequently received your letter to me dated August 19, and appreciate your complimentary remarks.

We have every reason to be pleased with the results in South Carolina and with the VEP programs there. This is the only state where we have made direct grants in every single congressional district. Both the organizational structure and the registration results could be described as excellent in the First, Second, and Sixth Congressional Districts. The Fourth District is relatively new but promises to be a good program. The Third District appears to be lacking in leadership in comparison with the other districts, and the Fifth District has done very poorly as a congressional district program, although we have had good results from two or three counties.

I am certain that we will continue direct VEP support through the October 5 registration deadline in all of the districts excepting the Third and Fifth.. I am going to Columbia Thursday night, August 27, to get with the leadership from each of the congressional districts and will probably make some kind of grant to their new statewide program which would tide them

over for the remainder of the year. I would suggest that they freeze their funds from the Presbyterians for use when there are no further VEP funds available.

With kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

Erwin H. Miller
2617 Yale Station
New Haven,
Conn.

Gentlemen

Please send me statistics on Negro voter registration in the South; I have your statistical summaries through April 1964, but would appreciate it if you would send me any more recent information that you have.

Thank you very much.

Erwin H. Miller

JS Please send latest statistics
WB
Sent 1/5/65

TELEPHONE REQUEST

1/8/65

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Library
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Requested copy of our final report at end of project, and infor mation concerning figures on Negroes in the following counties: Adams, Humphreys, Issaquena, Leflore, Pike, Tate, Washington, all in Mississippi.

Sent the Congressional Quarterly statistics.

js

January 12, 1965

Miss Judy Turtz
Douglass College
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Dear Miss Turtz:

Mr. Branton received your letter and asked me to forward to you all information in our files pertinent to your questions.

Enclosed are two tally sheets showing a county-by-county vote for president in Alabama, and a county and district vote for congressmen.

I think two articles in the Congressional Quarterly, no. 46, November 13, 1964, p. 2674, and no. 40, October 2, 1964, p. 2325, would be very helpful in your research.

If we can be of further service to you, feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Joe L. Tucker
Field Representative

JLT:js
Encls.

Request for Info

12/30/64

DEC 31 19[illegible] Air Mail Spec.

Dear Mr. Branton,

I am a member of the Rutgers-Douglass chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. and I have been told by our New York office that you will probaly be able to supply me with the information of which I am in desperate need. It concerns the election figures of November, 1964 in the state of Alabama and is as follows: a county-by-county breakdown of the results of the Presidential and House races; the registration figures of Negroes and whites in each county; and any other information which might have influenced the election in the counties such as past voting attendance and results and the economic situations of the voters.

If you have any of the above information, I would sincerely appreciate your sending it to me. As time is of great importance to me, if you can mail it special delivery I will be glad to cover that expense and any other expense it might entail.

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,
Judy Turtz
Box 542
Douglass College
New Brunswick, N. J.

January 25, 1965

Ms. Betsy Levin
Yale Law Journal
401A Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Ms. Levin:

Thank you for your letter of January 22. For your information, I am enclosing a copy of, "Southern Negro Voter Statistics," released by VEP, and a copy of, "What Happened in the South," released by the Southern Regional Council. I hope these publications will prove helpful to you.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Encls.

YALE LAW JOURNAL
401A YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN · CONNECTICUT

1/25/65

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

January 22, 1965

Dear Mr. Branton,

I am writing to you on the suggestion of Mrs. Mary Alice Baldinger (National Civil Liberties Clearing House), and on the suggestion of several people at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. I am currently engaged in research for a Yale Law Journal article on voter registration problems in the South, and was told that you would probably have the most up-to-date statistics on the number of Negroes registered. I would like very much to obtain such statistics, if at all possible, and any other information, reports, and publications that you might have on this subject.

I certainly appreciate any help you may be able to give me.

Sincerely yours,

Betsy Levin

Betsy Levin

JS Please send latest statistics WB

Sent 1/25/65

VIA AIR MAIL

January 26, 1965

Mr. George Guernsey
AFL-CIO COPE
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

I learned after talking with you today, that Mrs. Barbara Patterson is not in the office, but I picked up a copy of SRC's publications index, which is enclosed, and you might determine if there is anything on this list you might want.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encl: Southern Regional Council Publications

Memo · · FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 1/27/65

As per WAB's instructions, 4 copies of "Southern Negro Voter Statistics" sent to Mr. Hempstone at the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 2/8/65

VIA TELEPHONE REQUEST THIS DATE:

Sent to Gene Farinet
NBC
Room 505
New York, New York,

Tel-Circle 7-8300
Area Code 212

"What Happened in the South"

"Negro Voter Statistics"

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 2/9/65

As per WAB's instructions:

20 copies "What Happened in the South"
20 copies "Southern Negro Voter Statistics"

sent to -

George Guernsey
Room 1201
Stephen Austin Hotel
Austin, Texas

VIA Air Mail

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

February 16, 1965

Miss Joyce Barron
666 Main Street
Watertown, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Barron:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 12.

Mrs. Moore is no longer with the Voter Education Project, but I am sure she would be pleased to know that the information she sent proved helpful to you.

The final report which you requested has not yet been written, and it has not been determined as yet what form this report will take, but your name will be put on file for future reference when it is written.

Thank you for writing; if we can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Very truly yours,

Janet Shortt
Secretary

/s

FEB 16 1965

666 Main Street
Watertown, Massachusetts
February 12, 1965

Mrs. Jane B. Moore, Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Moore:

Thank you for your letter of December 2, 1964, and for the material which followed regarding the voter registration programs conducted by the Council.

The information which you so generously mailed to me was extremely helpful in my pursuit in the area of the voter registration. Your programs have done wonders, and you should be commended for same. In the above-mentioned letter, you mentioned a final report to be analyzed early in 1965, and I wonder how I might obtain a copy of this document.

Thank you for all of your assistance which I gratefully appreciate.

Sincerely,

Joyce Barron

Miss Joyce Barron

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 2/18/65

As per your request, enclosed are two copies of our most recent statistical release entitled, "Southern Negro Voter Statistics."

I hope this information will prove helpful to you.

Sent to: (Telephone request)

Ms. Margaret Price
Potomac Inst.
1501 18th St., NW
Washington, D. C. 20036

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

February 16, 1965

Mr. Robert W. Dunn
Executive Secretary
Labor Research Association
80 East 11th Street
Room 634
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Dunn:

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council has asked me to acknowledge receipt of your letter to him of February 4. We are enclosing herein a table of "Southern Negro Voter Statistics" which was released by this office on December 15, 1964, and which you are free to use in your next Table Fact Book.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

W
A
B
/
s
Encl.

Recd 2/8/65

ROBERT W. DUNN
Executive Secretary

Labor Research Association

ROOM 634
80 EAST 11TH STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
182

Telephone:
GRamercy 3-1042

WB ✓ please

Feb. 4, 1965

Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Councils
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

My dear Mr. Dunbar:

We wondered if you had any figures since last year's election covering the percentage of Negro registration in the southern states. Perhaps your Voter Education Project has worked out some figures later than those we saw in the papers last summer which gave the percentages of Negroes of voting age registered state by state.

Whatever you have we would greatly appreciate and give credit when they are used in our next Labor Fact Book.

Sincerely,

Robert W. Dunn

Robert W. Dunn

February 16, 1965

Mr. Marion Cohen
P. O. Box 970
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Dear Mr. Cohen:

Your letter of February 8 to Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Southern Regional Council, is hereby acknowledged, and has been referred to me to reply. The materials which you requested have already been sent to you and should have been received by now.

The Voter Education Project was set up originally to operate for approximately 2½ years, and this period has ended; we are in the terminal stage and will not be sponsoring any additional voter registration projects anywhere.

We have previously supported two separate voter registration projects in the Richmond area, and perhaps you would want to get in touch with some of the persons who where directing those projects regarding your interest in registration programs. I suggest you see one or more of the following persons:

Mr. Donald W. Larcen
Virginia Voter's Registration League
401 Ridge Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. W. S. Thornton
Crusade for Voters
206 East Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Feb. 8, 1965

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

NM - pls send material + turn in money
WB - pls reply
2/10/65
$1.00 Cash
RHA

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

I read your report on the effect of the negro vote on the election and the New South with interest.

Everyone here agrees that increased negro registration gave the state to President Johnson.

In view of the gubernatorial election here next November will your organization be sponsoring any voter registration projects or anything to increase the negro vote in spite of the state poll tax.

If so I would like to help is there anyone in Richmond I could contact.

Since I'm a student and don't think it advisable that my superiors know it would be best if I could contact the person or organization.

Sincerely,
Marian Cohen
P.O. Box 970
Richmond Va. 23219

P.S. In addition please send the following publications:

1) Southern Schools: Before Desegregation and Beyond by Prof. J. Kenneth Morland

2) The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study by Robert Coles M.D.

3) The Southern Regional Council Reports The Changing South

4) Leadership Reports:- L-19, L-27, L-28, L-36

One dollar enclosed in payment

February 16, 1965

Mr. Elton Whaisenhunt
Memphis Press Scimitar
495 Union Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Whaisenhunt:

I enclose herein a photocopy of the last news article regarding the Beckwith case from the Arkansas Gazette, and also a copy of an editorial and my photograph as requested by you.

I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy of any article which is published in connection with your story.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encls.

2/26/65
Orig. correspondence in WAB's possession

WB

February 19, 1965

FEB 23 1965

Mrs. Raymond Hemstreet
2292 Pickett Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Hemstreet:

In accordance with Mr. Wiley Branton's request, I am forwarding you the following samples of voter registration material:

A. Copies of the five (5) different registration applications. Please note that all require the same information but it has been switched around to prevent the prospective voter from memorizing.

B. Copies of the old and new Citizenship Test. I don't know which one is being used in Baton Rouge.

C. Copies of the Affidavit.

D. Copies of "Instructions to Registrars".

Probably you will be able to reproduce this material, if not, contact Mr. Victor Bussie, President, Louisiana AFL-CIO, P. O. Box 58, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and he may be able to assist you.

If I can be of further assistance to you, please don't hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

Yvonne A. Minor, Administrative Secretary
(Mrs.)

cc: Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Atlanta, Georgia

February 16, 1965

Mrs. Raymond Hemstreet
2292 Pickett Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Hemstreet:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, has asked me to reply to your letter to him of February 1, in which you inquire about educational materials aimed at helping Negro applicants to pass the voter registration test in Louisiana.

We do not maintain such materials, but we have given financial assistance to different projects in Louisiana where materials were prepared and distributed. I am sending a copy of this letter to Mrs. Yvonne Minor, Executive Secretary of the Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans, and requesting that she send you a sample of materials which she is using, together with information as to how the same might be obtained. If for any reason you have not heard from Mrs. Minor in a reasonable length of time, then please notify this office, and we will take additional measures to secure the information for you.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
cc: Mrs. Yvonne Minor
1453 No. Clairborn Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Rec'd 2/12/65

WB please reply

Esleeck Stationery Onion Skin 100% COTTON FLUORESCENT

February 1, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I would like to know whether you supply educational material aimed at helping the would-be negro voter to pass the voter registration tests here in Louisiana. I have agreed to try to help a group of negroes pass the tests and thought you might have some pertinent material.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mary Alice Hemstreet

(Mrs. Raymond Hemstreet)

Mrs. Raymond J. Hemstreet
2292 Pickett Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

2/24/65

Telephone request

Miss Isabel Blair
Room 1333
Dept. of Justice
10th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D. C.

Sent Southern Negro Voter Statistics
via Air Mail

March 10, 1965

Mr. Walter L. Littlejohn
Box 1842
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas
D
Dear Mr. Littlejohn:

In reply to your letter of March 4, 1965, I am enclosing the following materials:

1. "Southern Negro Voter Statistics" - These are the latest figures in the South.

2. VEP registration report as corrected 3/10/65 - The only information on this report which would be of value to you now are the figures showing total voting age population, and white and Negro voting age population according to the 1960 Census. You should use the figures shown in Southern Negro Voter Statistics as the latest Negro registration. I have written the latest white registration by hand at the right-hand margin.

You can get literature describing the Negro voting problem from the following organizations:

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People (NAACP)
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Enclosed is a copy of Margaret Price's, "The Negro and the Ballot."

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

W
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s

Box 1842
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas
March 4, 1965

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street, NW - Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am conducting a study of the voting problems of Negroes in the south and I would be more than grateful if you will send to me the following information.

(1) The number of Negroes and White persons of voting age, and (2) the number of Negroes and White persons who are qualified to vote in each of the following states: Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina.

If you know of any other organization from which I may secure literature on the Negro voting problem please send to me the address of the organization.

Very truly yours,

Walter L. Littlejohn

Walter L. Littlejohn

March 10, 1965

Mr. Raymond J. Dolan, Jr.
Post Office Box 781
New London, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Dolan:

This office does not keep figures on Negro voters in the North, as we have confined our activities entirely to the South. I am enclosing a table entitled, "Southern Negro Voter Statistics," which should provide you with some helpful information.

The Voter Education Project has been spending all of its time helping to get people registered during the past three years, and we are now in the process of analyzing the data which we have accumulated, but it will be quite some time before we are ready to release a final report.

An early fall, 1964, issue of Crisis, (the official NAACP magazine) carried some statistics regarding Negro registration throughout the entire country, and a subsequent issue revealed some of the voting trends. You might also check the Congressional Quarterly for the years 1963 and 64 for some statistics on Negro registration.

The White Citizens Council has two addresses in Mississippi. They are: Associated Citizens Councils of Mississippi, 315 Plaza Building, Jackson, Mississippi, and the Associated Citizens Councils of Mississippi, Greenwood. We have no address for the Council in Alabama.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encls.

Post Office Box 781
New London, Connecticut

March 3, 1965

MAR 5 1965

Mr. Wiley Branton,
Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206
#5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am a Junior at the University of Hartford in Connecticut and am currently working on a term paper on the Negro voting trends and the Negro voter registrationboth North and South.

I have been advised by Mr. Matthew Reese, Jr., of the Democratic National Committee to contact you for facts and figures on Negro Voter Registration, city and rural, north and south. Also, I would like the address of the White Citizens Council in Alabama and Mississippi.

Any information you could give me would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Raymond Dolan, Jr.

Raymond J. Dolan, Jr.

RJD:ti

3/15/65

Telephone request:

Herb Kaplow, NBC
Given Southern Negro Voter Statistics
orally.

js

3/16/65

Telephone request for information:

Mr. Jack Clairborne
Night News Service
1290 National Press Bldg.
14th and F Streets,
Wash., D. C.

Sent Air Mail-
"Southern Negro Voter Statistics"

WB

March 17, 1965

Mr. Max P. Peterson
Utah State University
Logan, Utah

Dear Mr. Peterson:

We have your letter addressed to Mr. Branton of the Voter Education Project, requesting information on the role that the negro has played in the presidential elections from 1921 to 1964.

Attached is a list of publications which we feel you will be able to find in your local library which might be helpful to you in your research. We regret that we can not send them to you, but they are single copies in our permanent library. We are also enclosing two of our own publications, The Negro And the Ballot in the South by Margaret Price, and What Happened in the South. Included herein is a sheet reflecting facts and statistics we have gathered, entitled, "Estimated Negro Voter Registration in 11 Southern States in 1956 and 1964;"

The Voter Education Project, headed by Mr. Wiley Branton, one of our Special Projects, was started in 1962. The field work ended in October 1964 and now a comprehensive analysis of its data is being readied for book publication in the future.

We would be able to make a more thorough investigation of any specific place or issue if you wish, but this is the best information we can pass on to you at present.

Yours very truly,

Enc. - 3
Attachment - 1 sheet

Bernice S. Morrison
Research Department

Leg for Info

The Negro and Southern Politics, Hugh D. Price, 1957, by New York University, Library of Congress catalogue card number: 56-12415

Phylon, the Atlanta University Review, Volume XVI, No. 4, specifically, "The Negro in Atlanta Politics," and "The Southern Scene."

The Negro Education Review, P.O. Box 741, Nashville, Tenn., Volume XIV, No. 2, April, 1963, "Negroes in American Politics."

New Republic, Oct. 18, 1948, "The Negro in Politics."

Index to Volumes 1-31, 1932-1962, The Journal of Negro Education, Howard University Press, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

The Journal of Politics, Published by the Southern Political Science Association in Cooperation with the University of Florida, February 1964, Articles on Pages 82, 112, and 130.

3/19/65

Telephone request

Mrs. Sue Seligson
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street
Washington D. C. 20006

2 copies of SNVS by
Air Mail Spec. Del.

3/19/65

Telephone request:

John Herbers - New York Times
calling from Selma, Alabama

Wanted SNVS columns 5, 6, and 8 - info
relayed by phone by js.

WB

LAW OFFICES
HOLLOWELL, WARD, MOORE & ALEXANDER
859½ HUNTER STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

DONALD L. HOLLOWELL
HORACE T. WARD
HOWARD MOORE, JR.
WILLIAM H. ALEXANDER

525-8372

March 24, 1965

MAR 25 1965

Mrs. Janet Shortt
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Shortt:

This note comes to express my sincere thanks to you for the information you forwarded to me on voter registration. It was extremely helpful to me.

Thanks, again.

Sincerely,

Donald L. Hollowell

Donald L. Hollowell

DLH/1

March 16, 1965

Mr. Donald L. Hollowell, Attorney
859½ Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mr. Hollowell:

In response to your telephone request of March 15, I have gathered a list of leaders and workers still active in voter registration in Georgia for you. I was hesitant to put down a few of the names we have on file because there is a possibility some of the individuals are no longer working with registration. However, some of the following names will serve as excellent contact sources, and they can furnish you with any additional information you desire. I am not including Atlanta and the College Park area, as I am sure you are well acquainted with these contacts already.

Mr. Theodore A. Appling
307 East Church Street
Fort Valley, Georgia

Mr. Appling worked with NAACP on one of our projects, and headed the Peach County Political Action Committee on another.

Rev. Ulysses Fullwood
605 Twenty-third Avenue, W.
Cordele, Georgia

Rev. Fullwood worked with SNCC.

Mr. J. M. Atkinson
2711 Albany Street
Brunswick, Georgia

Mr. E. L. Gardner
1495 East Broad Street
Athens, Georgia

Ms. Doris Lundy
211 Trinity Place
Decatur, Georgia

Mr. Donald Jackson
512 Brahm Avenue
Rome, Georgia

All of these are NAACP workers.

Rev. Samuel Wells
321 Merrit Street
Albany, Georgia

Rev. Wells still works in Albany, and all counties surrounding that city. He is with SCLC.

Mr. Roy Shields
229½ S. Jackson Street
Albany, Georgia

Mr. Herman Kitchens
c/o 229½ S. Jackson Street
Albany, Georgia

He works around Moultrie and Colquitt counties. Both Shields and Kitchens are affiliated with SNCC.

These should give you a good start.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Branton

As per WAB's instructions of 3/10/65

March 12, 1965

Mr. Donald L. Hollowell
859½ Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mr. Hollowell:

Mr. Branton has asked me to forward to you the enclosed information on Georgia registration, election returns, and our release entitled, "Southern Negro Voter Statistics." I am also enclosing the most up-to-date figures we have on hand for this state.

If at any time you need any additional information, please don't hesitate to call.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Branton

Encls.

"Southern Negro Voter Statistics" - corrected copy
Georgia registration by county - 1962
Georgia's vote listed by county — photocopy of news clip, Atl. Journ. and Const., 11/15/64
Up-to-date listing of registered voters

March 29, 1965

Mr. Lee R. Baker
P. O. Box 1781
Amarillo, Texas

Dear Mr. Baker:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 23.

In reply to your request, I am enclosing a copy of, "Southern Negro Voter Statistics," released by VEP, and a copy of, "The Negro and the Ballot," released by the Southern Regional Council. Also, for your information, I am including a release by the Council entitled, "What Happened in the South," which you may find interesting.

We are now in the process of compiling all of the data which we have received during the past 2½ years, which will be released as our final report. This report will contain information which would be very helpful to you, but unfortunately, will not be completed in time for your class discussion. If you would like for your name to be put on file for future reference when it is written, we would be glad to do so. For your immediate needs, however, you can write the following organizations for additional information: NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York; CORE, 38 Park Row, New York, New York; SCLC, 334 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia.

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Branton

Encls.

MAR 29 1965

P.O. Box 1781
Amarillo, Texas
March 23, 1965

Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me some literature on Negro Registration and voting in the "Deep South", especially in the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. Information such as, the number of Negroes of voting age, number registered to vote, percentage of those registered who actually exercise their right to vote, what means are used by local communities, counties and state officials to deny the Negro his right to vote would be most helpful. Also, what has been done and what is being done or contemplated by the local, state and Federal Government to permit the Negro to exercise fully his voting rights.

I am a student of government (West Texas State University, Canyon, Texas) and plan to use this information in a class discussion.

Any help you can give me on this matter is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Lee R. Baker

Lee R. Baker

April 2, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

In accordance with your request while visiting our office today, I have enclosed herein a copy of our Second Annual Report, and a copy of our release entitled, "Southern Negro Voter Statistics," which you will find informative.

If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Branton

VIA AIR MAIL

April 13, 1965

Miss Betty Carstens
16216 Bertella Drive
Encino, California

Dear Miss Carstens:

Your letter of April 3 arrived while I was still in Europe, and that accounts for the delay in replying to your request.

I enclose herein a copy of the First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project, which will fully explain the purpose and organization of our project. I am also enclosing a table showing the results of our project during the past 2½ years.

The only relationship which we have with AFL-CIO's COPE is one of cooperation in planning, and in the sharing of information. COPE was in the business of voter registration long before our project was started, and because of our mutual interest in increasing registration, COPE has not conducted programs in areas where VEP was making grants, as it would have only been a duplication of effort, and in like manner, we have refrained from working in areas where COPE either had a program, or in some instances, where we requested that they run a program. We have generally worked with the same local leadership which normally works with COPE.

I hope this information will be of some value to you.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encls: 2

Request for Info.

April 3, 1965

APR 5 1965

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Branton,

Mr. E. T. Kehrer suggested I write to you. I am a graduate student at UCLA doing research on the AFL-CIO's activity in civil rights in the political arena. Mr. Kehrer thought perhaps you could supply me with details of the Voter Education Project and its relationship with the AFL-CIO's COPE and its relationship with the labor movement in the particular community involved. (And of course details about the Project itself)

In as much as the paper is due in two weeks, I would appreciate it if you could send the information off at the earliest possible date.

Sincerely,

Betty Carstens

Betty Carstens

16216 Bertella Dr.
Encino, California

April 22, 1965

Dr. Y. W. Schulte Nordholt
Groot Hoefyzerlaan 32a
Wassenaar, THE NETHERLANDS

Dear Dr. Nordholt:

I am pleased to enclose the latest table on Negro voter registration in the South, as you requested in your letter of April 15. If we can supply additional information, then do not hesitate to let us know.

Thank you for your complimentary remarks about my speech in Amsterdam, and thank you also for your courtesies.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

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Encl.

Wassenaar, April 15, 1965

To Mr Wm Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Str NW
Atlanta, Ga

Dear Mr Branton,

When in Amsterdam you were so kind as to show me some figures of the percentages etc of Negro voters. Could you send me some of these statistics?

Your speech in our meeting was a great success. Many people have told me how they liked it.

Sincerely yours

J W Schulte Nordholt

J. W. Schulte Nordholt
Groot Hoefijzerlaan 32a
Wassenaar

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION

APR 20 1965

To Mr Wm Branton
Voters Education Project
5 Forsyth Str NW
Atlanta, Ga
4

19 APR 1965

From
Dr. J.W. Schulte Nordholt
Groot Hoefijzerlaan 32a
Wassenaar
The Netherlands

April 26, 1965

Mr. Ted Kolderie
The Minneapolis Star
and
The Minneapolis Tribune
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

Dear Ted:

I have no way of knowing what report you last received, but I am sending you the latest thing which we have now in our office regarding Negro voter registration in the South.

Many of the civil rights and local organizations have indicated plans to conduct voter registration programs during the next year, and I am certain that most of them will devote some time to political education. One example showing the need for political education was revealed in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, last November when a Negro who had won the Democratic primary for the House lost in the general election. A study of returns from Negro precincts show that there were enough Negro voters who voted for President Johnson, but failed to follow through and vote in the House election to have made the difference.

At the moment, it does not appear that there will be any coordinated voter registration activity across the South unless there is another VEP program. Such a possibility looks extremely doubtful, but we will wait and see what the voter bill provides and then give some thought to a VEP-type organization.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encl.

THE
MINNEAPOLIS
STAR
Evening

THE
MINNEAPOLIS
TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

Minneapolis, Minnesota
55415

APR 22 1965

20 April

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

As I recall, VEP was to wind up about this time in 1965. If any new figures are in, or any new report is available on the voter-registration work during the past year or so, I'd be much interested to read it.

Can you tell me whether you think there will be any coordinated, continuing effort at voter registration and, perhaps more important now, voter education, from this point on? Who'll run it? And finance it?

Many thanks for the help. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ted Kolderie

April 26, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear David:

I am enclosing a report showing the latest voter registration statistics in the South. We sent you an advance copy back in November, but those figures have been corrected and supplemented since that time, and these are the latest that we have.

It will be quite some time before we will have the final report from VEP, but you may rest assured that we will supply you with copies when it becomes available.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

W
A
B
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s
Encl.

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
YU 6-3481

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
SHELLEY APPLETON
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 1, 1965

Mr. Wiley Branton
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Sometime when you are in New York in the near future, can you drop in for a chat about voter registration, etc.?

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

Michael Jenkins 037

Feb 12, 1965

75¢ 4-53

Office Sec.

Mt Nerve - 38

Feb 12

70¢ Rent

John Roberts 39

Salary - 80¢

Transp. - 50¢

Telephone request 4/29/65

Dick Dougherty
New York Herald Trubine
1750 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Sent SNVS via Air Mail

File: Requests for Info.

May 13, 1965

Miss Meighan G. Johnson
Department of Sociology and
Anthropology
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Miss Johnson:

Your letter of May 10 has been received. Mr. Branton is presently out of the city, so I hope you don't mind my supplying you with the information you requested in his absence.

I am enclosing herein, the following materials:

1. The First Annual Report of the VEP. It covers the period from April 1, 1962 through March 31, 1963. Please note that I have marked for your attention page 27, which deals with the Greenwood project.

2. Photocopies from a portion of our Second Annual report which deals with Mississippi during the period April 1, 1963 through March 31, 1964. I am sorry I could not send you a complete copy of this report, but our supply is just about exhausted.

3. A table entitled, "Southern Negro Voter Statistics."

4. Some statistics from the Congressional Quarterly for the week ending July 5, 1963.

We are in the process of compiling all the material we have collected during our 2½ years of operation for a final report.

FILE: REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

but is is not certain at this date just when this report will be completed. I am sure this report would contain information that would prove helpful to you in your thesis, and if your paper is not due at an early date, perhaps you would like a copy once it is completed. You can let us know if you would like your name put on the waiting list.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has citizenship schools going on presently in Mississippi. Two contacts there are: Mr. James Brown, a field secretary of SCLC, P. O. Box 553, Ittabena, and Miss Sue Taylor, 318 Ash Street, Greenwood. You might also write to COFO (Council of Federated Organizations), 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi. As you probably know, COFO is a combined effort, just as the name indicates, of SNCC, CORE, SCLC and NAACP.

I hope that, from all this, you can compile something which will be useful to you. If we can be of further assistance, just let us know.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Branton

Encls - 4.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of Sociology
and Anthropology

MAY 13 1965

May 10, 1965

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am presently beginning a thesis at the University of Mississippi on voter registration in a number of counties in the State of Mississippi I would appreciate any information you may have on the following items:

1. Studies of Negro voter registration in Mississippi.
2. Studies of this sort that are in process and the name of the agency or major research director.
3. Information relative to Negro voter registration that your organization may have.

Thank you for any aid that you might be able to give me.

Sincerely,

Meighan G. Johnson

(Miss) Meighan G. Johnson
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

May 24, 1965

The Rev. Richard F. Tombaugh
St. Louis Conference on
Religion and Race
409 North Euclid
Saint Louis, Missouri 63108

Dear Rev. Tombaugh:

Thank you for your letter received here May 22, 1965.

In reply to your request for a "fact sheet on voter registration of Negroes in the South," I have enclosed a table entitled, "Southern Negro Voter Statistics," which should give you the information you need.

We are in the process of writing a book on all the data compiled during the past two and a half years, and if you would like to receive a copy once it is completed, please let us know, and you will be placed oncour waiting list.

When Professor Borinski of Tougaloo gave you 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, he gave you our old address. We are now located at 5 Forsyth Street, and have no offices on Auburn Avenue.

I hope the information enclosed will be of some help to you, and if we can be of further assistance, you have but to ask.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

js

Joseph Cardinal Ritter
Archbishop of St. Louis

Rev. Amos Ryce, II
President, Metropolitan Church Federation

Rabbi Julius J. Nodel
President, Rabbinical Association

St. Louis Conference on Religion and Race

409 NORTH EUCLID SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI 63108 FOREST 7-4855

Paul F. Hanlon
Executive Director

Rec'd 5/22/65

send copy of tables

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs,

I have been asked by Mr. Paul Hanlon of the above organization to help compile a fact sheet on voter registration of Negroes in the South, especially in Alabama. One of the groups to whom we have written, CORE Headquarters in New York, referred us to your project. Mr. Gore, their Assistant Director in the Department of Organization, says, "There is a single source for all of the materials which you want," and then gives your address, followed by "If they don't have it, it isn't available."

We also wrote Professor Ernst Borinski of Tougaloo College, Mississippi, and he suggested we write "The Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta." We presume you are one outfit with two addresses.

What we want is the type of fact presented at the Rally in Mongomery. We also hope that as the facts change, we might keep informed of that. So we would like a list of people whose information we can rely on, who will keep us posted from time to time.

There is quite a demand in Saint Louis for information of this type, and people seem to turn to us to give it to them. We are sure you can help, since you are so highly recommended, and so please write to me at the address below. Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely,

Richard F. Tombaugh

The Rev. Richard F. Tombaugh

1643 Forest View Drive
St. Louis, Missouri, 63122

May 20, 1965

April 30, 1964

Mr. Donald F. Sullivan
1827 N.W. 40th Street
Oklahoma City 18, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

It has never been any secret that individuals in the Kennedy Administration strongly supported the idea from the very beginning which led to the Voter Education Project, but it should be emphasized that VEP is not a program of the Kennedy Administration. Louis E. Lomax wrote an article in the May 1962 Issue of Harper's in which he attempted to describe the background of the Voter Education Project. I took sharp issue with the Lomax article and my letter to the Harper's editor appeared in August 1962.

I ~~would~~ did not personally participate in the early discussions regarding the establishment of such a project but I am reliably informed that the only prodding of an organization was with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. The reluctance on the part of some SNCC leaders resulted from an erroneous assumption that participation in the VEP program ~~will~~ would prevent them from engaging in direct action programs.

I am enclosing a copy of the October-November 1963 Issue of New South and the article on page 10 might be of further interest to you.

There has been considerable improvement in terms of the elimination of discrimination on the part of registrars in the South since the release of our First Annual Report and a good measure of the ~~release~~ gains can be attributed to the work of the Justice Department.

Request for one

You might get information as to the evaluation of the effectiveness of the efforts of the Justice Department in brutality cases by writing to some of the following people:

Mr. Robert Moses, Director
Council of Federated Organizations
1708 Everett Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. James Forman, Executive Secretary
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
84 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Regional Director
Southeastern Regional Office
859½ Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Best of luck on your dissertation.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

Enclosure

Memo FROM THE DESK OF ~~PAUL RILLING~~ W.D

Wiley -

I see no reason not to tell him that Administration people ~~two~~ from the beginning encouraged the idea, and said as much on page 10 of the Oct-Nov New South.

So far as I know, the only prodding needed was with SNCC.

Incidentally, didn't you come some of this in your letter to Hayes in reply to Fowin's memo? You might send him a copy

WB

DONALD F. SULLIVAN
1827 N.W. 40TH STREET
OKLAHOMA CITY 18, OKLAHOMA

APR 8 1964

April 5, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am indebted to you for your kind letter of March 19th, enclosing useful materials on your Project.

From more than one source I have been informed that the original initiative for what led to the Voter Education Project can from a group which included officials of the Kennedy Administration. Indeed, it has been reported that the Kennedy Administration had to engage in a certain amount of prodding before the five civil rights organizations which now cooperate with you, decided to back such a project.

How accurate is that report? What was the role of leaders in the Kennedy administration, or of individuals or groups influenced directly by the Kennedy administration?

On page eleven of your first annual report, you indicate some reservations about the Justice Department's having done all it could have done to further litigation concerned with voter registration. Do you have anything more specific and more recent on that? In short, has there been improvement in this situation since that report was written?

Finally, I wonder if you might indicate the names of one or more civil rights leaders to whom I might write, who could give me their evaluations of the effectiveness of the efforts of the Justice Department in prosecuting alleged cases of police brutality.

Thank you so much for your assistance, Mr. Branton. Best wishes for your continued success.

Sincerely,

D. Sullivan

March 19, 1964

Mr. Donald F. Sullivan
1827 N. W. 40th Street
Oklahoma City 18, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

This will acknowledge your letter and request of March 16. I am enclosing a copy of the First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project which should answer most of the questions you have asked. I am also enclosing a copy of a newsletter which we have just released.

The Voter Education Project operates on a budget of approximately $275,000 per year, most of which is paid out in grants to participating organizations to help finance their non-partisan registration programs. We operate with a staff of only six people, as we do not do the actual registration work ourselfes, but observe and somewhat coordinate the registration programs of participating organizations.

Although our second fiscal year ends March 31, we are not likely to put out a Second Annual Report such as we did last year. We recently put out some statistical information as of December 31, 1963, and we are enclosing a copy for your use.

This will be the terminal year of the voter project, and we expect to support actual registration programs in each of the eleven states where we are working up until the deadline for registration for voting in the November general election. This deadline has already passed in Texas, but will go until October in most of the other states. Sometime this fall, we plan to start stydying our research data, and a full report is not likely to be released until the late spring or early summer of 1965.

Requests for Information

I have no comments regarding the Justice Department and the policy regarding brutality cases.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Encls: 4

1. First Annual Report
2. Newsletter
3. Results of VEP Programs
   April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963
4. 1964 VEP Election Information

DONALD F. SULLIVAN
1827 N.W. 40TH STREET
OKLAHOMA CITY 18, OKLAHOMA

MAR 19 1964

March 16, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Following several years in the field of human relations, in 1962 I was granted a leave of absence in order to complete work on a Ph.D. in Government at the University of Oklahoma. My dissertation will focus on the civil rights programs of the Kennedy Administration.

Because of the importance of your Voter Education Project, I would very much appreciate your sending me reports or statements or evaluations which will indicate to me what you have done since the Project was established in March, 1962. How large is your budget? How many are on your staff? In which states are you focusing your operations?

I would be especially grateful for examples of your field work, including examples of the field work of such organizations as the SNCC.

Last month I was in Washington and New York, supplementing my documentary research with interviews with persons in and outside the government. I encountered much criticism of the Department of Justice for not having more effectively prosecuted police brutality cases.

To what extent is this a valid judgement, in your opinion? Can you cite cases or instances in which they have failed to prosecute what appeared to be "air tight" cases?

Inasmuch as this dissertation will focus on the Kennedy Administration, I would value any comments you might make about its effectiveness in the civil rights field.

Thank you so much for giving this your attention, Mr. Branton.

Sincerely,

D. Sullivan

April 30, 1964

Mr. Nathaniel Hendricks
River Road
Putney, Vermont

Dear Mr. Hendricks:

In reply to your letter of April 21 I am enclosing some biographical data which is self-explanatory regarding my participation in the Negro struggle.

I do not feel that positive legal enactment alone can settle the racial situation but it would certainly improve things. I consider the current Civil Rights Bill an extremely essential piece of legislation in the right direction but I would regard it as a bare minimum of legislative necessity at this time.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

Enclosure

Request to find draft

DONALD F. SULLIVAN
1827 N.W. 40TH STREET
OKLAHOMA CITY 18, OKLAHOMA

WB

MAY 7 1964

May 4, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am again most grateful to you, this time for your most helpful letter of April 30th. Thank you so much.

The writing of the dissertation is now proceeding rapidly, and the first draft should be ready early in June.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Donald F. Sullivan

Request for info

April 30, 1964

Mr. Donald F. Sullivan
1827 N.W. 40th Street
Oklahoma City 18, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

It has never been any secret that individuals in the Kennedy Administration strongly supported the idea from the very beginning which led to the Voter Education Project, but it should be emphasized that VEP is not a program of the Kennedy Administration. Louis E. Lomax wrote an article in the May 1962 Issue of Harper's in which he attempted to describe the background of the Voter Education Project. I took sharp issue with the Lomax article and my letter to the Harper's editor appeared in August 1962.

I would not personally participate in the early discussions regarding the establishment of such a project but I am reliably informed that the only prodding of an organization was with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. The reluctance on the part of some SNCC leaders resulted from an erroneous assumption that participation in the VEP program will prevent them from engaging in direct action programs.

I am enclosing a copy of the October-November 1963 Issue of New South and the article on page 10 might be of further interest to you.

There has been considerable improvement in terms of the elimination of discrimination on the part of registrars in the South since the release of our First Annual Report and a good measure of the credit can be attributed to the work of the Justice Department.

You might get information as to the evaluation of the effectiveness of the efforts of the Justice Department in brutality cases by writing to some of the following people:

Mr. Robert Moses, Director
Council of Federated Organizations
1706 Everett Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. James Forman, Executive Secretary
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
94 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Regional Director
Southeastern Regional Office
859½ Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Best of luck on your dissertation.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:ba

Enclosure

May 27, 1964

Mr. David C. Maysles
Maysles Films, Inc.
1697 Broadway at 53rd Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Maysles:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 1, 1964. There are a number of Negro candidates running for public office in many of the southern states. They are as follows:

In Virginia, there is a Negro attorney, S. W. Tucker, running for Congress from the Fourth Congressional District. That primary is being held July 14.

In South Carolina, there are a number of candidates, seventeen in all, running for election. Fourteen of these are in Columbia (Richland County). Ten are running for the House of Representatives, and four for the school board; Donald Sampson of Greenville County is running for the House, and James E. Sulton has announced his candidacy for the House in Orangeburg County; Leroy Brown of Beaufort County is expected to have little difficulty in being re-elected to a third term as County Commissioner. The primary date in South Carolina is June 9.

The primary date in Mississippi is June 2. Four Negroes have officially qualified to run for congressional nominations. They are: Rev. John Erle Cameron, Hattiesburg, for Congress from the Fourth Congressional District; Mrs. Victoria Gray, Hattiesburg, U. S. Senate, running against Senator John Stennis; James M. Houston, Vicksburg, for Congress, Third Congressional District, and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Ruleville, candidate for Congress, Second Congressional District.

Request for Info

In Tennessee, the deadline for filing for candidacies is June 8, and while we know of no one who has announced forppublic office at this time, there will probably be one or more individuals who will announce their intention to run prior to the primary deadline August 6. There will be candidates announcing primarily in the urban areas, such as Memphis and Nashville.

In Georgia, where the deadline date is presently September 9, there are a number of dandidates. State senator Leroy Johnson is campaigning for his second term in office; Horace Ward, Attorney, is opposing the white incumbent for a senatorial seat from Fulton County; Donald Hollowell, Attorney, also of Atlanta, is opposing the incumbent Judge of Superior Court Durwood Pye.

All the other southern states that we have omitted have already held their primaries.

We hope this information is what you are seeking. If we can be of further assistance to you, please feel free to call upon us.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

BW Please reply.

Maysles Films, Inc.
1697 BROADWAY, AT 53RD STREET, NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK • JU 2-6050

May 1, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia

MAY 4 1964

Dear Mr. Branton,

We are very interested in making a film about an interesting Negro candidate in a primary election. If we could find an interesting candidate to film, we would film him or her a few days before and the day of the primary. We would do the film for Granada TV in London, England.

Kindly forward to us as soon as possible any data you might have about the candidates, dates and locations of the primaries.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

David C. Maysles

DCM:jl

David C. Maysles

June 26, 1964

Mr. George Longworth
Department of Political Science
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Longworth:

I am enclosing information from our files on voter registration in South Carolina. I hope this information will be helpful to you.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Encls: 5

Reg. for info

July 2, 1964

Mr. Eli Zaretsky
708 Avenue N
Greenwood, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Zaretsky:

Mr. Branton requested that I forward the enclosed information to you. I regret we have no maps to send you.

I hope that the information will be helpful to you.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Encl: 1

Requests for Info

July 2, 19[illegible]

SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT - MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY	Total White Pop.	Total N-W Pop.	White VAP	N-W VAP	White Reg.	N-W Reg.
Benton	4,114	3,609	2,514	1,419	-	136*
Bolivar	17,521	36,943	10,031	15,939	4,603	612
Carroll	4,677	6,500	2,969	2,704	2,720	3
Coahoma	14,630	31,582	8,708	14,604	-	11960*
De Soto	9,248	14,643	5,338	6,246	3,551	1
Grenada	9,352	9,057	5,792	4,323	-	61
Holmes	9,595	19,501	4,773	8,757	3,497	41
Humphreys	5,758	13,335	3,344	5,561	2,465	2
Issaquena	1,176	2,400	640	1,081	-	134*
Lafayette	14,1100	7,245	8,074	13,289	7,168	258
Leflore	16,699	30,443	10,2744	13,563	3,409	90
Marshall	7,268	17,239	443822	7,168	3,964	11
Montgomery	17,968	5,971	447000	2,629	5,000	2
Panola	12,565	16,226	7,639	7,280	621	0
Quitman	7,715	13,304	4,176	5,673	-	316*
Sharkey	3,247	7,491	1,882	3,152	1,522	3
Sunflower	14,730	31,020	8,765	13,524	4,500	114
Tallahatchie	8,580	15,501	5,099	6,483	4,334	5
Tate	7,696	10,442	4,506	4,326	3,134	0
Tippah	12,337	2,756	7,513	1,281	-	176*
Tunica	3,505	13,321	2,011	5,822	1,441	22
Union	15,592	3,312	9,512	-	-	6*
Washington	35,239	43,399	19,837	20,619	-	2,563*
Yalobusha	6,962	5,540	4,572	2,441	3,086	4
TOTAL	247,661	360,780	147,031	159,432	55,015	6,520

The figures in the first four columns reflect 1960 Census information.

W VAP - White voting age population
NWVAP - Non-white voting age population

Registration figures (except those marked with * were obtained from the 1963 Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and are 1962 registration figures.

* 1960 registration obtained from 1961 Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Prepared by: Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker, Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

js

WB-
BW

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

~~5 Raymond Street, N.W.~~
~~Atlanta 14, Georgia~~

JUN 29 1964

688-0331

708 Ave. N
Greenwood, Mississippi

Dear Wiley:

I am working here in Greenwood with Dick Frey directly under Stokeley Carmichael. Stokeley is having Greenwood coordinate the whole second congressional district. He asked that you send me, as soon as possible, all relevant information: maps for the second congressional district, figures on numbers of whites and negroes registered in each county of the second, population figures similarly broken down and the large county maps for each county in the second. Send the stuff to me here in Greenwood. Send anything else, anything at all, that you think might be useful.

Thanks a lot,

Yours truly,
Eli Zaretsky
Eli Zaretsky

BW
Please reply
WB

"One Man, One Vote"

WB

July 29, 1964

Mr. Orzell Billingsley, Jr.
1630 4th Avenue N.
Suite 510-512
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Orzell:

Here is the unpledged electors complaint. My apologies for the delay.

Very truly yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Acting Assistant Director

VEJJr:js

Encl.

Requests for Info
Green

VJ.
Please take care of this

ORZELL BILLINGSLEY, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1630 4TH AVENUE N.
SUITE 510 - 512
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA
TELEPHONES FA 4-7691 & FA 4-7692

July 27, 1964

JUL 28 1964

Wiley A. Branton, Esquire
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

I would like to know whether or not you were able to obtain a copy of the complaint involving unpledged electors. If so, I would appreciate it very much if you would forward it to me immediately. We are preparing to file a suit in the State of Alabama challenging the constitutionality of unpledged electors.

Very truly yours,

Orzell, w

Orzell Billingsley, Jr.

OBJr./w

INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

Please pay the sum of: FIVE AND 50/100 DOLLARS

($5.50)

TO: E. G. Nash
(Name)

Clerk, U. S. District Court, Northern District of Georgia
Old Post Office Building
(Address)

Atlanta, Georgia
(City and state)

Reason for payment: For complaint seeking to enjoin the use of unpledged electors in Georgia.

If departmental or special budget, specify: VEP

Payment is general operations, VEP project, expense.

Date 7/29/ 19 64

Requested by: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Acting Assistant Director

Approved: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

AO Form No. 82-Revised
Form approved by
Comp. Gen., U. S.
December 2, 1952

ORIGINAL

RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE

NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE CLERK

RECEIVED FROM Voter Education Project

DOC. NO. Civil 7490

Place Atlanta

Division

DATE 7/28/1964

CASE OR PROCEEDING

ACCOUNT	AMOUNT		ACCOUNT	AMOUNT	
Clerk's Filing Fee			Registry Cash Bail		
Bankruptcy Filing Fee			Tender		
Referee's Sal. and Exp. Fund					
			Restitution		
Miscel. Earnings Admission of Attorney			Other Moneys Civil Judgment		
Copy-~~Compare~~ Photo	5	50			
Certificate			Costs		
Passport			Fine		
			Naturalization Decl'n Pet'n No.		

Total ► $5.50

Cash ☐ Check ☒ MONEY ORDER ☐

DEPUTY CLERK Sam Godsey

58081

PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER COMPANY, U. S. A.

LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.
1 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

JS
Put name on mailing list for future release.
WS

August 19, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

On August 3 the New York Times carried an article concerning the Southern Regional Council's voter registration program.

We would like, if available, the following information:

1. List of 11 Southern states referred to in article.

2. Total number of Negro registrants in 1960 and the total to date for each state.

3. Total number of white registrants in 1960 and the total to date for each state.

Since time is of the utmost importance, a collect call would be acceptable. Our number is CI 5-7414.

Also, we would appreciate being put on your mailing list. We will be polling in these states and need current information.

Very truly yours,

Eugene Rachlis

Eugene Rachlis

ER/dr

Given on phone 8/21/64
File. Requests for info

August 19, 1964

The Hon. Phillip Burton
Room 1622
New House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 17. Thank you for your kind remarks.

I am enclosing the information on voter registration in compliance with your request. If I can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encls.

Request for Info

PHILLIP BURTON
5TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
ROOM 1622
NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

DISTRICT OFFICE:
FEDERAL BUILDING
450 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

STAFF:
JOSIAH BEEMAN V
FRANK J. KIELIGER
DORIS R. THOMAS

FIELD REPRESENTATIVES AND DISTRICT OFFICE STAFF:
LIM P. LEE
N. J. "NICK" MARTINEZ
SUSAN KENNEDY

August 17, 1964

AUG 19 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Your excellent report on Negro voting in the South has recently come to my attention. I wish to congratulate you on your fine efforts.

I would greatly appreciate it if you could provide me with three copies of your most recent report on Negroes registered to vote in the South. I would also appreciate information as to what other reports your Voter Education Project may have compiled on this same general subject of Negro voting.

Keep up the fine work you are doing.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,

Phillip Burton

PHILLIP BURTON
Member of Congress

PB:nm

August 20, 1964

Mr. John Hendrey
New York Times
Sunday Department, 8th Floor
229 W. 43rd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Hendry:

I'm sending you the voter registration materials under separate cover. All of this material, except for the VEP Registration Report (mimeographed on legal sized paper) is taken from the files of the Southern Regional Council. Their source materials, in addition to whatever official reports they can get from state registration offices, include newspapers and magazines. Therefore, it would be best to quote these figures as approximations, even though in most cases they are extremely accurate.

I hope I have been helpful. Please don't hesitate to contact us again if you have any more questions.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

August 20, 1964

Request for info

August 25, 1964

Mr. Joe R. Feagin
Boston Study Project
Joint Center for Urban Studies
66 Church Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Feagin:

A complete analysis of Negro voter registration for all congressional districts in the United States can be found in the Congressional Quarterly Census Analysis: Congressional Districts of the United States, Part 1. You may buy a copy for $5.00 from the Congressional Quarterly Service, 1735 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 2006.

I would send you copies of the states you want except our copying machine is out of order and I'm sure you can get the magazine before our new machine arrives. I hope I have been helpful to you. If you have any further questions, please don't hesitate to ask.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

Requests for

JOINT CENTER FOR URBAN STUDIES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY AND HARVARD UNIVERSITY

66 Church Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts • UNiversity 4-8060

AUG 6 1964

August 5, 1964

Dear Sir:

Ark
La
Fla
Ga
Ky.
off reports

I understand from Jim Teeter of SRS that you may have figures on the number of Negro voters registered in each Congressional district for Southern (Old Confederacy) and Border (Okla., Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland) States. Since I am doing research on the demographic characteristics of Southern and Border congressional districts, I am very desirous of getting this information.

Any help will be appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Joe R. Feagin
Boston Study Project
Joint Center

Request for Info

Correct on original

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul L. Puryear
Director
Department of Social Science Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

Dear Mr. Puryear:

We do not have complete voter registration statistics by county. However, we do have fairly detailed records by states for 1947, 1952, 1956, 1960 and 1963-64 which I am sending under separate cover.

For four southern states (Alabama, Florida, Louisiana and Virginia) official figures by race and county are obtainable by writing election officials. As our copying machine is on the blink and it may take some time before we can make readable copies, I will enclose the addresses so that you can write immediately. When our new machine arrives, I will send you copies of our records. In Tennessee, although the state does not keep these records in a central location, they can be gotten by writing each county election commission.

I hope I have been helpful to you. I am sorry we are not in a position to send you copies of our materials from Alabama, Florida, Louisiana and Virginia immediately. If you have any further questions, please don't hesitate to ask.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

Request for Info

Where to write to get official voter registration data by race and county

Arkansas -- To get poll tax receipts by race and county, write the state auditor

Florida -- Mrs. Dorothy W. Glisson
Director, Election Division
Secretary of State
Tallahassee

Louisiana -- Wade P. Martin, Jr.
Secretary of State
P. O. Box 4125
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Virginia -- Levin Hock Davis, Secretary
State Board of Electors
Room 30
State Capitol
Richmond 19

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA, 36088

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

AUG 24 1964

August 20, 1964

The Director
Voter Education Project
c/o Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I wonder if you could supply me with Negro registration statistics by state and county for the Southern region. If you have these statistics for several proceeding years in addition to the current year, it would be good to have these for comparative purposes.

Your assistance in this regard will be of inestimable value in completing a research project currently under way in our department.

Sincerely yours,

Paul L. Puryear

Paul L. Puryear
Director, Dept. of Social
Science Research

PLP/f

August 26, 1964

Mrs. Elnora Braford
Route 2, Box 107
Holly Grove, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Braford:

This office is in receipt of a letter from your son, Mr. Anderson Lark, of Los Angeles, in which he enclosed your letter to him of July 1 regarding some denial of your right to vote or to pay your poll tax.

I cannot tell from your letter just what the problem is, and we have never heard of any case in Arkansas where a sheriff refused to accept anybody's poll tax. I will undertake to explain to you what the present law is in Arkansas.

In order for one to vote in any and all elections in Arkansas, he must be a resident of the state for at least one year and of the county for six months and of the precinct for 30 days, and must pay a $1.00 poll tax on or before October 1 of each year. The payment of the poll tax will entitle the person to vote in all elections coming between October 2 of the year in which the tax is paid and October 1 of the following year. Therefore, if you did not pay a poll tax before October 1 of last year, then you could not vote in the Democratic Primary which was held last month, but if you pay a $1.00 poll tax before October 1 of this year, then you will be permitted to vote in the November 3 General Election for President, governor, and other state and local officials.

The 24th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States now provides that a person may vote in any federal election without the requirement of a poll tax. Arkansas will issue

Request for info

a free poll tax receipt during a 20-day period in September, but this will only enable you to vote for President, as there will be no contested federal elections in your county this year. I strongly urge everyone to pay the $1.00 poll tax so that they can vote in all elections, as you should be just as interested in voting for your local officials such as sheriff, judge, governor and other officials as you are in voting for the President.

If you need further information, then please feel free to get in touch with us. I think that the June 30 deadline which you referred to was the deadline to get a free poll tax receipt for voting in the July primary, but you still could not have voted for any local or state officials.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

cc: Mr. Anderson Lark

WB

JUL 20 1964

4208½ So. Bdwy.
Los Angeles 37, Calif.
July 15, 1964

Atty. Wiley A. Branton
% Voter Education Project of
Southern Regional Conference
Dear sir:

I'm writing in regard to my mother , who lives in Holly Grove,, Ark. Asking if you would kindly get in contact with her and see why she is not allowed to vote. I'M sending you a letter that was sent me , which may help you understand just what she is trying to explain. Any charge in this matter please refer them to me . My Name Anderson Lark 4208½ So Bdyy
Los Angeles 37, Calif.

My Mother's name Elnora Braford Route 2 Box 107 Holly Grove, Ark.
Your early attention to this matter will eb highly appreciated by me.

Sincerely yours,
Anderson Lark

Holly Grove Ark
July 1 1964

Mr. A Lark dear San just a few lines to let you here from me well I doing as well hope you and your family are fine Every body here so far as I no are doing fine Well I still keep up with the news the best I can like I did when I was up this now here is my Point. I have been Cheated out of My rights to vote and so ~~my~~ Many More when I were they listed to the news look in President Johnson Mouth when he said no body Could say he Would be to Poor to vote becouse they Would not how to Buy and I Paid my tax in the Spring they Wouldn sell me and said they Would Work out something here. What they Work out Put the dead line June 30th Every body Buy Pale tax. I just heard the neighbors talking about it so I sent for one. So strict Wouldn no and have and for me. I haven heard in the News Where the Pres. Changl have you? I want to know is just over all state if so. I Write and tell the Pre When I here from you

Mather - love to all

Attorney
Wiley Branton
Little Rock
Arkansas

August 26, 1964

Mr. Francis Pickens Miller
2810 P Street, N. W.
Washington 7, D. C.

Dear Mr. Miller:

Dr. Leslie Dunbar left to go on vacation shortly after receipt of your letter to him of July 30, and he requested that I answer your letter regarding our Virginia registration plans. We have been in the process of considering some new programs in Virginia and I wanted to wait until I knew our decision before replying.

I am pleased to inform you that we are approving a substantial grant this week to the Crusade for Voters in Richmond for a registration program which will cover the entire Third Congressional District. This program will make use of a team of organizers who had planned to work in the Eighth Congressional District until that program fizzled out. We recently made a grant to CORE for work in the Tenth Congressional District under the direction of Mr. John Robinson.

We are also making a grant this week to the Lynchburg Voters League, and we expect to make a grant to the Virginia State Conference NAACP for work in the Fourth Congressional District and such cities as Charlottesville, Roanoke, Danville, Fredericksburg, and South Boston.

VEP has been conducting programs for the past several months in Petersburg, Suffolk, Newport News, and Norfolk and these programs will continue through the October 3 registration

deadline, as well as a new program in Portsmouth.

We appreciate your interest in the Voter Education Project and we welcome any suggestions or comments which you might have.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

Note: Lib has correspondence relating to this. See memo. WB

To be filed after attachments are made in request for Info file

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

289 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, NEW YORK (10010) • GR 5-2121

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John R. Washington, *Racial and Cultural Relations*
Herman F. Reissig, *International Relations*
L. Alexander Harper, *Regional Secretary*
Mrs. William A. Gordon, *U.N. Representative*

August 27, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter-Registration Project
Southern Regional Council - Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 11th commenting on the draft of our action guide and voter-registration. I was very grateful for your helpful comments. We will make the changes you suggested in relation to saying it is a non-partisan program endorsed by both political parties, rather than "sponsored" by - I think this is more accurate and far better.

I have shared your letter with Garry Oniki in relation to the fact that you feel it is too difficult and long for people to use in local churches and civil rights groups. We both feel that it is for the purpose of directing focuse toward those who want to do something and are committed enough to really want some concrete help. We are, however, revising the material somewhat in relation to....well, I think somewhat that we will help in this point - we are moving some of the material to the appendix which will make it available, but not make it seem so wordy and lengthy in the thing.

We are going to include a list of films, and of course, RIGHT NOW, which was sponsored by the Board for Homeland Ministries and our Committee on Racial Justice Now, will be included.

I have secured a list of 7 or 8 voter-registration films from Mrs. Septima Clark of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which will be used. Mrs. Clark has given us some helpful suggestions in relation to the guide and hopes they will be able to use it with their supervisors through the South.

We appreciate your thoughtful assistance.

Sincerely yours,

R. Elizabeth Johns

R. Elizabeth Johns

REJ:eva

✓ I - fyi
WB - file

August 11, 1964

Ms. Elizabeth Johns
United Church of Christ
Council for Christian Social Action
289 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Ms. Johns:

I am returning to you herewith the draft for an Action Guide on voter registration which you sent to Leslie Dunbar in June. I plead guilty to being responsible for this delay, as he bucked it over to me for my comments, and I simply did not get around to it until this week. Mr. Dunbar has gone on vacation now, and I told him that I would reply to your letter.

The Action Guide is a very interesting document, but I would consider it much too long for use in the average church. I am not familiar with the use to which you expect such a guide to be put, but unless you are dealing with people who will take the time to read something this lengthy, it would be better to condense the material for use in the average local church. If it will be sent to carefully selected individuals who will have the responsibility for getting programs started in several different churches, or in an unusually large church, then it would be quite effective for this use.

On page 4, you state that the Voter Education Project "is a non-partisan program sponsored by both the Republican and Democratic parties." The word sponsored should be changed to "endorsed." This draft was written prior to the passage of the civil rights bill, and I am certain you intend to bring it up-to-date now that the bill has passed.

Request for info

I am enclosing a copy of our Second Annual Report of the Voter Education Project, which will tell you something of the manner in which we operate, and names of the principal agencies working with us. You may note the names of the organizations, and you are free to describe the method in which we operate, or use any of the statistics in Table III.

One additional voter registration aid which you might list in your bibliography is a film entitled, "Right Now!" which was produced by the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, and which was co-sponsored by VEP and other agencies. It is available on a loan basis from VEP.

If we can be of any further help, then please let us know.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Encls: 2

Wiley -

There doesn't seem to
be much sense to my
writing your comments to
I haven't read the
manuscript myself so
how about writing the
lady. All your points
seem good to me

R

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

W. A. BRANTON

DATE 8/6/64

TO: LESLIE W. DUNBAR

I have read the attached Action Guide for Voter Registration which has been prepared by Elizabeth Johns. It is very interesting but I think much too long for use in the avreage Church. It is the kind of thing which could be best used by some chairman who will have responsibility for getting programs started in several different churches, unless you are dealing with people who don't mind a lot of reading. There is good material in the Guide which could be condensed for local church use.

The word "endorsed" should be exchanged xxxx used on page 4 in lieu of the word "sponsored".

I would suggest that we send Mrs. Johns our latest registration figures. Her draft was written prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Bill and should therefore be up-dated.

She requested the names of organizations working with VEP and I suggest that we send her a copy of our Second Annual Report and tell her that she may quote the names of the organizations and the method of VEP operation with these groups.

add: Educational Film?

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

289 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, NEW YORK (10010) • GR 5-2121

July 24, 1964

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International Relations
L. Alexander Harper
Regional Secretary
Mrs. William A. Gordon
U.N. Representative

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. (Rm. 201)
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

will promise to read this today & get to you this comments.
LWM

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You may recall that I wrote you some weeks ago asking your criticism of a first draft of an action guide we are preparing on voter registration. In working on it with Mrs. Septima Clark of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference the other day, we felt it would improve the document to be able to give statistics concerning the total Negro population of voting age in the eleven southern states and the number of Negroes registered to vote. I have looked for this information in the report of the Civil Rights Commission. There seems to be a breakdown of Negroes registered to vote only for eight of the eleven states. Would it be possible for you to give us this information with the break down by states?

You may recall that I also indicated in the document that the Southern Regional Council is serving as a coordinator of Civil Rights groups working on voter registration. I would like to include also a listing of the half dozen or so groups for whom you people are serving as coordinator in allocation of funds, etc. Would you please give me an accurate listing of these groups?

I appreciate your cooperation and help on these matters and would be happy to have any suggestions you would like to make for improving the first draft, since I will be revising the document in the next few days. I was pleased that your organization ordered copies of our first action guide on employment. I hope you will want to use this one on voter registration when it is completed.

With every good wish in the significant work you are doing,

Sincerely Yours,

Elizabeth Johns (h)
Elizabeth Johns

EJ:jm

WB - advice?
LD

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Racial and Cultural Relations
Herman F. Reissig
International Relations
L. Alexander Harper
Regional Secretary
Mrs. William A. Gordon
U.N. Representative

June 10, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are doing a series of Action Guides on various aspects of the racial crisis as part of our Racial Justice Now program. The enclosed manuscript is a first draft of the guide on voter registration. We would greatly appreciate your frank appraisal and critical reaction on this so we can make it of maximum usefulness to our church social action groups -- and others who may want to use it.

It will, of course, have a bibliography including reference to a new film on voter registration being produced by the United Church of Christ. If you can recommend additional audiovisuals on this subject we would welcome your suggestions. There will also be a list of organizations at the end.

If you know of special pictures, line drawings, quotations, charts, etc. that we could use to illustrate it and break up the copy, please share them or tell us where to get them. We will appreciate your cooperation in reading this material and I'll look forward to hearing from you soon. This guide is needed and I do want to get something out this summer.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Johns

Elizabeth Johns

P.S. Could you send us a list of the organizations cooperating with the SRC, or a piece of printed material that lists them? Thank you.

August 31, 1964

Mrs. Connie Garcia
Washington Urban League
Voter Education Project
59 G Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Garcia:

John Due has asked me to answer your letter.

Although we have a great deal of information from various voter education projects, I'm afraid most of it isn't in a form that would be helpful to you.

The Voter Education Project is still in the process of alloting grants for further work and will not even begin to write a report until after the election.

I'm sorry we can't help you. I am sending you copies of our annual report which might be of some use.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

Requests for drafts

WASHINTON URBAN LEAGUE
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
59 G Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C.

WAB
JBM
JDD

August 26, 1964

Mr. John D. Due Jr.
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John,

Although I am very interested in how you are making out with your assignment, I must confess that I am writing this letter out of selfish intent.

As you probably know, my husband, Frank, has been transferred to the Washington D.C. branch of his company, therefore, I am now working with the Washington D.C. Urban League. I began work today and have been assigned to the National Urban League Voter Education Project.

The aim of this project is to help local Urban Leagues in the following cities: Detroit, Miami, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Newark, Baltimore, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Atlanta and Memphis establish voter registration drives in the Negro communities. As you know, a wealth of information and pragmatic guidelines are needed for projects of this kind. Therefore, Mr. Due, I have turned to you as a possible source for help in this area.

I would appreciate it greatly if you would forward to me as much available information you have on hand (or in your mind) which relates to establishing, coordinating and follow-up work on such drives together with statistical information within each city which you are acquainted, on white and non-white registered and non-registered voters, mthods of finding non-registered voters, methods of attracting non-registered voters to register and vote etc. I hope that I am not inconviencing you too much by asking for such information.

JBM
Reply?

If you are in D.C. please visit with us we are at 1629 Columbia Rd., NW and let me know if I may be of service to you.

Looking forward to your reply, regards and best wishes

Connie Garcia
Connie Garcia
NAIRO Intern

Encls: Second Annual Report
News Release

September 2, 1964

Mr. Jack Clairborne
1290 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Clairborne:

Enclosed you will find the information requested by telephone this morning. I hope it will prove helpful to you.

I am sorry, but a current list of our programs is not available at the moment.

Very truly yours,

Janet Shortt
Office Secretary

Encls.

Requests for Info

September 16, 1964

Miss Olga Bendyna
ABC News
777 West 66 Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Bendyna:

I am sending you the material you asked for under separate cover. As our copying machine isn't working, I have enclosed only one copy each of the figures on onion-skin paper. This is material I gathered from the Southern Regional Council files which we have not mimeographed. As is explained on the tables, these files contain both official and news media reports, therefore it would be best to quote these statistics as approximate. Whenever the machine is repaired, I will send two extra copies.

done 9/17/64

The Southern Regional Council research staff seems to feel the University of North Carolina, where Prothro and Matthews work, is the center for most studies of Negro registration and voting.

We would appreciate it very much if you will let us know when your proposed documentary will be seen so that we can watch it.

I hope I have been helpful. If you have any questions or comments, please don't hesitate to get in touch.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

September 17, 1964

Mr. Joe R. Feagin
Boston Study Project
Joint Center for Urban Studies
66 Church Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Feagin:

As you can see from the enclosed Xerox copy, I answered your letter on August 25th. I cannot understand why you didn't receive it.

In the original letter I mentioned that our copying machine wasn't working. We are still not able to make copies for you since we would have to cut the pages out of the magazine to run them through the machine. I'm afraid my best suggestion is still that you buy a copy of Congressional Quarterly.

I am also sending you our figures for Negro voter registration in the eleven Southern states, the only ones we work in. These won't help you much though, as they're for the whole states, rather than the congressional districts.

I'm sorry to be of so little help to you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

enclosures

JOINT CENTER FOR URBAN STUDIES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY AND HARVARD UNIVERSITY

66 Church Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts • UNiversity 4-8060

Sept. 12, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir

Some time back I dropped a line to SRC about figures on the number of Negroes registered in each Congressional district, particularly in the Southern and Border states, but my secretary seems to have no record of a reply. Hence, this letter. Would you have any such figures on registration? We are currently engaged in an ecological study of Southern districts and have written several NAACP offices and SERS, with no success.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Feagin
(Feagin)

September 23, 1964

Ms. Elizabeth Drew
Congressional Quarterly
1735 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Ms. Drew:

I enclose herein a copy of the statement, "The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Aims," and the January, 1964 issue of "New South," both of which you should find very helpful in explaining the Southern Regional Council.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Encls: 2

Request for Info

October 1, 1964

Miss Joan Kerns
ITS-F
Room 105
United States Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Kerns:

Under separate cover, I'm sending you materials about Negro voter registration. The package should include an August news release, a table of Negro registration for 1947, 1952 and 1956, 1960 Negro voter registration figures, a VEP registration report, and our latest estimate. If, through some oversight one has been left out, I will be glad to send it on.

Please send us a copy of your story for our files.

I hope I have been helpful.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

Request for information

October 16, 1964

Mr. Eric D. Blanchard
Public Information Officer
Committee on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Blanchard:

I'm mailing, under separate cover, the materials you asked for. I think most of the tables are self-explanatory, but if you have any questions, please don't hesitate to get in touch.

I hope I've been of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

Requests for Info

October 19, 1964

Mrs. Grace Hamilton
582 University Place, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

Mr. Branton has asked me to send you these preliminary figures of registrants added to voting lists in Georgia counties since 1962 through Voter Education Project sponsored programs.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assitant

Requests to Info

October 29, 1964

Mr. James Forman
SNCC
8½ Raymond St., NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Jim:

I enclose herein a copy of the original prospectus which SNCC submitted to VEP, and which was requested by your office.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Brantmn

WAB:js

Encl: 1

Office of the
Secretary of State
State of Florida
Tallahassee
32304

TOM ADAMS
SECRETARY OF STATE

NOV 1 1964

JM
WB

October 30, 1964

Mrs. Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant
Five Forsyth Street, Northwest
Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Moore:

Your letter of October 27 has been received.

Our office has not compiled the information showing the registered voters broken down by race. The list which we forwarded to you is the only compilation we have made at this time.

If we can be of further service in any way, please do not hesitate to accord us the privilege.

Sincerely,

TOM ADAMS
Secretary of State

By Dorothy W. Glisson
(Mrs.) Dorothy W. Glisson
Director, Election Division

DG/jm

JMC

Secretary of State

CORPORATION DIVISION
J. V. CARR, DEPUTY
HARRY L. KELLEY, DEPUTY

SECURITIES DIVISION
BEN HAWKINS, DEPUTY

Mississippi

NOV 3 1964

FLEETWOOD 5-9361
EXTS. 266 & 267

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
POST OFFICE BOX 136

Heber Ladner
November 2, 1964

Mrs. Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Moore:

We are unable to comply with your request of October 30, as there is no central agency that would have an official list of the registered voters of Mississippi. The circuit clerk of each county is the registrar of voters, and it is unlawful to list the voters by race.

Very truly yours,

Heber Ladner

Heber Ladner
Secretary of State

JVC:las

November 13, 1964

Mr. Paul Duke
National Broadcasting Company
4001 Nebraska Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Duke:

I am sending, under separate cover, the news release you asked for. I'm also enclosing copies of several newspaper clippings that discuss the importance of the Negro vote.

Our information at the Voter Education Project comes from newspapers and informants throughout the South. We file all information received and until the final project report is written will make no other special analyses of the materials. Therefore, as I am sure you understand, when you ask for information about the Negro vote in the general election, it is impossible to give a short answer to such a general unspecific question. If you can let me know any cities or counties in particular that you are interested in, I will be glad to send you whatever specific information we have such as the precincts which are predominantly Negro, the vote by precinct, etc..

I hope I have explained myself thoroughly. If you have any further questions or comments, please don't hesitate to write.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane B. Moore
Research Assistant

November 23, 1964

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Guernsey:

Mr. Branton has asked me to send you 40 copies of Southern Regional Council's news release entitled, "What Happened in the South?" These copies are being sent to you under separate cover.

I am also including 40 copies of, "Southern Negro Voter Statistics," which was prepared by VEP. Please note that under column 7, the figures for Florida and Georgia should be reversed.

Very truly yours,

Janet Shortt
Secretary

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
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JS Re: "What Happened in the South"
Please reply —
Make sure we send
Corrections.

November 17, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Rm 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Thanks very much for coming to the Advanced Southern Labor School. I thought you made a real contribution.

Could you send me 40 copies of the release that you used as the basis for your presentation? I would like to mail it to all the delegates and staff present at the school.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GG:cme
oeiu #2 afl-cio

November 23, 1964

Mr. Alan Otten
News Bureau
The Wall Street Journal
1015 14th Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Otten:

Mr. Branton has asked me to send you our most recent material released on the election situation, as you requested.

Our latest releases are, "What Happened in the South?" and "Southern Negro Voter Statistics." As you can note, the first mentioned release was through Southern Regional Council, and the latter, through VEP. There is a correction on the statistical release in column 7, where the figures should be reversed for Florida and Georgia.

We do not maintain a mailing list, as such, but we will keep you in mind in the future when we release material we think will be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

Janet Shortt
Secretary

Encls.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC., PUBLISHERS
1015 14th Street, N.W. - Washington 5, D. C.

November 19, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

I would very much like to be placed on the mailing list of the Southern Regional Council, for your news releases and reports, particularly those dealing with the southern political situation. Too, if it is not too much trouble, would you send me now anything that you have issued in recent months on the 1964 election situation in the south.

Many thanks -

Alan Otten

Alan Otten
News Bureau

December 2, 1964

Miss Joyce Barron
666 Main Street
Watertown, Massachusetts 02172

Dear Miss Barron:

I'm sending you, under separate cover, some of our general materials.

We have a great deal of specific information, mostly newspaper clippings and correspondance with voter registration workers thoughout the South. However, at the present moment it is filed away and will not be analyzed until the final Voter Education Project report is written sometime in the early part of 1965. I am sending you copies of onw or two clips to show what I mean. If you wouldlike specific information, such as ward and precinct division, election returns, information about Negro candidates, etc. about any particular places I will be glad to send them to you. I t is necessary though that you restrict your request to specific cities and/or counties in the eleven Southern states.

I hope I have been helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane B. Moore
Research Assistant

The margins on the original are much better. I retyped the carbons because I inserted them backwards before.

JBM ✓
Please send such material as we have: Negro voters in South, Negro the Ballot, VEP statistics, etc
WS

NOV 30 1964

666 Main Street
Watertown, Massachusetts 02172
November 27, 1964

Southern Regional Council
Voting Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am a student at Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, and am engaged in researching the Negro voting behavior in the South. As part of this, I am interested in both the voting education and registration programs.

I have been advised that you would be in position to assist in my study. Therefore, I would greatly appreciate any information you have available, particularly describing the work in this area and the problems involved therein.

I am eagerly awaiting your reply which I hope will be at the earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Joyce Barron

Miss Joyce Barron

December 3, 1964

Miss Jeanne Maurer
1800 Washtenaw
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Miss Maurer:

I am mailing you, under separate cover, some materials that should help you with your term paper. In addition to the Project's general materials Mr. Branton suggested that we send you information about Memphis, Tennessee. I hope this will satisfy your need for information from a specific city. If for some reason the materials we send are inadequate, I would suggest that you read the Memphis Commercial Appeal for November 4th and 5th.

As it is impossible to mail special delivery materials collect I used regular postage on your package. I certainly hope it arrives in time.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane B. Moore
Research Assistant

JMV (answ.)

DEC 2 1964

November 30, 1964

Dear Sirs:

I am a student at the University of Michigan, and am working on a paper for a Political Science course. I very desperately need some atatistical information concerning the voting procedures that were carried on in the South in our recent 1964 Presidential election. I wrote to the Commission on Civil Rights seeking this data and information and they referred me to you.

I would appreciate any and all information that you could send me caoncerning the problems and effects of Negree's voting in a specific city in the South. I need statistics concerning one area, and imagine that you would know more thann I, which particular city was of greatest interest. More specifically, it would be most useful to know the problems the Negro faced in his attempts to register and vote, and the effects that the Negro vote hade on the election returns - how they voted on certain issues etc..

I would appreciate the most rapid answer possible as the paper is due soon. I was delayed in going to the wrong sources for my information. I can't thank you enough for any material that you might have for me!! Thank you for your trouble

Sincerely,

Jeanne Maurer

Jeanne Maurer
1800 Washtenaw
Ann Arbor, Michigan

P.S. If you could send your answer Special Delivery, I will pay for it here. It's most important to me.

December 10, 1964

Miss Judith C. Nusbaum
CORE Southern Office
Research Program
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Miss Nusbaum:

Mr. Branton has asked me to send you information about voting in Alabama. Under separate cover I'm sending you the current registration statistics (other than contacting each county registrar there is no way to get official registration figures by race), our current information about voting laws, and clippings about recent voting suits. I have also included some general materials, such as the advertisement urging Negroes in Birmingham to register that includes sections of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which protect them, that show the climate surrounding voter registration activities.

If you are interested in documentation of reprisals following voter registration activities, contact the Reverend C. Herbert Oliver, Executive Secretary, The Inter-Citizens Committee, Box 1443, Birmingham. He has an extensive collection of affidavits from the whole state.

I hope I have been helpful. If you have further questions, please don't hesitate to write.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane B. Moore
Research Assistant

Reg. for grp

DEC 4 1964

CORE Southern Office
Research Program
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

December 1, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton, Executive Director
Voters Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am anxious to obtain information about voting in Alabama, and Mr. Richard Haley of this office suggested that I write to you. I would like registration statistics, a copy of the registration forms, information about election laws in Alabama, and any information you can send about the Negro voting situation in that state.

Any information and assistance you can give concerning the above matters will be most helpful.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Judith C. Nusbaum

(Miss) Judith C. Nusbaum

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

WS
JM

DEC 10 1964

8 December 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Mrs. Jane B. Moore
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton and Mrs. Moore:

Thank you both for sending me the materials on Negro Voting. It will be very helpful to me in outlining the background and context of my own research.

Sincerely,

William R. Keech

William R. Keech

December 1, 1964

Mr. William R. Keech
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Keech:

I'm sending you, under separate cover, some of our materials, along with the Southern Regional Council publications list.

Our materials on Durham, North Carolina are rather scanty. Our most recent files contain newspaper clippings. We also have a copy of a report of The Voter Registration Drive whixh was prepared by the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. I'm sure they will gladly give you a copy of this report, if you don't already have it. I'm afraid that none of our materials will be new to you. However, if you are interested, I'll be glad to send you copies.

I hope I have answered your questions.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane B. Moore
Research Assistant

November 25, 1964

Mr. William R. Keech
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Keech:

This is to let you know that Mr. Branton has referred your latest letter to me. I am gathering the materials you asked about and will send them to you after the Thanksgiving holidays.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane B. Moore
Research Assistant

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

JM
Please reply
WB

NOV 23 1964

20 November 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Proj ect
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for your letter in response to my inquiry about seeing you in Atlanta. My concern was with gaining information collected by the Southern Regional Council about the cities I would be studying in my dissertation about the Negro vote as a political resource. As my research has progressed in Durham, N.C., I have decided that there is enough of interest to be deal with in that city to make it unlikely that I will have time to consider other cities. Consequently my plans to visit Atlanta have changed. In any case, thank you for your willingness to see me. As I said to Dr. Dunbar in Durham last week, I hope to have some information that will be of interest to you within a year on the achievements and limitations of the Negro vote in Durham.

I do have one request that I hope will not inconvenience you. Would you mind having a copy of a list of Southern Regional Council publications sent to me, as well as a description of any data you may have on Durham and Durham County, N.C.? Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

William R. Keech

William R. Keech

October 20, 1964

Mr. William R. Keech
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Keech:

I will be pleased to see you at any time that you find it convenient to come to Atlanta when I am in the city. I note that you would find it most convenient to come in on a Thursday.

My schedule is rather hectic for the next three weeks, and I do not know just what Thursday I will be in Atlanta, and would therefore suggest that you make it November 18 or 19, but would appreciate your letting me know as early as possible when you will be in. There is a possibility that I can see you on Thursday of this week, or possibly on the 29th of October, but I would not know about the 29th date until a day or so before. In such case, you would have to phone me.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

11 October 1964

OCT 13 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for your letter of June 29 about my research project on the effects of Negro voting. Please excuse my showness in replying. At this point I have learned a great deal more about the nature of this research problem, and my line of attack has changed somewhat.

I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to discuss my topic with you, and to take you up on your offer to share with me pertinent information that you might have available. If I have any information that might be of value to the Voter Education Project, I will be more than happy to share it. Would it be feasible for me to drive down to Atlanta and visit you in the next few weeks? It would be most convenient for me to leave here on a Wednesday afternoon and see you on Thursday. Would such a plan suit you?

Sincerely,

William R. Keech

William R. Keech

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 12/11/64

Prof. David Olson
Dept. of Government
University of Texas
Austin 6, Texas

Sent the following materials, as per Sam Cook's instructions:

"What Happened in the South?"
"Southern Negro Voter Statistics."
First and Second Annual Reports.

Note: correspondence re David Olson in Misc. file.

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 12/11/64

Telephone request for materials:

WB

"What Happened in the South?"
"Southern Negro Voter Statistics."

Sent to:

Ms. Edith Gilson
American Broadcasting Company
Election Unit
7 West 66th Street
New York 23, New York

##

~~Leave this for filing.~~

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

Memo FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 12/16/64

As per WAB's instructions:

30 copies of "What Happened in the South" with 12/15/64 release of "Southern Negro Voter Statistics".attached, sent to

Mr. Philip Weightman
COPE AFL-CIO
815 16th St., NW
Washington, D. C.

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

December 16, 1964

Mr. Harvey Burg
253 West 101st Street
New Yorkk New York 10025

Dear Mr. Burg:

Your letter of December 9 is acknowledged. To my knowledge, there is no digest of Alabama constitutional-statutory or case law pertaining to voting rights, etc. I would suggest that you write to Mr. Burke Marshall at the Justice Department to see if they are familiar with any such digest. Most of the litigation involving voting rights in recent years has been handled by the Justice Department.

The Voter Education Project has conducted several registration and/or voter education programs in Alabama during the past 2½ years, and we have several ppogress and field reports from which meaningful data may be gathered. Unfortunately, we only have one copy of each of these reports, and it is not yet analyzed to the extent that anything can be furnished you immediately. We have just terminated our financial support program, and will spend the next two or three months analyzing the data, after which we will write our final report on the entire project. If there is some specific information which you would want, and which we could gather with a minimum of difficulty, then we would try and get it for you. No official statistics are released, and we have to rely on various sources to get our registration data.

I honestly do not think much of the utility of drawing up a digest as suggested by you, for the reason that it appears that the Justice Department is best equipped to handle any litigation regarding voting rights in Alabama, and that such a digest would find very little use outside the Justice Department. I don't think you would find enough case law involving political organizations and participation in the membership activities to form the subject matter of a digest. I think very highly of the idea

of the development of a pamphlet (based on conclusions of legal research, rather than a digest, as such) which would be a practical guide to participation in political activity in both parties. We have not yet done anything along this line, and it is possible that such materials may be developed after we write our final report.

We do not have any manuals from political organizations, and I would suggest that you write to Atty. Orzell Billingsley, who is quite active with Negro Democratic affairs in Alabama. His address is: 1630 Fourth Avenue, North, Birmingham, Alabama.

I am enclosing a copy of the latest "Southern Negro Voter Statistics" which you might find of interest.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
encl.

Rec'd 12/12/64

WB

253 West 101st Street
New York, New York 10025
December 9, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Chuck Morgan suggested I write to you in the aftermath of a conversation we had last month.

I am a second-year student at Columbia Law School, and a member of the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council. Last summer I worked for Attorney Oscar Adams of Birmingham, Alabama, on civil rights cases in the Birmingham-Tuscaloosa areas.

I would be grateful for your help on the following matters, by answering these questions:

1. Have any digests of Alabama constitutional-statutory law and case law pertaining to voting rights, political organization and participation in the membership activities of existing political parties been worked up? If so, may I see a copy? Or, can you direct me to a copy?

2. What materials exist regarding statistics, problems, and objectives of voter registration and education in Alabama? May I have copies of what has been released by your group?

3. What is your view as to the utility of:
   A. Drawing up a digest as noted above in #1. (Checking with other sources so far has failed to reveal the existence of such a digest).
   B. Developing a pamphlet-based on the conclusions of the digest research, and additional materials such as party organization manuals and whatever else you are aware of as existing - which would be a practical, <u>explicit</u> guide to participation in political activities (within the existing major parties; or outside them, if necessary) on local and state levels by all Alabama citizens? Two questions regarding this pamphlet immediately arise: Has your group, or another, already

done something along this line? If so, how far does the effort go? Also, if you think developing this guide would be valuable, I'd appreciate any suggestions, and data, which you might consider relevant. Oh yes, do you have Alabama Democratic or Republican party organization and participation manuals? If so, may I peruse them?

Thank you for your kind attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Harvey Burg

December 16, 1964

Mr. Loren Miller
647 Micheltorena Street
Los Angeles, California 90026

Dear Loren:

I seem to have forgotten the final disposition of the cases reported in Moore v. Dempsey following the remand. Dr. Robert Leflar wrote an article entitled, "Moore v. Dempsey Revisited" which first appeared, as best I recall, in the Illinois Law Review about 1950 or 51, and was repeated in the Arkansas Law Review about 1951 or 52. I think this article will give you some valuable background information.

My late grandparents were very active in supporting the defenses of those persons charged following the Elaine riot, and they told me that the final disposition of those who had formerly been sentenced to death went something like this:

> The Arkansas penitentiary, at that time, was located in Little Rock, and executions were carried out there. The convicted Negro defendants were held at the penitentiary during the long legal proceedings on appeal, and the state requested that Phillips County reimburse the penitentiary for keeping the men. When the county did not pay, the defendents were sent to Helena but the ~~city~~ refused to accept them, and when they were returned to the penitentiary, the latter refused to take them back, and they were left standing outside the prison gates and deserted by the guards. One by one they walked off, and no further effort was ever made to prosecute this final bunch, and no one, to my knowledge, was ever executed.

cmo

I know some people in Arkansas who were involved in some way or another with these cases, and if the law review article does not give you what you want, then I would be pleased to write

some letters to secure additional information for you. One person who might be able to give some information is Judge John E. Miller, United States District Judge, Fort Smith, Arkansas. I understand he was involved in Moore v. Dempsey in some way, but this was long before he became a federal judge and I do not know what side he was on, but you might want to drop him a note.

We have no information as to the number of registered Negro voters in Phillips County, Arkansas, in 1920. I would suggest that you write to the county clerk of Phillips County at Helena, Arkansas, or to the Hon. Jimmy Jones, State Auditor, State Capitol, Little Rock, Arkansas.

If I can be of any further help, then by all means let me know. With kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

PS I think Judge Miller was the state prosecuting attorney at the trial.

LOREN MILLER
647 MICHELTORENA STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90026

December 8, 1964

Wiley Branton
No. 5 Forthsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

I am doing some reserach and I need some information which you may have.

1. What was the final disposition of the cases reported in Moore v. Dempsey decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1923--the so-called Elaine Riot Cases.

What I am particularly anxious to find out is what Arkansas did after the reversal in the Moore case and after the case was returned to the United States District Court with directions to inquire into the allegations of the petition for writ of habeas corpus. It is my recollection that the cases were finally disposed of by some sort of plea, but it is necessary that I have accurate information.

2. I am also very desirous of finding out the number of Negroes who were registered to vote at Phillips County, Arkansas, in 1920.

I enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope for your reply. With many thanks for whatever information you can give me, I am

Sincerely,

Loren

Loren Miller

LM:mt

December 18, 1964

Mr. W. C. Patton
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Patton:

We do not have the names and addresses of the persons who worked in the recent Arkansas poll tax campaign, but I am certain that you can get them from Mr. Ozell Sutton who served as our director. I am, by copy hereof, requesting Mr. Sutton to please send you such information as would be helpful in planning your registration program for March, 1965.

I saw a brief article in the Birmingham World where you were ill, and I trust that you have fully recovered.

With every good wish to you and your family for a happy holiday season, I am

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
cc: Mr. Ozell Sutton
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

Please direct reply to:
W. C. Patton, Associate Director
Registration & Voting
234 Hernando Street
Memphis 5, Tennessee
525-6057
527-8264

Rec'd 12/16/64

December 14, 1964

Wiley Branton, Esquire
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Room 506
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am in the process of beginning to map a registration program for Arkansas, beginning in March 1965.

Will you please furnish me with a list of the persons and their addresses who worked in the recent poll tax campaign, along with others you may know who would be interested?

With kindest regards, I remain

Yours truly,

W. C. Patton

W. C. Patton

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Official Organ: The Crisis

December 28, 1964

Mr. James A. Reid
Research Assistant
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Reid:

Unfortunately, we suffer the same difficulty as you in trying to secure registration figures by race in many of the counties in the South. We are now in the process of attempting to gather figures pertaining to the number of qualified voters by race who were qualified to vote in the November general election, but it will be a few weeks before the returns will be in.

I suppose you know that official figures by race may be obtained from state officials in Louisiana, Florida, and Virginia, though at last report we had not been able to get the racial breakdown for Virginia. Arkansas and Texas have had no registration requirement other than payment of a poll tax. Arkansas has released figures by race every two years, and the 1962 figures can be obtained by writing the state auditor at Little Rock, but he does not have a 1964 racial breakdown. Arkansas voters adopted a constitutional amendment last month abolishing the poll tax for voting in any election, and setting up a somewhat permanent registration system for the first time.

We will retain your letter in our files so that we can send you such information as we may gather in our current survey as soon as it becomes available.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

WB

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

December 14, 1964

DEC 17 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Branton:

We are conducting a research project which involves the most recent voter registration figures by race for each county in all of the southern states. Inasmuch as we are unable to secure these data by race from a large number of the Board of Registrars, it was suggested that we seek your assistance in obtaining this information.

We learned that your organization has conducted a wide and vital Voter Education Project; a detail copy of your findings on this project, along with the information aforementioned will be of great value to us in completing our research project.

Your immediate attention to this matter will be very greatly appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

James A. Reid

James A. Reid, Research Assistant

JAR:nah

December 28, 1964

The Rev. Andrew Young
SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Andy:

I am enclosing a card which we received from Professor Patricia Barrett requesting information regarding teaching materials for citizenship training for newly registered voters. Since VEP maintains no such materials, would you please send her samples of materials used at your Dorchester center, and information pertaining to other programs which I am certain you would know about.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encl.

cc: Prof. Patricia Barrett
Maryville College
13550 Conway Road
St. Louis, Mo. 63141

December 29, 1964

Mr. George Mason Miller
708 Cascade Road
Mooresville, North Carolina 28115

Dear Mr. Miller:

North Carolina is one of the states where we experienced difficulty in getting reliable registration data by race for each county. Our best research reveals a total registration in North Carolina for the year 1960 of 1,819,869, with white registration being 1,647,703, and Negro registration 172,166.

The 1961 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report Volume I - Voting, shows a county-by-county breakdown for North Carolina and shows a total registration of 1,861,430, and a non-white registration of 210,450.

The Voter Education Project has conducted several registration programs in North Carolina, and we estimate the total registration in that state as of November 1, 1964, to be 2,200,000, with a Negro registration of 258,000. I am enclosing a table showing the latest Negro registration statistics in the South.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encl: Southern Negro Voter Statistics

Requests for Info

708 Cascade Road
Mooresville, North Carolina
December 23, 1964

The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Would you please send the latest information that you have on Negro registration in the sate of North Carolina from 1960 to the present before Jan 14th. Would you send this soon as possible.

My address is:

George Mason Miller

708 Cascade Road

Mooresville, North Carolina 28115

Yours sincerely,

George Mason Miller

George Mason Miller

3/30/62

A Tentative Prospectus for a Research Conference on Voting Behavior in the South.

Date: May 1 and May 2
Place: SRC Offices

Invited	Participants: Yes	Participants: No	Waiting for Reply
Dr. Vivian Henderson - Fisk			X
Dr. Dan Thompson - Dillard	X		
Dr. Robett Steamer - Louisiana State	X		
Dr. Hansley Spraggins - Virginia Union			X
Dr. Donald Matthews - Univ. of N.C.	X		
Dr. James Prothro - Univ. of N.C.	X		
Dr. Charles Gomillion - Tuskegee	X		
Mr. Harry Halloway - Univ. of Texas	X		
Mr. Beamman - Cemus Bureau, Washington		X	
Dr. William Havard - Louisiana State		X	
Dr. J. E. Pierce - Alabama State	X		
Dr. Donald Strong - Univ. of Tenn. (pro tem)	X		
Dr. Kenneth Vines - Tulane	X		
DR. B. BRAZEAL - MOREHOUSE	X		
DR. TILLMON COTHRAN (AU)	X		
	Leslie Dunbar		
	Wiley Branton		
	George Barrett		
	James Moss		

Research

GB

Objectives of Research Conference on Voting Behavior in the South.

1. Draft a census of recent research in the areas of Negro voter characteristics, registration and participation in the southern region.

2. Locate and identify reliable, documented sources of background data on the Negro voter in the South.

3/ Isolate and evaluate available materials on formal and informal restrictive and restraining influences upon the Negro registrant and voter.

* 4. Assessment of relationships between Negro voting behavior and other socio-economic aspects of Negro life.

* 5. Review available data on state action with regard to Negro suffrage:

   a. Statistical breakdown of past and present Negro registration and voting within the state.

   b. Influence of population shifts upon the size of both potential and active Negro voters - rural vs. urban, age, education, etc.

* c. Methods used, and social and cultural factors serving to limit and restrict Negro registration and voting.

* d. Individual and organizational strategies most successful in extending Negro suffrage.

* e. A state-by-state evaluation of Negro voting activities covering the two-year period of the project.

6. Discuss the feasibility of projecting future Negro voting behavior from the findings of the two-year project.

7. Discuss the areas in which the project can yield new information on voter characteristics, organization or participation.

Some questions bearing directly on the Voter Education Project:

* - Demographically and politically is there any evidence to support an assumption that effective voter registration and/or participation is a function of a particular type of organizational approach or strategy?

* - What are the minimum research controls necessary to assure uniformity in reporting and a sound evaluation of the project at its completion?

* - What constitutes a sound and feasible publication program for the project?

*Les suggests unstructured discussions perhaps around these points.

Research

MEMORANDUM April 11, 1962

To: WBranton
JMoss

From: LWDunbar

I had meant to get you two together this week to discuss the advisory meeting on voting research. Even after I get back to the office on Monday (I hope) I'll probably not have time to talk: from the 19th on, I'll be in the office only a few hours.

My thoughts will, therefore, have to be in this form. Will you two please get together and settle the plans? As I understand it, Jim needs soon to send to the conferees an agenda.

Here are my suggestions; please don't regard them as more than that.

I might preside at the start, and we might begin by having Wiley describe VEP and say also as much as he feels proper at the time about decisions reached so far and programs under way or definitely planned.

Jim could next explain to them the twin research aims:

(1) to study in more detail the factors inhibiting southern voting

(2) to evaluate effectiveness of organization and field methods employed to increase registration

(If firm by that time, Jim could also describe Ira Kaye's South Carolina project.)

The discussion might then rewolve around such points as the following:

(1) Do they have any hypotheses they think should be examined on either of the two aims?

(2) What research now going on should we get next to? (A good place for Matthews or Prothro to describe what they are doing. Also, anyone else who is at work on something now.)

(3) Do they see ways we can be mutually helpful? (e.g., would they like to assign a student or students to working with or watching a program, who would do something for us in exchange?)

(4) Are there likely to be data produced by our program in which they would be interested and would like to have reported to them?

(5) What advice do they have for us regarding VEP's data collecting methods?

I think the conference should be run loosely enough so that we can talk up and down any by-ways which open.

As to the amenities, I think we would find it easiest to leave everyone on their own for lodging, breakfast, and dinner. Lunch we can provide in the office. Peggy says we can all come to the house after dinner for drinks, if that would be a good idea.

January 25, 1963

Miss Janet Feagans
North Columbia Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Jan:

Thanks so much for the reprints of the Matthews and Prothro articles. I hope to read them over this week end and Jack Minnis will incorporate them into his voluminous files on Monday.

Jack was happy to get them and asked me to thank you for him, too.

We all send regards and wish you success in your studies.

Sincerely,

Jean Levine

4 - Research General

file genres

Reprinted from **The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,**
Philadelphia, Vol. 344 (November, 1962), pp. 108–121
Printed in U. S. A.

SOUTHERN RACIAL ATTITUDES: CONFLICT, AWARENESS, AND POLITICAL CHANGE

By Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro

4- Research Stan

file gen Res.

RECRUITMENT FOR SURVEY RESEARCH ON RACE PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTH

BY MORRIS AXELROD, DONALD R. MATTHEWS, JAMES W. PROTHRO

Offprint from THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY
Volume 26, Summer 1962

4/- Research Gen.

Memo from: Subscription Headquarters

540 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago 11, Illinois

MAY 27 1963

May 22, 1963

We find a number of copies to the March, 1937 issue of FORTUNE is still available and we'll be glad to send one of them to you.

The price is $5.00. Just return your letter with confirming instructions along with your check, and the order will be promptly billed.

LAURA MORGAN

LM:FHi

file Gen. Research

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

May 7, 1963

Fortune Magazine
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

MAY 15 1963

Dear Sirs:

I am very much interested in obtaining a copy of your magazine dated March, 1937, Volume 15, Number 3.

If it is possible for me to receive a copy, and there is a charge for the publication, please invoice me.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis

Jack Minnis
Director or Research

JM:js

May 7, 1963

Fortune Magazine
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

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Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director or Research

JM:js

November 22, 1963

MEMORANDUM

Re: THE ASSASSINATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

Wiley, Jean, and I were eating at Herren's restaurant at about 10 minutes past 2. As we were walking up the stairs, I was talking to Jean, and was aware of something being said over the public-speaking system, but I could not catch the words. Wiley stopped, a look of disbelief crossed his face, and he said, "Did he say the President was shot?" We went on up the stairs, and glancing into the main dining room of Herren's, I noticed no particular excitement evident among the diners. Two men walked up to the cashier's counter, and Wiley asked them if he had heard correctly that the President had been shot. One of them said yes, that is what had been said, and that the President had been wounded seriously.

My first reaction was one of anger. It was, I believe, a mixed anger. It was difficult for one during the Kennedy years, who stayed pretty close to public affairs, not to have a personal reaction to Kennedy. One found him either attractive or unattractive in a personal way. (At 3 o'clock, just about 2 hours after Kennedy was shot, I am looking across the street into the offices of the Journal-Constitution, and there is an enormous amount of activity - persons running into the doors off the street and buying newspapers. This is the first public reaction I have seen here in Atlanta to the news). One whose politics were liberal or to the left of liberal could, I think, find Kennedy personally attractive while deploring the inadequacy of the President's politics and programs. So, I would suppose that there was some personal content in my feeling of anger upon learning of his assassination. However, I believe that the great proportion of this anger derived from disgust and chagrin at the seeming inability of the President and of those around him, to understand the political implication of what has transpired in the country during the past few years. I remarked to Wiley as we were leaving Herren's, that this is what happens to persons who play with fire without ever understanding what they are playing with.

It has seemed to me for some time that the reaction against Kennedy's really rather lukewarm civil rights program has been inseparable from the quite irrational reaction of business interests against his policies. It is rather clear that there is a significant coincidence between opposition to civil rights and opposition to Kennedy, even among those groups who do not express themselves in terms of civil rights. What I am trying to get at here is that this presidential assassination has fundamental political implications which have not, I think, been present in any previous presidential assassination. I

suspect this assassination is a culmination of what can only be described as an incipient facism, which has been growing and concentrating in American politics, probably at least since World War II.

I talked with Dr. Vivian Henderson at North Carolina College just a few moments ago, and he told me that the TODAY show on NBC featured the Chief of Police of Dallas. He said the chief expressed on that program great concern for the safety of the President, and that the chief had said that the people in the United States apparently do not realize the nature of the opposition to Kennedy in Dallas. Henderson concurred that this was a political assassination in a much more fundamental sense than have been the previous ones. By this, I mean that there is a strong,well-financed, and relatively well-organized sector of American politics which is in the same political camp with whoever fired the shot. And, whatever the identity of the actual assassin may be, the politics of the shooting simply cannot be marked off as coming from a lunatic fringe.

I have the feeling that the political inconvenience and discomfort that would have been involved in putting a stop to the shootings, and bombings, and general brutalities to Negroes during the past few years (I do not imply here that these things have happened only during the past few years, but that I think it would have been politically possible to put a stop to them during the past few years) blinded Kennedy to the fundamental political implications of failing to suppress this element of American politics; and by supervision, of course, I do not mean that police action alone could have sufficed. The basic political misunderstanding, I believe, has been the failure to recognize the things that were necessary to be done. To be very brief, I regard Reston's* column of a month or so ago, in which he described the radical things that administration people were saying in private, and contrasted them to the orthodox and servative things they were saying in public, to have been a harbinger of the assassination.

I don't believe that this assassination can be separated from the civil rights movement, and certainly its implications for the success for the civil rights movement cannot be exaggerated. As inadequate as Kennedy's program was, and as inadequate as was his implementation of that program, it was probably better than anything we will see in the near future.

* New York Times

Johnson will be president for the next year, and one must seriously doubt that this time whether the Democrats will be able to elect a president next year. This more than likely means that Nixon will be president. On the other hand, it may very greatly strengthen Goldwater's hand, and produce an erosion of the middle-ground which will corrupt American politics and make for years of turmoil and repression ahead.

It is appropriate to remember at this time that Herbert Lee's assassin still sits in the Mississippi legislature; that the murderers of Emmitt Till and Matt Parker are still at large; that the two men that attempted to assassinate Moses, Travis, and Blackwell, are being tried on assault charges next Tuesday; that the murderers of the six children in Alabama are still at large; that William Moore's murderer is still at large; that Medgar Evers' murderer has never been tried, that Ross Barnett of Mississippi has never been brought to justice for criminal contempt; that Barnett's co-partner in criminal contempt, Paul Johnson, has just been elected governor of Mississippi.

It was convenient to regard all these things as aberrations of American politics, and by so regarding them, Americans have been able to avoid the difficult decisions they would have had to make about what needed to be done, if they had objectively interpreted the political implications of all these things.

At 3:30 this afternoon, the radio has been recounting reactions to the assassination from Washington and from all over the world. They are typified by Sen. Morse's calling upon the American people to pray for the president, and for the country. I have as yet heard no comment which indicated that the assassination has shaken any of the public figures into a realistic appraisal of what the assassination means politically.

Maybe I'm all wet.

We noticed in the office as we listened to the radio reports on the assassination this afternoon that there was a sharp contrast on the one hand, between the inanity of what was being said by pundits and politicians, and on the other, the down-to-earth and fundamentally sound things being said by people who were interviewed by the various media on the street. Typical comments: One woman said that it was, of course, a great tragedy, but that now maybe we could get back to constitutional government; a man said it showed that when Goldwater says there is no threat from the radical right, he merely indicates he doesn't know what he's talking about; another man said the assassination indicates there is a need for martial law all over the South, just like reconstruction. This same man mentioned Eastland and his

political cohorts as being the responsible parties.

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

ADDENDUM:

We have now learned that the President's body was actually removed from the hospital at 5 minutes past 2. Thus, apparently, all of the announcements about his condition, and about the blood transfusion he was reported to have received and so forth, were cover-ups for the fact that he was dead at the time the announcements were being made.

12-19-63

WAB:

Barbara Patterson brought these latest registration figures over today, and wanted to specifically point out that in the report we had, all of the voting age population figures were incorrect. These, as they appear on this tabulation, are correct.

File Research — General green

js

12/18/63

BW

LATEST REGISTRATION FIGURES			VOTING AGE POPULATION (1960 Census)	
STATE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE
Alabama	81,872 (VEP)	860,073 ('60 Birmingham News)	482,838	1,349,072
	84,368 (AP,12/63)	930,000 (AP)		
	95,000 (estimate, 12/63 Montgomery Advertiser)			
Arkansas	75,016 (VEP)	517,897 ('59, State Auditor)	192,775	848,589
	75,000 (AP)	558,665 (AP)		
Florida	213,128 (Official,10/63)	1,899,433 (Official)	469,940	2,612,955
	191,663 (NAACP,11/63)			
	218,000 (AP)	1,701,801 (AP)		
Georgia	192,075 (VEP)	1,402,000 (AP)	617,096	1,802,147
Louisiana	160,533 (Official,11/63)	1,022,143 (Official)	514,220	1,287,259
	153,655 (Official,10/63)	971,959 (Official)		
Mississippi	27,847 (VEP)	550,000 (informed estimate)	422,690	745,500
	28,000 (AP)	497,000 (AP)		
	Approx.23,000 (Atlanta Daily World, 9/63)			

Bartix

North Carolina	200,000 (estimate, State Bd. of Elections, 11/63)	1,900,000 (estimate, State Bd. of Elections)	552,154	2,001,656
	221,057 (VEP)			
	217,816 (AP)	1,872,454 (AP)		
South Carolina	102,058 (VEP)		372 297	894,179
	100,000 (AP)	600,000 (AP)		
Tennessee	200,000 (estimate, State coordinator of elections)	1,000,000 (estimate, State coordinator of elections)	313,974	1,776,690
	200,000 (AP)	1,300,000 (AP)		
Texas	165,-190,000 (informed estimate)	1,840,000 (informed estimate)	649,045	4,881,061
Virginia	108,241 (official, 4/63)	918,142 (official, 4/63)	436,986	1,867,302
	108,792 (AP)	923,792 (AP)		

FACT SHEET:

VOTING AND POLITICS IN THE SOUTH WITH REFERENCE TO THE NEGRO CITIZEN

PREPARED BY HERMAN H. LONG
RACE RELATIONS DEPT. OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSN.,
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, FISK UNIVERSITY

INTRODUCTION

The following thirteen tables contain a selection of important data which relate to the matter of voting and politics in the South in reference to the Negro citizen. They have been prepared for the Workshop of Negro College Educators for two primary reasons: (a) to serve as background information for a major presentation in one of the scheduled seminars of the total workshop group, and (b) to be used in the more detailed analysis and discussion of a small interest group in the field of voting and politics. In considering the problems and issues which have implication for adult Negro leadership and adult education, there is perhaps no set of interests of greater importance than those which lie in this field. We are dealing here not only with the basic process through which public policies are reached and critical decisions made, but also with the potential and actual forces influencing these decisions. If democratic government is the expression of the will of the people, as indeed we believe it should always attempt to be ideally, then politics is the essential vehicle for the articulation of that will. Our task as citizens, and certainly the task of education in confronting the demand for enlightened political performance, then becomes one of responsible choice and action toward a politically viable and free community in which the many and different interests find expression and enter into the marketplace of political debate and consensus.

Until the very recent years, the Negro citizen has had, at best, an indirect relationship to this process and minimal influence in determining its outcome. As recently as 1940, it is estimated that there were only about 200,000 to 250,000 Negro registered voters in

File General Research

the South; and yet in this same year more than three-fourths (77 percent) of the nation's total Negro population. The 1948 Democratic National Convention gave rise to the civil rights issue as a major domestic question for the first time since the reconstruction era. Although it had long existed as a moral question and as a kind of subliminal political issue, this was its first modern expression which invited a public response upon which would hang, in the long-run, the destiny of national political development. It was, in essence, a recognition of the reality that the Negro had become an important entity and force in national politics -- all in major part due to the cumulative effects of Negro migration northward and westward and concentration of the Negro population in strategic states whose combined electoral votes play a determining role in the outcome of national elections.

In every national election since 1948 the Negro vote has played, in more or less degree, a balance of power role; and in at least two of these elections the heavy urban northern Negro vote has been a central feature of the outcome. A resource of tremendous potential has therefore emerged in the hands of Negro citizens and Negro leaders which can be directly used to advance long-delayed objectives for full and equal citizenship rights. This is, by almost any standard, the major departure and most important frontier now at hand. But the lines of advance and attack have shifted from the North to the South where the greatest lag exists in Negro voter and political strength and where, at the same time, there is the greatest unused potential and lack of political sophistication.

Estimates of 1958 place Negro voter registration in the eleven

most traditional southern states at 1,281,818. Although this represents a tremendous gain over 200,000 or more who had qualified in 1940, it remains only about a fourth of the potential Negro electorate in the 21 years old and over Negro population. White registered voters for these states are between seven and eight times the Negro figure, even though white registration rates are below those of other regions. A practical and immediate task is that of increasing the number of Negro qualified voters, not only insofar as Negro political strength and activity are concerned but also as regards the possibility of bringing about fundamental changes in the political system of the region, which has rested upon single-party domination, on the one hand, and rural domination on the other.

Several important concerns are raised out of these developments which have implication for Negro education in general and adult education efforts in particular. The exploration of these concerns will constitute a primary objective of the workshop and the special study and discussion group which will have assignment in this area. Some of these concerns are:

1. What role, if any, does Negro education, broadly conceived have in the area of politics, especially in matters of (a) political leadership, (b) political action, (c) political decision, and (d) citizenship education?

2. Would a two-party South correct the many political weaknesses which now exist in the region? What trends seem now apparent toward the development of a real Republican party in the region, and from what sources is this development presently coming? What broad guidelines of strategy may be suggested for Negro leadership in this regard?

3. What are the general implications of reapportionment and what will this development mean in the long-run objectives and plans of Negro political leadership?

4. What is meant by Negro bloc voting? If and when this does occur, is it sound strategy? What are the weaknesses and assets?

5. Should Negroes, from the standpoint of strategy, ally themselves with the present Democratic party, with the emerging Republican party, or become an effective group of Political Independents?

6. What can colleges do in the area of political education and in efforts to produce effective voter registration programs?

I. SIZE OF THE SOUTHERN ELECTORATE

TABLE A -- Regional Voter Potential

	Total Pop.	21 Yrs. Old and over	%	Cong. Dist.	El. Votes	Party
All States (14)	50,020,456	28,810,148	57.6	122	150	
Ala.	3,266,740	1,834,378	56.1	9	11	D*
Ark.	1,786,272	1,043,269	58.4	6	8	D
Del.	446,292	267,249	59.9	1	3	D
Fla.	4,951,560	3,087,699	53.0	8	10	R
Ga.	3,943,116	2,231,325	56.6	10	12	D
Ky.	3,038,156	1,763,644	58.0	8	10	R
La.	3,257,022	1,803,805	55.4	8	10	D
Md.	3,100,689	1,845,067	59.5	7	9	D
Miss.	2,178,141	1,170,522	53.7	6	8	*
N. C.	4,556,155	2,556,884	56.1	12	14	D
S.C.	2,382,594	1,266,251	53.1	6	8	D
Tenn.	3,567,089	2,092,891	58.7	9	11	R
Tex.	9,579,677	5,534,277	57.8	22	24	D
Va.	3,966,949	2,312,887	58.3	10	12	R
		(Border)				
Okla.	2,328,284	1,416,050	60.8	6	8	R*
Mo.	4,319,813	2,695,614	62.4	11	13	D
W. Va.	1,860,421	1,083,347	58.2	6	8	D

Source: Congressional District Data Book, 1960

*These states had votes cast for favored "states rights" candidate Harry F. Byrd who received 6 of Alabama's 11 votes; all of Mississippi's, and 1 of Oklahoma's 8. Total electoral votes cast, 1960: 219 R; 303 D; and 15 S.R. (537).

TABLE B -- Negro Voter Potential in Region

	Negro Pop. Total *	%	21 Years and over	%
All States (14)	10,767,112	21.5	5,406,206	50.2
Ala.	983,131	30.1	481.320	48.9
Ark.	390,569	21.9	192,626	49.3
Del.	61,965	13.6	33,999	54.8
Fla.	887,679	17.9	470,261	53.0
Ga.	1,125,893	28.6	559,984	49.7
Ky.	218,073	7.2	125,627	37.6
La.	1,045,307	32.1	514,589	49.2
Md.	526,770	17.0	283,906	53.9
Miss.	920,595	42.3	422,256	45.9
N. C.	1,156,870	25.4	550,929	47.6
S. C.	831,572	34.9	371,104	44.6
Tenn.	589,336	16.5	313,873	53.3
Tex.	1,204,846	12.6	649,512	53.9
Va.	824,506	20.8	436,720	53.0
	(Border)			
Okla.	220,384	9.5	114,964	52.2
Mo.	396,846	9.0	222,333	56.0
W. Va.	90,288	4.8	49,655	55.0

* Figures are for non-white totals, including the percentages. In remaining states, including 3 border states in table, Negro population totals - 9,724,331.

Note: Including 2 border states in table, non-white population 21 years old and over in rest of U. S. is 5,559,529 or 57.1 percent.

TABLE C -- Negro Registrations: 11 States

	1958*	1956	1952	1947
All States	1,281,818	1,238,038	1,008,614	595,000
Alabama	73,272	53,366	25,224	6,000
Arkansas	64,023	69,677	61,413	47,000
Florida	144,861	148,703	120,900	149,000
Georgia	161,082	163,389	144,835	125,000
Louisiana	132,506	161,410	120,000	10,000
Mississippi	19,347	20,000	20,000	5,000
N. Carolina	157,991	135,000	100,000	75,000
S. Carolina	57,893	99,890	80,000	50,000
Tennessee	150,869**	90,000	85,000	80,000
Texas	226,495	214,000	181,916	100,000
Virginia	93,479	82,603	69,326	48,000

* 1958 figures from Report of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959. All others from study by Southern Regional Council: The Negro Voter in the South, 1959.

** From 1960 Report of U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

Note: 1958 figure represents 3.5 percent gain over 1956 (43,780 voters)
27.0 percent gain over 1952 (273,204 voters)
115.4 percent gain over 1947 (686,818 voters)

1956 figure represents 18.5 percent gain over 1952 (229,424 voters)
51.9 percent gain over 1947 (643,038 voters)

1952 figure represents 41.0 percent gain over 1947 (413,614 voters).

TABLE D -- Number of Negro and White Registrants

10 States

	White	Negro	Percent Negroes of Whites
Alabama	828,946	73,272	8.8
Arkansas	499,955	64,023	14.2
Florida	1,448,543	144,861	10.0
Georgia	1,130,515	161,082	14.2
Louisiana	828,686	132,506	15.9
Mississippi		19,347	
N. Carolina	1,389,831	157,991	11.3
S. Carolina	481,023	57,893	12.0
Texas	1,489,841	226,495	15.2
Virginia	864,863	93,479	10.8

Source: Report of U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1959.

TABLE E -- Comparison of Negro and White Registrants: Percentage of Population 21 Years Old and Over Registered in 10 States

	Negro	White
Alabama	14.2	67.3
Arkansas	28.1	56.8
Florida	39.5	99.4
Georgia	25.8	72.7
Louisiana	27.5	74.9
Mississippi	3.9	
N. Carolina	28.7	78.9
S. Carolina	14.8	63.2
Texas	38.8	49.0
Virginia	21.7	53.8

Source: Report of U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1959.

II. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT DATA

TABLE F -- Nonwhite Population Percentage by Congressional Districts -- 12 States

Cong. Districts	Ala.	Ark.	Ga.	Fla.	Ky.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.
1	38.6	32.3	37.5	11.6	10.3	32.4	32.2	43.8	44.0	2.7	26.7	29.1
2	36.0	11.9	38.8	27.8	6.3	31.0	49.6	50.5	37.3	6.1	21.6	28.3
3	39.3	2.1	32.3	23.0	12.8	23.7	65.5	29.6	24.6	13.3	24.7	25.8
4	31.7	29.4	30.7	14.5	6.8	37.4	46.4	27.8	21.3	8.0	14.2	48.0
5	15.8	18.5	26.5	17.3	2.7	40.5	41.2	24.3	33.5	19.2	14.7	23.2
6	38.7	29.9	41.3	19.3	10.1	35.4	23.8	23.1	46.6	13.0	22.1	13.6
7	9.9		3.7	16.0	1.1	26.0		35.6		25.2	27.7	8.2
8	16.0		27.3	25.2	2.7	29.1		22.4		26.3	26.1	24.4
9	34.6		7.2					12.5		36.4	17.8	2.7
10			32.9					17.9			15.0	6.5
11								13.0			15.0	
12								7.6			11.1	
13											5.6	
14											4.7	
15											.5	
16											4.2	
17											3.5	
18											4.0	
19											6.2	
20											6.9	
21											2.9	
22											15.0	
Entire State	30.1	21.9	28.6	17.9	7.2	32.1	42.3	25.4	34.9	16.5	12.6	20.8
No. Dist.	9	6	10	8	8	8	6	12	6	9	22	10
No. where nonwhites exceed 10%	8	4	8	8	3	8	6	11	6	6	13	7

III. VOTER PARTICIPATION

TABLE G -- Average of All Citizens 21 and Over Voting in Presidential, Gubernatorial and Senatorial Elections for years between 1920-46 -- 11 states with Comparisons for New York and Ohio

	President	Governor	Senator
Alabama	18	30	12
Arkansas	20	31	20
Florida	32	43	25
Georgia	16	29	16
Louisiana	22	54	20
Mississippi	14	56	13
N. Carolina	43	28	19
S. Carolina	10	48	27
Tennessee	29	20	17
Texas	27	34	26
Virginia	23	15	
National Average	58		
New York	69	57	60
Ohio	68	58	57

Adapted from figures in Southern Politics, by V. O. Key, Jr.

TABLE H -- Vote Cast for U. S. Senators - 1958 and 1960 Elections with Percent for Majority Party -- 12 State with New York and Ohio Comparisons.

State	Vote	Percent of 21 Years and Over	Percent Majority Party
Ala.	554,000*	30.2	70.2**
Ark.	377,000*	36.1	100.0
Fla.	542,000	17.6	71.2
Ga.	576,000*	25.8	100.0
Ky.	1,089,000*	61.7	59.2 R
La.	542,000*	30.0	79.8**
Miss.	266,000*	22.7	91.8**
N. C.	1,291,000*	50.0	61.4**
S. C.	330,000*	26.0	100.0
Tenn.	829,000*	39.6	71.8**
Tex.	2,254,000*	40.7	58.0**
Va.	622,000*	26.9	81.4
		. . . . .	
N. Y.	5,602,000	51.4	50.7 R
Ohio	3,149,000	53.9	52.5

* 1960 Elections.

** Had Republican opposing candidates.

Source: Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1961.

IV. VOTING AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

TABLE I -- Comparison of Voting in Metropolitan (Urban) and Rural Counties With Similar Percentage of Negro Population.

Metropolitan County	Percent Voting	Rural County	Percent Voting	Ratio Rural-Urban
Fulton (Atlanta)	14.1	Evans	32.4	2.30
Hillsboro (Tampa)	28.3	Charlotte	64.6	2.28
Bexar (San Antonio)	23.5	Franklin	53.0	2.25
Dade (Miami)	30.6	Okeechobee	67.8	2.21
Dallas (Dallas)	18.1	Tyler	38.1	2.10
Jefferson (B'ham)	14.7	Elmore	30.0	2.04
Harris (Houston)	21.3	Chambers	43.0	2.01
Duval (Jacksonville)	31.6	Citrus	62.8	1.99
Tarrant (Ft. Worth)	25.1	Calhoun	49.5	1.97
Pulaski (Little Rock)	17.9	Lonoke	34.2	1.91
Orleans (New Orleans)	42.7	Caldwell	53.5	1.77
Charleston (Charleston)	31.7	Hampton	55.0	1.73
Caddo (Shreveport)	24.5	Plaquemine	42.4	1.73
Davidson (Nashville)	14.1	Trousdale	21.8	1.55
Hinds (Jackson)	18.8	Amite	28.2	1.50
Knox (Knoxville)	28.2	McNairy	39.0	1.38
Mecklenburg (Charlotte)	18.8	Lee	40.3	1.09
Hamilton (Chattanooga)	28.2	Crockett	21.9	1.05
Richmond	10.8	Culpepper	9.3	.86
Shelby	24.8	Harrison	18.9	.76
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE J -- Patterns of Rural Activity in Relation to Negro Population Percentage - Alabama and South Carolina: Counties of Highest White Participation.*

State Av.- 30.3

Alabama	Percent Negro Population
(Counties in 1st quartile of participation)	
Bullock	73.6
Choctaw	52.5
Clark	49.7
Greene	83.0
Hale	70.3
Lowndes (66.7)	82.2
Marengo	69.4
Perry	67.5
Sumpter	76.1

South Carolina (Counties of Highest Participation)

	(Rates)	
Calhoun	71.2	73.1
Allendale	89.0	72.2
Clarendon	76.2	71.7
McCormick	80.9	67.9
Beaufort	47.7	67.1
Williamsburg	72.5	66.5
Lee	91.5	65.5

*Adapted from Southern Politics, V. O. Key, Jr., - based upon data from 1920 - 1949 SCR elections.

TABLE K -- Rural Control: The Georgia County Unit System

County Groups Established by 1917 Law	Unit Votes Each	Percent in Each Group of Counties of States: Total Population	Adult White	Total Unit Votes
8 Most Populous Counties	6	30.1	34.1	11.7
30 Next Most Populous	4	26.4	26.0	29.3
121 Remaining	2	43.5	39.9	59.0

Popular Votes Cast 1946, Per Unit Vote by Group Types

Group I	
Fulton	14,092
Chatham	6,751
DeKalb	4,462
Group II	
Cobb	2,933
Hall	2,184
Laurens	1,967
Group III	
Quitman	299
Towns	296
Chattahoochee	132

Adapted from Southern Politics, V. O. Key, Jr.

V. ELECTED OFFICIALS

TABLE L -- Negro Congressmen 1869 - 1961

Congress		No. Negro Elected Officials	States Represented
41st	1869 - 71	3	S.C., Ga., Miss.
42nd	1871 - 73	5	Fla. (1); Ala. (1); S.C. (2)
43rd	1873 - 75	7	S.C. (4); Ala. (1); Fla. (1); Miss. (1)
44th	1875 - 77	8	Miss. (2); S.C. (2); 1 each - Fla., Ala., N.C., La.
45th	1877 - 79	4	S.C. (3); Miss. (1)
46th	1879 - 81	2	Miss., and S.C.
47th	1881 - 83	1	S.C.
48th	1883 - 85	2	S.C., and N.C.
49th	1885 - 87	2	S.C., and N.C.
51st	1889 - 91	3	S.C., N.C., and Va.
52nd	1891 - 93	1	N.C.
53rd	1893 - 95	1	S.C.
54th	1895 - 97	1	S.C.
56th	1899 - 1901	1	N.C.
71st	1929 - 31		
through the			
78th	1943 - 45	1	Ill.
79th	1945 - 47		
through the			
83rd	1953 - 55	2	Ill., and N.Y.
84th	1955 - 57	3	Ill., N.Y., Mich.
85th	1957 - 59	3	Ill., N.Y., Mich.
86th	1959 - 61	4	Ill., N.Y., Mich., Pa.
87th	1961 - 63	4	Ill., N.Y., Mich., Pa.

TABLE M -- Negro State Legislature and City Council Members

(Estimate of Average No. Since 1948)*

State Legislatures

State	No.	State	No.
(Total States (16)			
Ariz.	2	Mo.	3
Cal.	2	N.J.	1
Col.	2	N.Y.	4
Ill.	5	Ohio	2
Ind.	2	Pa.	6
Kan.	1	W. Va.	1
Mass.	1	Wis.	1
Mich.	5	Vmt.	1

City Councils

City	No.	City	No.
Total Cities (23)			
Boston, Mass.	1	Nashville, Tenn.	3
Buffalo, N. Y.	1	New Haven, Conn.	1
Canton, Ohio	1	New York, New York	1
Cleveland, Ohio	3	Oak Ridge, Tenn.	1
Chicago, Ill.	6	Philadelphia, Pa.	1
Charleston, W. Va.	1	Richmond, Va.	1
Cincinnati, Ohio	2	Springfield, Mass.	1
Detroit, Michigan	1	St. Louis, Mo.	2
Evanston, Ill.	1	Toledo, Ohio	1
Fayetteville, N. C.	1	Winston Salem, N. C.	2
Gary, Ind.	1		
Greensboro, N. C.	1		
Louisville, Kentucky	1		

*Incomplete rough estimate, taken from data in Negro Handbook, 1952 and Negro Yearbook, 1949.

FLORIDA

	Total	NW	%
1st District	819,843	95,581	11.7
2nd District	474,946	109,076	23.0
3rd District	563,646	130,758	23.2
4th District	982,968	143,962	15.7
5th District	739,006	119,026	~~62.1~~ 16
6th District	743,966	145,323	19.5
7th District	386,593	62,349	16.1
8th District	239,992	68,057	28.4

North Carolina

1st District

253511	110996	43.8%

2nd District

313728	158377	~~[illegible]~~ 50.4%

3rd District

382174	113072	29.2%

4th District

442059	122868	27.7%

5th District

408992	99276	24.2%

6th District

487159	112280	23.1%

over →

7th District

455640 161992 35.6%

8th District

396469 88703 22.6%

9th District

364561 45656 11.7%

10th District

452732 81217 17.9%

11th D.

307575 39884 13.0%

12th

291715 22249 7.6%

Congressional Districts of Mississippi

CENSUS - 1960

1st District
W - 247,300
N - 117,387
O - 276
T - 364,963

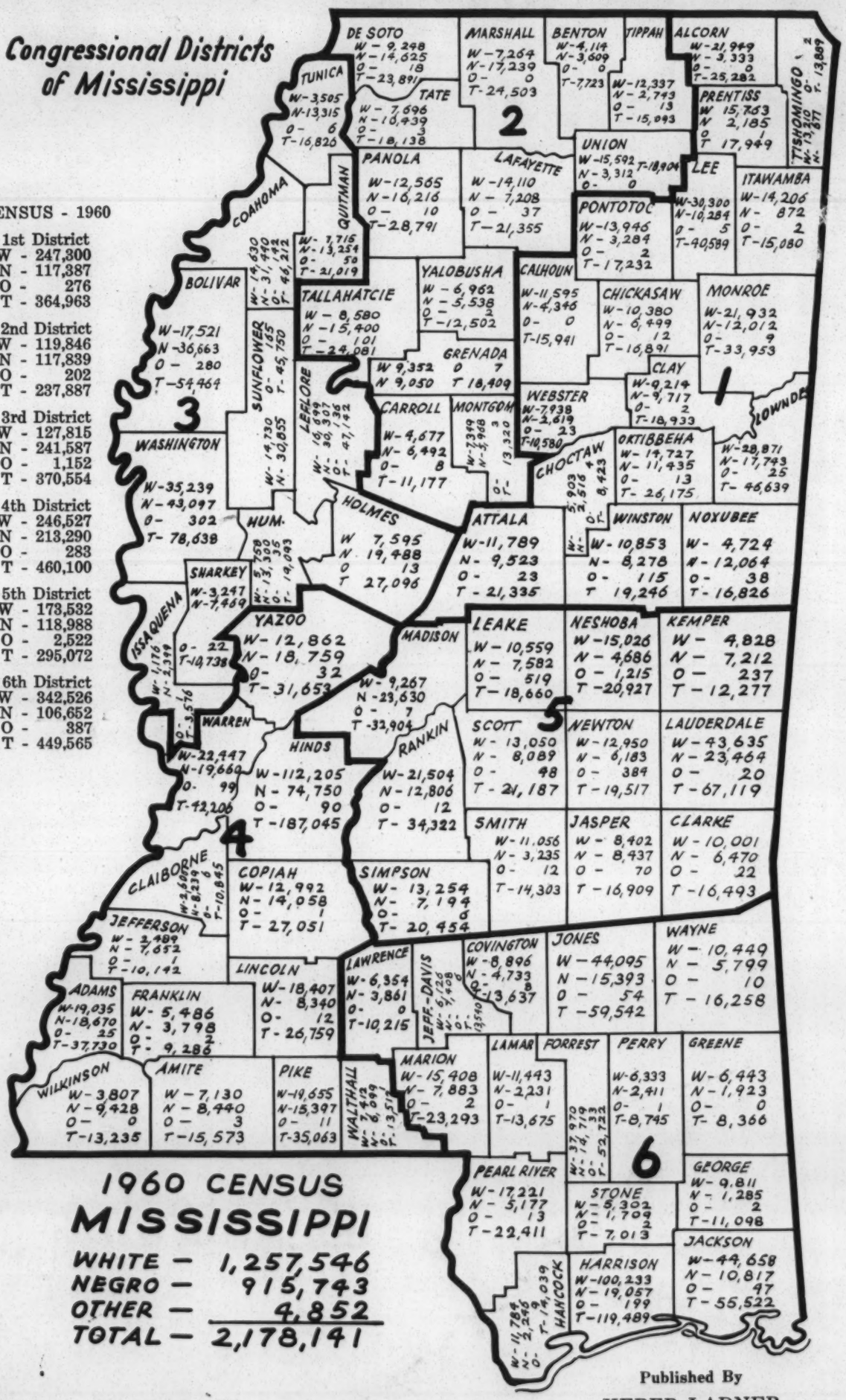
2nd District
W - 119,846
N - 117,839
O - 202
T - 237,887

3rd District
W - 127,815
N - 241,587
O - 1,152
T - 370,554

4th District
W - 246,527
N - 213,290
O - 283
T - 460,100

5th District
W - 173,532
N - 118,988
O - 2,522
T - 295,072

6th District
W - 342,526
N - 106,652
O - 387
T - 449,565



1960 CENSUS MISSISSIPPI

WHITE —	1,257,546
NEGRO —	915,743
OTHER —	4,852
TOTAL —	2,178,141

Published By
HEBER LADNER
Secretary of State

FLORIDA - 67 counties

	Total	Nonwhite
1st District		
Hernando	11,205	2,355
Hillsborough	397,788	55,836
Pasco	36,185	4,086
Pinellas	374,665	33,304
Total	819,843	95,581
2nd District		
Clay	19,535	2,698
Duval	455,411	106,378
Total	474,946	109,076
3rd District		
Bay	67,131	10,051
Calhoun	7,422	1,190
Escambia	173,829	36,404
Franklin	6,576	1,396
Gadsden	41,989	24,951
Gulf	9,937	2,387
Holmes	10,844	454
Jackson	36,208	11,242
Jefferson	9,543	5,642
Leon	74,225	24,409
Liberty	3,138	478
Okaloosa	61,175	4,196
Santa Rosa	29,547	2,163
Wakulla	5,257	1,502
Walton	15,576	2,115
Washington	11,249	2,178
Total	563,646	130,758
4th District		
Dade	935,047	138,993
Monroe	47,921	4,969
Total	982,968	143,962

FLORIDA - 2

5th District	Total	Nonwhite
Brevard	111,435	12,526
Citrus	9,268	1,654
Flagler	4,566	1,740
Lake	57,383	11,174
Marion	51,616	18,030
Orange	263,540	39,435
Osceola	19,029	2,008
St. Johns	30,034	8,230
Seminole	54,947	13,574
Sumter	11,869	3,060
Volusia	125,319	21,142
Total	739,006	119,026

6th District		
Broward	333,946	55,322
Charlotte	12,594	725
Collier	15,753	2,458
Glades	2,950	1,223
Hendry	8,119	2,198
Indian River	25,309	5,389
Lee	54,539	8,575
St. Lucie	39,294	12,771
Martin	16,932	3,419
Okeechobee	6,424	1,068
Palm Beach	228,106	52,175
~~Total~~	743,966	145,323

7th District		
DeSoto	11,683	2,542
Hardee	12,370	1,164
Highlands	21,338	4,518
Manatee	69,168	10,526
Polk	195,139	36,132
Sarasota	76,895	7,467
Total	386,593	62,349

FLORIDA - 3
8th District

	Total	Nonwhite
Alachua	74,074	19,608
Baker	7,363	1,600
Bradford	12,446	2,877
Columbia	20,077	6,084
Dixie	4,479	650
Gilchrist	2,868	334
Hamilton	7,705	3,430
Lafayette	2,889	344
Levy	10,364	3,133
Madison	14,154	6,724
Nassau	17,189	4,314
Putnam	32,212	10,032
Suwannee	14,961	4,073
Taylor	13,168	3,237
Union	6,043	1,617 ~~3,237~~
Total	239,992	68,057

NORTH CAROLINA - 100 counties

1st District	Total	Nonwhite
Beaufort	36,014	13,290
CAMden	5,598	2,358
Chowan	11,729	5,464
Currituck	6,601	2,086
Dare	5,935	406
Gates	9,254	5,022
Hertford	22,718	13,400
Hyde	5,765	2,435
Martin	27,139	13,560
Pasquotank	25,630	10,129
Perquimans	9,178	4,303
Pitt	69,942	30,484
Tyrrell	4,520	1,976
Washington	13,488	6,083
Total	253511	110996

2nd District		
Bertie	24,350	14,453
Edgecombe	54,226	28,134
Greene	16,741	8,424
Halifax	58,956	32,464
Lenoir	55,276	21,872
Northampton	26,811	17,099
Warren	19,652	12,713
Wilson	57,716	23,218
Total	313728	158377

NORTH CAROLINA - 2

3rd District	Total	Nonwhite
Carteret	30,940	3,833
Craven	58,773	17,009
Duplin	40,270	15,144
Jones	11,055	5,173
Onslow	82,706	11,022
Pamlico	9,850	3,611
Pender	18,508	8,906
Sampson	48,013	18,150
Wayne	82,059	30,224
Total	382174	113072

4th District		
Chatham	26,785	8,414
Franklin	28,755	12,762
Johnston	62,936	14,129
Nash	61,002	24,280
Randolph	61,497	5,128
Vance	32,002	14,029
Wake	169,082	44,126
Total	442059	122868

NORTH CAROLINA - 3

5th District	Total	Nonwhite
Caswell	19,912	9,556
Forsyth	189,428	45,768
Granville	33,110	14,721
Person	26,394	9,483
Rockingham	69,629	14,672
Stokes	22,314	2,269
Surry	48,205	2,807
Total	408992	99276

6th District		
Alamance	85,674	14,809
Durham	111,995	36,030
Guilford	246,520	51,536
Orange	42,970	10,205
Total	487159	112580

7th District		
Bladen	28,881	12,224
Brunswick	20,278	7,175
Columbus	48,973	17,115
Cumberland	148,418	39,507
Harnett	48,246	13,423
New Hanover	71,742	19,998
Robeson	89,102	52,550
Total	455640	161992

NORTH CAROLINA - 4

8th District	Total	Nonwhite
Anson	24,962	11,973
Davidson	79,493	8,647
Davie	16,728	2,071
Hoke	16,456	9,394
Lee	26,561	5,903
Montgomery	18,408	4,588
Moore	36,733	9,735
Richmond	39,202	11,827
Scotland	25,183	11,146
Union	44,670	9,578
Wilkes	45,269	2,711
Yadkin	22,804	1,130
Total	396469	88703

9th District		
Alexander	15,625	1,067
Alleghany	7,734	233
Ashe	19,768	199
Cabarrus	68,137	10,828
Caldwell	49,552	3,512
Iredell	62,526	11,133
Rowan	82,817	13,954
Stanly	40,873	4,497
Watauga	17,529	233
Total	364561	45656

10th District		
Avery	12,009	155
Burke	52,701	3,733
Catawba	73,191	6,813
Lincoln	28,814	3,526
Mecklenburg	272,111	66,947
Mitchell	13,906	43
	452732	81217

NORTH CAROLINA - 5

11th District	Total	Nonwhite
Cleveland	66,048	14,798
Gaston	127,074	16,628
McDowell	26,742	1,376
Madison	17,217	123
Polk	11,395	1,423
Rutherford	45,091	5,400
Yancey	14,008	136
Total	307575	39884

12th District		
Buncombe	130,074	14,124
Cherokee	16,335	384
Clay	5,526	50
Graham	6,432	256
Haywood	39,711	894
Henderson	36,163	1,969
Jackson	17,780	1,740
Macon	14,935	298
Swain	8,387	1,667
Transylvania	16,372	867
Total	291715	22249

SOUTH CAROLINA
By Congressional districts

Cong. Dist #1	Total	N-W	
Beaufort	44 187	17 104	
Berkeley	38 196	18 963	
Charleston	216, 382	78 933	
Clarendon	29 490	20 130	
Colleton	27 816	14 227	
Dorchester	24 383	11 903	
Hampton	17 425	9 387	
Jasper	12 237	7 618	% of Dist
	410,116	178265	43.5 %

Cong. Dist #2			
Aiken	81 038	21 338	
Bamberg	16 274	9 087	
Barnwell	17 659	7 655	
Calhoun	12 256	8 198	
Lexington	60 726	10 466	
Orangeburg	68 559	41 192	
Richland	200 102	65 172	
Sumter	74 941	35 095	% of Dist
	531,555	198,203	37.5 %

Cong. Dist #3			
Abbeville	21 417	6 860	
Allendale	11 362	7 184	
Anderson	98 478	19 245	
Edgefield	15 735	9 154	
Greenwood	44 346	13 135	
McCormick	8 629	5 318	
Newberry	29 416	10 434	
Oconee	40 204	4 301	
Pickens	46 030	4 630	
Saluda	14 554	5 332	% of Dist
	330,171	85,593	25.9%

Cong. Dist #4

Greenville	209 776	36 953	
Laurens	47 609	14 074	
Spartanburg	156 830	34 685	
Union	30 015	8 892	% of Dist
	444,230	94,604	21.2%

Cong. Dist. #5

Cherokee	35 205	7 470	
Chester	30 888	12 328	
Chesterfield	33 717	12 507	
Fairfield	20 713	12 319	
Kershaw	33 585	13 363	
Lancaster	39 352	10 617	
York	78 760	22 565	% of Dist
	272,220	91,169	33.5%

Cong. Dist #6

Darlington	52 928	23 508	
Dillon	30 584	14 229	
Florence	84 438	36 504	
Georgetown	34 798	18 146	
Horry	68, 247	18 242	
Lee	21 832	14 373	
Marion	32 014	17 599	
Marlboro	28 529	13 921	
Williamsburg	40 932	27 216	% of Dist
	394,302	183,738	46.6%

VIRGINIA

1st Congressional District

Accomack	30635	11856
Charles City	5492	4575
Essex	6690	3181
Gloucester	11919	3357
James City	11539	4100
King & Queen	5889	3130
Mathews	7121	1757
Middlesex	6319	2619
New Kent	4504	2378
Northkampton	16966	9188
Princess Anne	76124	12630
York	21975	4733
Hampton*	89258	19095
Newport News*	113662	39060
Norfolk*	305872	80621
South Norfolk*	22035	5806
Virginia Beach*	8091	534
Williamsburg*	6832	935
	750923	209555 [27.9%]

2nd. Congressional District

Norfolk	51612	13536
Portsmouth*	114773	39681
	166385	53217 [31.9]

3rd Congressional District

Chesterfield	71917	9435
Henrico	117339	6070
Colonial Heights*	9587	20
Richmond*	219958	92331
	418801	107856 25.7%

4th Congressional District

Amelia	7815	4009
Appomattox	9148	2330
Brunswick	17779	10431
Buckingham	10877	4862
Cumberland	6360	3450
Dinwiddie	22183	13684
Greensville	16156	8874
Isle of Wight	17164	9031
Lunenberg	12523	5290
Mecklenburg	31482	14711
Nansemond	31366	19782
Nottoway	15141	6477
Powhatan	6747	2676
Prince Edward	14121	5633
Prince George	20270	4826
Southampton	27195	15659
Surry	6220	4024
Sussex	12411	8225
Hopewell*	17895	2990
Petersburg*	36750	17378
Suffolk*	12609	4710
	352212	169052 47.9%

VIRGINIA, 2

5th Congressional District

Carroll	23178	77
Charlotte	13368	5331
Franklin	25925	3747
Grayson	17390	682
Halifax	33637	14935
Henry	40335	9113
Patrick	15282	1380
Pittsylvania	58296	19957
Wythe	21975	961
Danville*	46577	11573
Galax*	5254	344
Martinsville*	18798	5692
South Boston*	5974	1942
	325989	75734

(23.2%)

6th Congressional District

Alleghany	12128	472
Bedford	31028	6011
Botetourt	16715	1525
Campbell	32958	6954
Craig	3356	5
Floyd	10462	533
Montgomery	32923	1529
Roanoake	61693	3682
Clifton Forge*	5268	1040
Covington*	11062	1326
Lynchburg*	54790	11125
Radford*	9371	630
Roanoke*	97110	16542
	375564	51374

13.5%

7th Congressional District

Amherst	22953	5514
Augusta	37363	1635
Bath	5335	500
Clarke	7942	1369
Frederick	21941	434
Highland	3221	18
Madison	8187	1830
Nelson	12752	3555
Page	15572	478
Rappahannock	5368	945
Rockbridge	24039	1994
Rockingham	40485	718
Shenandoah	21825	357
Warren	14655	1055
Buena Vista*	6300	254
Harrisonburg*	11916	741
Staunton*	22232	2203
Waynesboro*	15694	982
Winchester*	15110	1190
	312890	25772

8.2%

8th Congressional District

Albermarle	30969	4606
Caroline	12725	6688
Culpepper	15088	4143
Fluvanna	7227	2725
Goochland	9206	4433
Greene	4715	586
Hanover	27550	6989
King George	7243	1960

8th Cong. Dist,. con.

King William	7563	3564
Lancaster	9174	3639
Louisa	12959	5166
Northumberland	10185	4345
Orange	12900	2887
Prince William	50164	4132
Richmond	6375.	2216
Spotsylvania	13819	3156
Stafford	16876	1976
Westmoreland	11042	5170
Charlottesville*	29427	5597
Fredericksburg*	13639	2603
	308846	76581 24.7%

9th Congressional District

Bland	5982	199
Buchanan	36724	10
Dickenson	20211	158
Giles	17219	442
Lee	25824	169
Pulaski	27258	1817
Russell	26290	508
Scott	25813	311
Smyth	31066	505
Tazewell	44791	2010
Washington	38076	957
Wise	43579	1245
Bristol*	17144	1156
	349977	9487 2.6%

10th Congressional District

Arlington	163401	9229
Fairfax	275002	14857
Fauquier	24066	6248
Loudoun	24549	4345
Alexandria*	91023	10635
Falls Church*	10195	185
	588236	45499 7.7%

Tenn (Cong Districts)

1st	460583	9767	2.1%
2nd	497121	30417	6.1%
3rd	412665	54826	13.2%
4th	389563	27271	7.0%
5th	399743	76832	19.2%
6th	324357	42268	13.3%
7th	232652	58680	25.2%
8th	223387	58650	26.2%
9th	627019	228082	36.4%

Louisiana (Conj. Poth.)

1st.

26.3% (682256 243860)

2nd 21.0% (266796 56236)

3rd

326 426 104464 32.0%

4th

391539 146414 37.2%

5th

405 784 152068 34.3%

6th

536029 184963 34.5%

7th

384330 99744 25.9%

8th

263850 76758 29.0%

Mississippi	Total	Nonwhite	%
1st District	364,963	117,663	32.2
2nd District	237,887	118,041	49.6
3rd District	370,554	242,739	65.5
4th District	460,100	213,573	46.6
5th District	295,072	121,510	41.2
6th District	449,565	107,039	23.8

Statistics

These tables show the distribution of the registered voters and the voting age population of both races in the eleven southern states.

The percentages have been calculated to facilitate comparison of the various aspects of voter registration within the South, considered as a unit.

Thus the tables show each state's proportion, in absolute numbers and in percentages, of the total voting age population in the South; of the white and non-white voting age population; of the white and non-white registered voters; and of the white and non-white voting age population which is not registered. The last two columns on the second page show the percentages of each state's white and non-white voting age population which are registered.

Several different indexes of discrimination can be derived from the tables. The difference between the last two columns of the second page would provide one such index. The disparity between proportion of the South's non-white VAP and of the South's registered non-whites would provide another. A third would be the difference between the proportion of non-white VAP and the proportion of non-white VAP not registered.

None of these indexes will "prove" one thing or another, but they can be used as indicators of where voter education is most needed, and where it is likely to meet with most resistance from local prejudices and traditions.

Incidentally, it might be noted that, only compared to non-white registration, can white registration be considered at

4- Statistics General

all satisfactory. Four of the eleven southern states have less than 50% of their white VAP registered and only one of the states has greater than 70% registered.

These figures would seem to indicate that there may be a considerable interracial community of interest in increasing political participation.

State	Total Voting-Age Population	% of South-wide Total	No. Non-White VAP	% of South-wide Total	No. Negroes Reg.	% of South-wide Total	No. Negro VAP Not Reg.	% of South-wide Total
Alabama	1,924,936	8.2	509,731	10.1	68,317	5.1	441,414	11.9
Arkansas	1,089,358	4.0	202,593	4.0	68,970	5.1	133,623	3.6
Florida	3,207,238	14.7	495,420	9.8	182,456	13.5	312,964	8.4
Georgia	2,549,352	11.4	656,047	13.0	175,573	13.0	480,474	12.9
Louisiana	1,892,402	8.2	544,997	10.8	151,663	11.3	393,334	10.6
Mississippi	1,235,072	5.1	449,296	8.9	25,921	1.9	423,375	11.4
North Carolina	2,700,778	11.9	586,219	11.6	210,450	15.6	375,769	10.1
South Carolina	1,344,466	5.9	396,848	7.8	90,901	6.7	305,947	8.2
Tennessee	2,193,799	9.7	329,630	6.5	150,869	11.2	178,761	4.8
Texas*	2,010,034	8.8	414,233	8.2	111,014**	8.2	303,219	8.1
Virginia	2,437,328	10.7	460,081	9.1	110,747	8.2	349,334	9.4
	22,584,763		5,045,095		1,346,881		3,698,214	

*All Texas figures include only those 65 counties in East Texas which have more than 15% non-white population

**Statistical Estimate

State	No. White VAP	% of South-wide Total	No. White Reg.	% of South-wide Total	No. White VAP Not Reg.	% of South-wide Total	% of State NVAP Reg.	% of State WVAP Reg.
Alabama	1,415,205	8.1	883,732	8.3	531,473	7.6	13.4	62.4
Arkansas	886,765	5.9	506,799	4.7	379,966	5.4	34.0	57.1
Florida	2,711,818	15.3	1,819,342	17.2	892,476	12.7	36.8	67.0
Georgia	1,893,305	10.1	1,152,707	10.9	740,598	10.6	26.7	60.8
Louisiana	1,347,405	7.1	934,862	8.8	412,543	5.9	27.8	69.3
Mississippi	785,776	4.1	390,000 **	3.6	395,776	5.6	5.7	49.6
North Carolina	2,114,559	12.0	1,861,330	17.6	253,229	3.6	35.8	88.0
South Carolina	947,618	5.4	480,793	4.5	466,825	6.6	22.9	50.7
Tennessee	1,864,169	10.6	930,198	8.8	933,971	13.3	45.7	49.8
Texas*	1,595,801	9.0	658,293 **	6.2	937,508	13.4	26.7	41.2
Virginia	1,977,247	11.2	939,309	8.8	1,037,938	14.8	24.0	47.5
	17,539,668		10,564,365		6,982,303			

Total Eligibles not registered 3,706,891

	E not R	% E not R	[illegible]	B
Alabama	441414	11.9	[illegible]	15,872.82
Ark.	~~[illegible]~~ 133,623	3.5	[illegible]	4,668.48
Fla.	312964	8.4	[illegible]	11,204.24
Ga.	480474	12.9	[illegible]	17,206.67
La.	393,334	10.6	[illegible]	14,138.81
Miss.	423,375	11.4	[illegible]	15,205.89
N. Caro.	375,769	10.1	[illegible]	13,471.89
S. Caro.	~~316,848~~ 338,726	9.5	[illegible]	11,337.73
Tennessee	178,761	4.8	[illegible]	6,402.08
Texas	303,219	8.1	[illegible]	10,804.18
Va.	360,744	9.7	[illegible]	12,538.18
	3,710,525		[illegible]	132,851.49

A

#133,385.00

	Total V.A. Pop.	N. V.A. Pop.	W. V.A. Pop.			
ALABAMA	1,924,936	509,731	1,415,205	10.1	[illegible]	13,471.89
ARKANSAS	1,089,358	202,593	886,765	4.0	[illegible] 068.63	5,335.40
FLORIDA	3,202,238	495,420	2,711,818	9.8	[illegible]	13,071.73
GEORGIA	2,549,352	656,047	1,893,305	13.8	[illegible] 406.35	17,340.05
LOUISIANA	1,892,402	544,997	1,347,405	10.8	[illegible]	14,405.58
MISSISSIPPI	1,235,072	449,296	785,776	8.9	[illegible]	11,871.27
NORTH CAROLINA	2,700,778	586,219	2,114,559	11.6	[illegible]	15,477.66
SOUTH CAROLINA	1,344,466	396,848	947,618	7.8	[illegible]	10,404.03
TENNESSEE	2,193,799	329,630	1,864,169	6.5	[illegible]	8,670.03
TEXAS	[illegible]	614,233	[illegible]	8.2	[illegible]	10,937.57

Statistics

City	W Reg.	N Reg.	%WVAP Reg'd	%NVAP REg'd
New Orleans	175,184	36,372	65%	27%
Birmingham	113,500	13,500	44%	12%
Mobile	62,721	11,088	52%	22%
Atlanta	130,801	46,380	53%	40%
Miami	363,608	30,519	68%	40%
Memphis	163,388	76,129	68%	63%
Richmond	52,903	17,355	58%	32%
Norfolk	68,828	11,945	53%	26%
Little Rock	69,169	12,015	58%	43%

Brantley over Connor in 2nd Primary -8,000
Walters over Davis in 2nd by 14,000

List of cities of 25,000 which are not tracted and for which a ward outline map is available.

Anniston, Ala.
Prichard, Ala.
Selma, Ala.
El Dorado, Ark.
Hot Springs, Ark.
Pine Bluff, Ark.
Eureka, Calif.
Greeley, Colo.
Meriden, Conn.
Lakeland, Fla.
Panama City, Fla.
Pensacola, Fla.
Albany, Ga.
Athens, Ga.
Rome, Ga.
Pocatello, Idaho
Freeport, Ill.
Galesburg, Ill.
Kankakee, Ill.
Quincy, Ill.
Urbana, Ill.
Anderson, Ind.
Elkhart, Ind.
Kokomo, Ind.
Marion, Ind.
Michigan City, Ind.
Terre Haute, Ind.
Ames, Iowa
Burlington, Iowa
Clinton, Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa
Mason City, Iowa
Lawrence, Kansas
Salina, Kansas
Ashland, Kentucky
Bowling Green, Ky.
Newport, Ky.
Bangor, Maine
Lewiston, Maine
Cumberland, Maryland
Hagerstown, Maryland
Fitchburg, Mass.
Gloucester, Mass.
Haverhill, Mass.
Leominster, Mass.
Northampton, Mass.
Taunton, Mass.
Westfield, Mass.
Bay City, Mich.
Midland, Mich.
Austin, Minn.
Rochester, Minn.
St. Cloud, Minn.
Biloxi, Miss.
Greenville, Miss.
Hattiesburg, Miss.
Jackson, Miss.
Laurel, Miss.
Meridian, Miss.
Vicksburg, Miss.
Columbia, Mo.
Jefferson, Mo. (City)
St. Joseph, Mo.
Billings, Mont.
Butte, Mont.
Great Falls, Mont.
Missoula, Mont.
Grand Island, Nebr.
Reno, Nevada
Concord, N. H.
Nashua, N. H.
Portsmouth, N. H.
Long Branch, N. J.
Vineland, N. J.
Carlsbad, N. M.
Hobbs, N. M.
Roswell, N. M.
Santa Fe, N. M.
Amsterdam, N. Y.
Auburn, N. Y.
Elmira, N. Y.
Ithaca, N. Y.
Jamestown, N. Y.
Kingston, N. Y.
Newburgh, N. Y.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Watertown, N. Y.
Asheville, N. C.
Burlington, N. C.
Gastonia, N. C.
Goldsboro, N. C.
Rocky Mount, N. C.
Wilmington, N. C.
Wilson, N. C.
Bismarck, N. D.
Grand Forks, N. D.
Minot, N. D.
Findlay, Ohio
Lancaster, Ohio
Mansfield, Ohio
Marion, Ohio
Newark, Ohio
Portsmouth, Ohio
Sandusky, Ohio
Warren, Ohio
Zanesville, Ohio
Bartlesville, Okla.
Enid, Okla.
Lawton, Okla.
Muskogee, Okla.
Norman, Okla.
Salem, Oreg.
Bethlehem, Pa.
Easton, Pa.
Lebanon, Pa.
New Castle, Pa.
Williamsport, Pa.
Spartansburg, S. C.
Rapid City, S. D.
Sioux Falls, S. D.
Jackson, Tenn.
Johnson, Tenn. (City)
Orange, Texas
Burlington, Vt.
Charlottesville, Va.
Danville, Va.
Newport News, Va.
Petersburg, Va.
Bellingham, Wash.
Bremerton, Wash.
Yakima, Wash.
Charleston, W. Va.
Fairmont, W. Va.
Parkersburg, W. Va.
Appleton, Wisc.
Beloit, Wisc.
Eau Claire, Wisc.
Fond Du Lac, Wisc.
Janesville, Wisc.
Kenosha, Wisc.
La Crosse, Wisc.
Manitowac, Wisc.
Oshkosh, Wisc.
Racine, Wisc.
Sheboygan, Wisc.
Superior, Wisc.
Wausau, Wisc.
Casper, Wyo.
Cheyenne, Wyo.

Alabama

	Total # of people	N W (Non white) total	Percentage of Non-White in Total Pop.
1st District			
Choctaw	17,870	8,858	49.6
Clarke	25,738	12,751	49.5
Marengo	27,098	16,834	62.1
Mobile	314,301	101,428	32.3
Monroe	22,372	11,342	50.7
Washington	15,372	5,306	34.5
Wilcox	18,739	14,598	77.9
TOTAL	441490	172117	38.7%
2nd District			
Baldwin	49,088	10,329	21.0
Butler	24,560	10,985	44.7
Conecuh	17,762	8,088	45.5
Covington	35,361	5,751	16.1
Crenshaw	14,909	4,643	31.1
Escambia	33,511	11,459	34.2
Lowndes	15,417	12,439	80.7
Montgomery	169,210	64,725	38.3
Pike	25,987	10,745	41.3
Total	385805	139164	36%
3rd District			
Barbour	24,700	12,850	52.0
Bulloch	13,462	9,681	71.9
Coffee	30,583	6,363	20.8
Dale	31,066	5,607	18.0
Geneva	22,310	3,365	15.1
Henry	15,286	6,965	45.6
	~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~	(over) →

Alabama	Total	N W	Percentage
3rd District - Cont'd			
Houston	50,718	13,886	27.4
Lee	49,754	18,296	36.8
Macon	26,717	22,312	83.5
Russell	46,351	22,986	49.6
Total	~~173540~~	~~77480~~	
	310947	122311	39.3%
4th District			
Autauga	18,739	7,900	42.2
Calhoun	95,878	18,073	18.8
Clay	12,400	2,028	16.4
Coosa	10,726	3,879	36.2
Dallas	56,667	32,715	57.7
Elmore	30,524	10,303	33.8
St. Clair	25,388	4,272	16.8
Talladega	65,495	20,970	32.0
Total	315817	100140	31.7
5th District			
Chambers	37,828	13,869	36.7
Cherokee	16,303	1,693	10.4
Clay	12,400	2,028	16.4
Cleburne	10,911	699	6.4
De Kalb	41,417	821	2.0
Etowah	96,980	14,998	15.5
Marshall	48,018	1,124	2.3
Tallapoosa	35,007	10,119	28.9
Randolph		4,976	25.5
Total	298864	50327	16.8

Alabama	Total	NW	Percentage
6th District			
Bibb	14,357	4,417	30.8
Chilton	25,693	4,078	15.9
Greene	13,600	11,054	81.3
Hale	19,537	13,811	70.7
Perry	17,358	11,415	65.8
Shelby	32,132	6,083	18.9
Sumter	20,641	15,298	76.3
Tuscaloosa	109,047	31,328	28.7
Total	251765	97484	38.7
7th District			
Blount	25,449	836	3.3
Cullman	45,572	521	1.1
Fayette	16,148	2,574	15.9
Lamar	14,271	2,103	14.7
Marion	21,837	733	3.4
Pickens	21,882	9,784	44.7
Walker	54,211	5,627	10.4
Winston	14,858	81	.5
Franklin	214228	1,232	5.6
Total		23491	10.9%
8th District			
Colbert	46,506	8,982	19.3
Jackson	36,681	2,238	6.1
Lauderdale	61,622	7,267	11.8
Lawrence	24,501	5,468	22.3
Limestone	36,513	7,629	20.9
Madison	117,348	22,065	18.8
Morgan	60,454	7,647	12.6
Total	383625	61296	15.9%

Alabama	Total	NW	Percentage
9th District			
Jefferson	634,864	219,829	34.6
~~Total~~			
State total		980,432	30.1

~~((Franklin (7) (1,222) 5.6%))~~
~~((Randolph (5) (4,976) 25.5%))~~

Georgia

1st

18	Bullock	24,263	4406 / 4549	8,955
	Burke	20,596	6429 / 7256	13,685
	Bryan	6,226	1119 / 1180	2,299
	Chatham	188,299	29,949 / 34,234	64,183
	Candler	6,672	1152 / 1219	2,371
	Effingham	10,144	1761 / 1740	3,501
	Emanuel	17,815	2801 / 3103	5,904
	Evans	6,952	1197 / 1386	2,583
	Jenkins	9,148	2115 / 2430	4,545
	Liberty	14,487	3059 / 3080	6,139
	Long	3,874	638 / 640	1,278
	McIntosh	6,364	1747 / 1943	3,690
	Montgomery	6,284	1272 / 1278	2,550
	Toombs	16,837	2239 / 2496	4,735
	Treutlen	5,874	960 / 983	1,943
	Screven	14,919	3762 / 4070	7,832
	Tattnall	15,837	3177 / 1857	5,034
	Wheeler	5,342	845 / 890	1,735
		752,023		142,962 19.0%

2nd

14	Baker	4,543	1323 / 1353	2,676
	Brooks	15,292	3566 / 3893	7,459
	Calhoun	7,341	2261 / 2518	4,779
	Colquitt	34,048	3935 / 4288	8,223
	Decatur	25,203	4950 / 5543	10,493
	Dougherty	75,680	11887 / 14111	25,998
	Early	13,151	3233 / 3589	6,822
	Grady	18,015	3213 / 3449	6,662
	Seminole	6,802	1198 / 1415	2,613
	Miller	6,908	969 / 1063	2,032
	Mitchell	19,652	4729 / 5292	10,021

Georgia

2nd Cont'd

Thomas	34,319	6661 7541	14,202	
Tift	23,487	3356 3651	7,007	
Worth	16,682	3875 4165	8,040	38.9%
	30,123		117,027	

3rd

24 Clay	4,551	1371 1466	2,837	
Quitman	2,432	743 817	1,560	
Stewart	7,371	2470 2738	5,208	
Chattahoochee	13,011	1797 620	2,417	
Marion	5,477	1579 1712	3,291	
Taylor	8,311	1947 2066	4,013	
Macon	13,170	3966 4333	8,299	
Peach	13,846	3730 4400	8,130	
Houston	39,154	4259 4556	8,815	
Pulaski	8,204	1621 1939	3,560	
Wilcox	7,905	1277 1364	2,641	
Wedge	16,483	2194 2391	4,585	
Wealy	11,474	2791 3236	6,027	—
Crisp	17,768	3564 4057	7,621	
Lee	6,204	1884 2006	3,890	
Sumter	24,652	6119 6907	13,026	
Terrell	12,742	3891 4318	8,209	
Randolph	11,078	3242 3645	6,887	
Webster	3,247	1021 1054	2,075	
Schley	3,256	879 960	1,839	
Harris	11,167	3053 3055	6,108	
Muscogee	158,623	18043 20412	38,455	
Ben Hill	13,633	2134 2418	4,552	
Turner	8,439	1483 1633	3,116	37.2%
	422,198		157,151	

Ga.

15 4th

Carroll	36,451	3373	3621	6994	
Heard	5,333	569	657	1226	
Troup	47,189	7368	8403	15,771	
Coweta	28,893	5085	5385	10,470	
Meriwether	19,756	4694	5142	9,836	
Talbot	7,127	2381	2594	4,975	
Upson	23,800	3082	3601	6,683	
Pike	7,138	1551	1650	3,201	
Lamar	10,240	1921	2128	4,049	
Butts	8,976	2015	2168	4,183	
Spalding	35,404	4647	5330	9,977	
Henry	17,619	3660	3846	7,506	
Newton	20,999	3454	3803	7,257	
Clayton	46,365	2285	2485	4,770	
Fayette	8,199	1185	1246	2,431	30.7%
	323,489			99,329	

5th

3 Fulton	556,326	89,590	103,813	193,403	
DeKalb	256,782	10,688	11,724	22,412	
Rockdale	10,572	1408	1481	2,889	
	823,680			218,704	26.5%

6th

16 Bleckley'	9,642	1281	1470	2,751	
Laurens'	32,313	5814	6216	12,030	
Johnson'	8,048	1257	1418	2,675	
Jefferson'	17,468	4647	5235	9,882	
Washington'	18,903	5037	5764	10,801	
Glascock'	2,672	364	399	763	
Hancock'	9,979	3635	3826	7,461	

Da.

6th Cont'd

Putnam ✓	7,798	2099 / 2155	4,254	
Jasper ✓	6,135	1608 / 1695	3,303	
Jones ✓	8,468	2065 / 2192	4,257	
Bibb ✓	141,249	21,746 / 25,427	47,173	
Crawford ✓	5,816	1701 / 1663	3,366	
Monroe ✓	10,495	2417 / 2663	5,080	
Twiggs ✓	7,935	2358 / 2413	4,771	
Wilkinson ✓	9,250	2157 / 2303	4,460	
Crawford ✓	5,816	1701 / 1663	3,364	41.8%
7th	301,987		126,391	
14 Harralson	14,543	532 / 668	1,200	
Paulding	13,101	584 / 620	1,204	
Douglas	16,741	1222 / 1267	2,489	
Cobb	114,174	3867 / 4211	8,078	
Bartow	28,267	2031 / 2253	4,284	
Gordon	19,228	578 / 631	1,209	
Floyd	69,130	4614 / 5324	9,938	
Chattooga	19,954	902 / 950	1,852	
Murray	10,447	44 / 41	85	
Whitfield	42,109	885 / 1032	1,917	
Walker	45,264	1193 / 1242	2,435	
Catoosa	21,101	162 / 150	312	
Dade	8,666	75 / 60	135	
~~Cobb~~	28,015	2072 / 2383	4,455	
Polk	450,740		39 593	8.7%
8th				
20 ~~14~~ Camden	9,975	1985 / 2039	4,024	
Glynn	41,954	5525 / 6123	11,648	

Ga.

8th Cont'd

Wayne ✓	17,921	1871	1936	3807	
Appling ✓	13,246	1488	1560	3,048	
Jeff Davis ✓	8,914	889	940	1,829	
Telfair ✓	11,715	1981	2030	4,011	
Irwin ✓	9,211	1665	1770	3,435	
Cook ✓	11,822	1690	1796	3,486	
Lowndes ✓	49,270	7628	8347	15,975	
Echols ✓	1,876	275	250	525	
Berrien ✓	12,038	915	928	1,843	
Lanier ✓	5,097	773	772	1,545	
Clinch ✓	6,545	1313	1173	2,486	
Ware ✓	34,219	3,954	4,527	8,481	
Pierce ✓	9,678	1052	1086	2,138	
Bacon ✓	8,359	545	542	1,087	
Brantley ✓	5,891	417	356	773	
Coffee ✓	21,953	2934	3054	5,988	
Atkinson ✓	6,188	897	880	1,777	
Charlton ✓	5,313	857	845	1,702	20.4%
	291,185			79,608	

9th

18 Fannin ✓	13,620	22	23	45	
Union ✓	6,510	1			
Towns ✓	4,538	1			
Rabun ✓	7,456	29	31	60	
Habersham ✓	18,116	591	326	917	
Stephens ✓	18,391	1,205	1,362	2,567	
Banks ✓	6,497	215	211	426	
Jackson ✓	18,499	1178	1194	2,372	
Barrow ✓	14,485	1218	1344	2,562	
Gwinnett ✓	43,541	1719	1787	3,506	
Forsyth	12,170	3	1	4	

Ga.

9th - Cont'd

Cherokee ✓	23,001	442 469 | 911	
Pickens ✓	8,903	207 182 389	
Gilmer ✓	8,922	4 5 9	
Dawson ✓	3,590	1 —	
Lumpkin ✓	7,241	62 65 127	
Hall ✓	49,739	2520 2871 5391	
White ✓	6,935	151 150 301	
	272154		19,590
			7.2%

10th

17	Franklin ✓	13,274	723 813 1,536	
	Hart ✓	15,229	1793 1934	3,727
	Elbert ✓	17,835	2923 3,186 6,109	
	Lincoln ✓	5,906	1418 1476	2,894
	Columbia ✓	13,423	2343 2443 4,786	
	Richmond ✓	135,601	20,422 22,696	43,118
	McDuffie ✓	12,627	2,507 2,845	5,352
	Warren ✓	7,360	2,189 2420	4,609
	Taliaferro ✓	3,370	1,034 1,063	2,097
	Greene ✓	11,193	2,773 3,105	5,878
	Morgan ✓	10,280	2,347 2,573	4,920
	Walton ✓	20,481	3,201 2,936	6,137
	Oconee ✓	6,304	691 705	1,396
	Clarke ✓	45,363	5341 6274	11,615
	Madison ✓	11,246	1011 1078	2,089
	Oglethorpe ✓	7,926	1731 1825	3,556
	Wilkes ✓	10,961	2729 2890	5,619
		348379		~~115,438~~
				115,438
				33.1%

Memo from **C. H. PARRISH**

Dependent - Var 1 =

% Negro Registration

Dep. Var. 2 - Negro Office Holders

where there is a gap in the marginal (left) number representing counties, such counties have less than 1% negro population, or no data available

New research

	Registered Voters TOTAL	Negro Registered Voters Negro	Negro registered vote of total registered vote Per Cent
ALA.	650,000*	25,224	4%
Ark.	556,261	61,413	11%
Fla.	1,213,472	120,900	10%
GA.	1,313,788	144,835	11%
LA.	1,010,000*	120,000	12%
Miss.	730,456	20,000	5%
N.C.	1,804,238	100,000	6%
S.C.	625,000*	80,000	13%
Tenn.	1,400,000*	85,000	6%
Tex.	2,337,818	181,916	8%
Va.	750,000*	69,326	9%
Total		1,008,614	

Negro Registration in the South 1952

*ESTIMATED

Reference:
1. Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1953

JT, Nov. 26, 1962

file Gen Research

SECOND FISCAL YEAR PROGRESS REPORTS

ORGANIZATION	GRANT NO.	FORM 2	FORM 4	NARRATIVE
SCLC	2-18	-	No date	7-2-63
SNCC	2-19	-	-	-
ASCARV (Jefferson Cty)	2-21	5-4-63	6-25-63	6-25-63
All Citizens (N.Va.)	2-24	-	-	-
SGCV	2-25	5-23-63	5-23-63	5-1-63
SNCC (Dallas Cty)	3-1	-	-	-
All Citizens (Atl)	3-2	-	-	7-27-63
Mississippi Voter Proj.	3-3	4-11-63	4-1-63	7-15-63
Bibb Cty.	3-4	4-1-63	5-31-63	-
CORE	3-5	7-4-63	-	6/
NAACP	3-6	5-10-63	7-24-63	7-18-63
NAACP (Augusta)		-	-	5-7-63
Madison Cty.	3-7	5-1-63	5-1-63	-
Tidewater Proj.	3-8	-	5-8-63	7-10-63
Peninsula Committee	3-9	7-8-63	7-8-63	-
ASCARV	3-10	-	7-12-63	7-9-63
NUL	3-11	7-11-63	-	7-31-63
New Orleans	3-12	7-26-63	-	-
Tuskegee	3-13	-	-	-
YWCA-NSCAF	3-14	-	-	-
Mississippi Human Rts.	3-15	-	-	-
Charleston County	3-16	-	-	-

National Urban League, VEP 2-20 (Fort Worth):
No reports in second year file.

NAACP, VEP 2-22:
No reports in second year file.

Madison County Coordinating Committee, VEP 2-23:
CLOSED.

Warren County Citizens Improvement League, VEP 2-26:
Letter received, general in nature, on March 20th. Can be found in regular file.

Memo from JAMES A. MOSS

Research

~~Anne Spaeth filler~~

Wiley Brantom

Some ideas from

Jim Moss

1. No comment.

2. Criteria useful in measuring program effectiveness in voter registration:

   1. The employment of procedures in extending the awareness of Negroes to the responsibilities of citizenship implicit in both the acts of registering and voting.

   2. Disseminating knowledge of the requirements for registering, voting; crucial dates in the election process (when does one register? what are the dates for important scheduled local, state and national elections?, etc.)

   3. A knowledge of how one proceeds to participate in the election process.

   4. (possibly relating the potential Negro vote to the extension of civil rights to minority groups in the South

3. 1. The project staff can assist participating organizations by programatically eliminating duplication of effort in the same geographical area and in the same activities by the organizations through frequent consultations between organizations where such overlapping may occur.

   2. Provide essential background data on the communities where each organization is engaged in stimulating voter activity.

   3. Through an evaluation of techniques proving successful in stimulating voter activity, make available to these organizations these guides to effective action.

4. A. <u>The research undertaken will constitute a study and evaluation of organizational programs directed toward stimulating Negro voting participation in the South</u>.

   Foci of the research will include the following:

   1. Negro voting behavior in the South spanning the historical period between the Civil War and the present.

   2. Important legal landmarks in the suffrage area with respect to Negroes in the South.

3. An evaluation of restrictive devices used to limit Negro voting behaviour.

4. Some correlation between Negro voting behaviour and other socio-economic aspects of Negro-white relations in the South.

5. An intensive look at state-by-state action with regard to Negro suffrage.

A. Statistical analysis of previous voting by Negroes in the state.

Changes in the population size of Negroes with particular ref4rence to a segment of the population eligible to vote.

A projection of this segment of the population over the next 5 years, 10 years.

B. The number and percentages of Negroes of eligible voting age registered, actively voting.

~~6.~~ C Methods and procedures used to to restrict Negroes from voting.

~~7.~~ D Opposing methods used by Negroes to circumvent voting restrictions.

~~8.~~ E Types and number or organizations active in the voting field, in particular organizational strategies most successful in extending Negro suffrage.

6. ~~9.~~ An evaluation of Negro voting activities for the two-year period of the survey.

7 ~~10.~~ A projection from this activity to some estimate of voting behaviour of Negroes in the South.

4. B. Background data will be secured from published material on voting behaviour in the South, newspaper clips, informants in the area under survey, and from the files of organizations participating in the survey.

4. C. There are current plans to publish the findings of the research either in the form of interim reports or in a printed form available for large distribution.

4. D. Southern Regional Council will undertake the actual research and will jointly share the evaluation of the project with the cooperating organizations.

5 No comment

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT CONFERENCE OF MAY 1, 2, 1962

LWD

1. Research money has to be confined to registration work not getting out the vote work, has to be non-partisan. SRC emphasis will be on the two poin ts on the agenda.
   a. Efforts are not restricted to Negro potential voting--it is open to all, i.e. League of Women Voters
   b. Endorsements have been received from both the Rep. and Dem. National Committees
2. Proliferation of groups in civil rights--has been threatened by this block of agenceies fighting among themselves. It is the hope of SRC that these agencies will strengthen their ties and cooperation. LWD

3. Which means is to be used--1. study of means which this process is blocked, i.e. literacy tests; or 2. study of voter registration itself. Vines
   a. Both LWD: example of Kaves project on how the administration and federal agriculture programs may effect N. reg.

4. Will money go into N. voter's leagues which are not non-partisan?
   a. Not if they are endorsing candidates

WB

Regular deadlines of '62 have hampered this years work. VEP requested each agency to submit proposals. All grants will have to be channeled toward some research effort. SRC will have to know from each agency what they want to be supplied with. Requests from the major five agencies total $556,000 for the first year.
All Citizens Registration Committee rec'd the first grant. It is non-partisan, started by AUL, then by NAACP and lately SCLC has made the biggest donations. ACRC rec'd a direct grant because it is the best vehicle. ACRC is carrying on a crash program with the 2,500 it has rec'd. It has a court-house phase, and a school coverage phase. The Atlanta Committee on Appeal for Human Rights is doing the door-knocking.
Durham County---All registrants were removed from the rolls. They have 3 weeks to register--deadline May 12. Durham Committee on Negro Affairs headed by John H. Wheeler rec'd its requested $2,500.
East Texas will be included

SRC will select those areas where an effective job can be done. Example of Ark, deadline for poll tax in Oct. in order to vote in the Dem primary during the following summer and November general elections. SRC wants areas where increased registration and research is possible. SRC will select target areas to prevent any duplication of effort. SRC may draw a line on how much will be spent in each state but not in any general area. SRC can not underwrite an entire budget, i.e. SCLC asked 60% of its entire program.

NUL is not statewide in scope, will work in area where they have local affilliates. Fort Worth (?) Each local area will make its own choice--New Orleans, Fort Worth, Tampa, Little Rock, Jacksonville, Fla. (Jax U.L. voted against it because it is seeking to get back into the local United Fund, doesn't want to project an active image and the NAACP has an active block by block set-up--not official)

NAACP-East Texas, Ark. except for LIttle Rock which is UL, Shreveport, Monroe, Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, New Orleans.

CORE--New Orleans, Bator FOCUS is the local Btn Rge organization), 6th Congressional Distri .

SNCC -Southwest Mississi there will go into La.'s 6th District Across middle belt of Al iss. generally.

Geographically

Tenn. NAACP in MEM, NSV, on, Fayette County, Clarksville. SCLC in KXV, NSV, MEM

Miss-CORE in Jackson, SCLC n Cle and, Mound Bayou, Clarksdale, Greenville, SNCC all over

ALA. Ala. State Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting in BHM, started by W. C. Patton of NAACP. SCLC in MGM, Talladega County, SNCC across the middle belt (Dallas, Maringo, Clark counties)

Ga. SCLC (Ga. Voter Registration Committee taken over by SCLC with Calhoun's help, but keeps its name in some areas because of SCLC reputation. ACRC in ATL. SNCC in 2nd and 3rd Districts.

Fla.Books closed till May 29. NAACP & NUL in Jax (?) TAM, CORE in MIA.

SC. CORE, SCLC, SNCC (2nd phase) Charleston Coordinating Committee-Mr. Wrighten has made application.

N.C.Durham County, NAACP--most major cities, U.L. in Winston-Salem (INT). Limited operations for SNCC and SCLC.

VA- 4th Cong. District--NAACP, CORE, SCLC, Va. Voter's league--state-wide organization wants inclusion. North Va. Coordinating Committee-Dr. Henderson of Falls Church has made a request for this organization. Peninsula Voters League has made a request.

(Assignment of areas is more difficult than the selection)

SRC is not concerned with the standards, procedures and criteria on a community basis, but can determine criteria on the national level. It is concerned with the reporting though.Cooperation will be enforced by SRC and local leadership on the part of national organizations. They may map out a coordinated effort but SRC may be used to push draggers in the coordinated effort. SRC will make a commitment but payment will be made quarterly,,which will depend upon the reporting back of these organizations . The coordinating structure is up to the organizations involved--the organizations will be informed that they are to cooperate but the structure will be self-imposed.

Prothro--Will SRC be able to manipulate the variables?

Branton--This is why the agencies think one of the agencies should be responsible for a particular area.

Vines--What are the means of record keeping?

Matthews--Will expenditures be broken down by area and function?

Vines--How much basic research will be done?

Prothro--Will SRC be interested in selecting counties which ought to have a low registration rate but have a high one and vica versa. (He and

Matthews have selected 21 demographic features which determine the hypothetical registration rate for 997 counties.)

Matthews--This is something as close as possible to a controlled experiment. We're using locations with like demographic rates and characteristics. (Would a given amount of input of energy and money have greater effect in a county with like characteristics?)

Matthews--Should get areas of different low's and high's of predicted registration rates; SNCC has so far chosen areas of predicted high registration rate.

Henderson- Should discover other than demographic features which effect reg. rates- What are the factors? Should determine some basic characteristics.

Thompson- 340 Negroes were registered in New Orleans in 1940. After Smith and ? up to 2000 Negroes were registered. In Orleans County there are several segments; the Catholic campaign remained in the Catholic segment, the Baptist campaign would mill in Baptists. There is no Negro Catholic leadership as all Catholic priests are white. (There are two Negro lawyers who are considered leaders; they have special interests though) We have a complete record of all voter registration drives.

Brazeal- We will have to reassess our Ga. data in light of the county unit decision of today. Counties may have to think of increased Negro vote in order to offset the white vote against it is vote against vote.

Prothro-- There was [illegible] predicted higher registration in Orleans Parish with an actual 43% achieved. ([illegible] based on the 21 demographic features)

(These variables include:
1. % of Negro population in 1950
2. % of Negro population in 1960
3. % of farms operated by tenants
4. White median school years completed
5. % of non-white labor force in white collar employment.
6. % of population belonging to white churches
7. % of Roman Catholics --- white
8. % of Baptist membership 66---white
9. % of labor force in manufacturing
10. % of population which is urban
11. Number of Negro colleges in the county
12. % of total Jewish church membership
13. White school years completed
14. Non-white school years completed

(A slight increase in school years for white means an increase in anti-Negro sentiments)
(Counties with less than 1% non-white population were excluded from this 11 state survey. 1958 census figures were used except for Tenn 1960 figures)
(Political variables were included such as [illegible] acts of violence.

Cothran-One could use the county agents and agriculture school at Orangeburg as sources of contact for Negro project.

Henderson--The action groups can only reflect the changes numerically unless they have some skilled direction. Some connection with education institutions would be mandatory.

More political variables:
15. % of presidential votes for states rights in 1948
16. % of presidential votes which was Republican in '42, '28 and '56.
17. Presence of absence of white race organization
18. Presence of absence of Negro race organization

There was corelation between Negro voter and the presence or absence of school desegregation (+.03)

Holloway--(In Austin) Whether or not they drive or do not drive the registration increase is about the same. 33-36% of registered voters actually vote.

Spraggins-- Va. registration figures are sent in by race-precnct-wise.

Brazeal--Powers - to - be would permit Negroes to register yet would keep them from voting in some Ga. counties.

Gomillion--Will there be any attempt for political education?

Brunton--We are concerned with increased registration and increased participation in voting--research-wise.

Gomillion-- Once registered people seem to want increased information re political [illegible]

Prothro--Precinct Party Organizations and Turnout in Political Science Quarterly.

Henderson--(Information we need)
1. Name and adress of each person by blocks
2. Number of wards, precincts, districts
3. Techniques employed to get these people to vote (car pool, mass meetings, etc.)
4. What was done in terms of leading up to the time of the voter registration campaign?

Spraggins--In Va. you can get names and addresses of people who are registered. Check it against some mass organization lists, i.e., teacher organizations.

Moore-- Is the effort of the VEP confined to the five major organizations? Is the effort to increase voter registration or is there to be an increase in the political climate and political efficiency?

Moss--We can ask about the means of improving political education.

Gomillion--We can get the names and addresses of all people applying and check it against those who receive registration receipts.

Dunbar--I doubt if the agency reporting should account for the number they have registered during the quarter.

Moss--SRC should supply the potential number that can be registered.

C.H.--There are different procedures in counties and states, i.e., Ala. has a form and Va. has lists. Ga., Tenn., Texas figures by race are not available.

Dan Thompson-- We must do something besides count vote. What do you do in terms of educating the electorate and what do you do in terms of uncovering democratic procedures?

Moss

Henderson--How can we identify the increase in registration in terms of the organizations in the registration campaign? How can we get the numerical performance?

Branton--Whether or not you believe the agency, you should require this information, i.e., what is the total registration in your county, Etc.

Cothran--Is it possible to appoint a research person in each state to provide follow-up information?

Vines-- A grad student could sample new registrants if they were involved in the registration project or not.

Wednesday Meeting

Vines--I would hope that at some point there would be one or two pilot studies of registration behavior. We do not know much about registration with respect to registration How does the individual make up his mind? What are the processes by which he decides to register? What kind of motivations keep people from voting? The organizations will reach the people most interested--the most pausible. This over-sampling will not be accurate; it will leave out those whoare not so motivated.

Moss--Are the factors inhibiting white voters the same as those inhibiting Negro voters?

Dan Thompson-Will there be any study of levels of registration: on the application of restrictive measures i.e., New Orleans where there was little restriction until the voter registration drives when literacy tests were greatly applied.

Gomillion--This was true in Macon County. There was adverse action and yet it stimulated positive action. There will be an increase on the part of Negroes and on the part of whites until you reach a certain point when block voting comes into effect and the white officials become interested in the Negro (block) vote.

Matthews-- re apathy--They matched questionnaires from Negroes and whites. Leadership from the high ech elons (preachers) have a better response than that of lower echelons.

Vines--The registration process will be different in counties where the resistance to registration is greater as against the process used in counties where the resistance is low.

Dunbar--There are some black belt counties where the Negro vote is not overtly oppressed--a sort of different discipline prevails.

Cothran--To what extent does the social structure in a county effect Negro reistration?

Holloway--In Austin (Texas) only a third of those registered will vote. Lack of something to vote against or to vote for is one of the reasons for this. There is less apathy among the Negroes than whites. Lower class is apolitical as against the middle class in Austin. What he (the Negro) can gain from the election is a motivating factor.

Cothran--Lower class Negores have the most intense hatred against the whites than the middle class Negro--this hatred can be converted into political action.

Spragwin--If you can tie it in with civil rights, the turn-out will be better.

Matthews---In Durham County (N.C.) Negro candidates were used as a device to get more Negroes to register even though there wasn't a chance for the Negro to win. Later on the Negro candidates were dropped until there was a chance (or enough) Negro voters to elect Negro candidates. Urban renewal is sometimes used to suppress Negro voting. (Dunbars example of the proposed Decatur project)

Holloway--East Texas vote is manipulated

Vines--There is a group of Negores who are motivated more by economics than by civil rights. There is some relationship between Negro registration rates and white registration rates in the same area. (Ex.-In a plantation county where there is high white registration rates and low Negro registration rates i.e., 4th District of Va.) A large number of Negroes makes white registration rates high.

Brazeal--Voter indifference is different among the Negroes as against voter indifference among whites. (Results of threats and violence). There is a direct corelation between Negroes having an independence from whites. Separate registration places and separate voting places meant Negroes were easily identified i.e., Fort Valley. Sometimes acts of violence which have no relationship to voting would effect voting. An elaborate snv system has been worked out in some places. In some places you have permissive registration but not permissive voting. There have been some acts of violence against those who tried to register. The rural Negro is in the same place that the early Irish immigrant:when they first came to America they were not thoroughly assimilated, nor did they accept there American rights. How do you facilitate a shift from registration to voting? The sheriff and the county solicitor are the most important elections. The sheriff is likely to be the first white politician to court Negro votes. If you do not have leadership in a community--independent leadership--the money won't help.

Cothran--We can explain Negro apathy. Appeals to the Negores must be different than appeals to others--you are going to have to put it on a much more personal basis. It may be profitable to take advantage of any crisis situations which may develop. A conflict situation provides an opportunity for solidarity. You might be able to use fighting teams. The leadership must have a reputation among Negroes which give to the Negro masses a certain amount of confidence (meaning that the leaders are not in it for themselves.)

Henderson--The role of the Negro newspaper should be considered. The presence or absence of Negro newspapers may have some influence.

Spragwin--In Richmond, Va., the Crusade for Voting is of the top echelon leadership. Precincts are organized through-out the year; the organizations do other things between elections i.e., beautification projects. At the polls on election day they have lists of voters that are checked off (and) through the use of telephones. They generally have an OK [illegible]

Sprague-Cont.--registration rate is psychological because of the argument of poll tax--this is intrepreted to mean that no one is supposed to vote in Va. but the well-educated, the well-off whites. The Negro registration figures in '58 were 85,000 and in '62 160,000 (Va.) There has been no check on the people (in Va.) who are registered and do not vote.

Strong--People register because they have some special reason i.e., poll tax payment in Texas. Why do women vote more now than in 1920 (because of) a process of assimulation and acceptance. Look back on the successes of increased Negro registration since 1952. It may be the migration of the Negro to the North. How come nothing more dramatic since 1952? There should be increased participation not only increased registration in black belt counties. Negroes vote more in the cities than in rural areas--no adequate police protection, no fraternal organizations. (V.O. Key) Negroes are not as embarassed as whites to work on the registration tests--they will work longer and harder on the questions.

Matthews--Fear of economic reprisal is second to fear of embarassing one's self.

Gomillion--Political and social climate is very important. There is not much sense in trying counties where this is against you. Leadership is needed--the floating teams would retard registration in some counties. In most of the counties with high Negro population , if there is not a favorable climate for registration, the degree of success is going to be lower. There are 3 or counties in Alabama where Negroes have increased their efforts to register when there has been sharp issues but this is not enough to draw applicable conclusions--this should be a study in terms of a complex of factors. (Bullock County has over 500 Negroes registered--this is where the Justice Dept. is working-Ala.) In counties where registration attempts are generally futile, local leadership should be developed; maybe SNCC or CORE could create a crisis situation which would cause local Negroes to develop leaders.

Pierce--Accommodations are slow of registration (one at a time) and the voucher system hinders registration (Registered voter can only vouch for two potential registrants). Who is going to lead? What are the compensations? Are they free to exercise the ballot once they get it? Where can they find relief? If your man (candidate) loses, what will the other man do?

Outline for a Report on VEP registration programs. 11/6/62

This report should begin with a brief description of the community in which the registration program was conducted. The description should include proportion of Negro voting age population, number of Negroes registered to vote, and the total number of registered voters. The description should also include such items as the extent to which Negro residential areas are ghettoized, the general conditions of Negro employment (with especial reference to public employment - police officers, firemen, civil service workers, etc.), and whether Negroes occupied any public or party, elective or appointive, positions at the time the registration program was conducted. Since campaign and electoral activity seems to have a beneficial effect on registration efforts, the report should also indicate whether local elections were factors in the drive, and if so, whether Negroes were candidates for any party or public office.

Next should come a description of the activities which preceded the organization of the registration program. We would like to know whether there were difficulties among the leaders arising out of personal or organizational friction and jealousy. It is also important that we know whether the organization which conducted the drive was a previously established political or civil action entity or whether it was a new organization, the birth of which was directly related to the registration program. # We would like to have the names

of any individuals whose influence on activities in the registration program seemed out of proportion to the leadership positions they occupied previous to the program. What we are looking for here is whether an activity such as a registration program provides a context conducive to the rise of new leadership.

Then, we would like a description of the actual organization which conducted the drive. This should be a rather simple description of the structure of the organization identifying the decision-making and executive positions, and the responsibilities incumbent upon such positions.

The following is an outline of the kind of information that we want about the actual conduct of the registration program:

I. What steps were taken to inform the Negro community that a registration drive was to be undertaken?

A. Use of organizations - i.e., social, political, professional, business, labor, etc. Did they cooperate? How - mailings to membership, announcements in meetings, etc.?

B. Advertisements in newspapers (find circulation figures and compute column lineage and number of insertions.) Get text of insertions. Cost per column inch. Personal image part of message?

C. [redacted]

C. Advertisements on radio and TV (times and dates, number of ads, text of copy, cost, identify of speakers, was message taped or did staff announcer read copy?- was image of speaker part of the message?

D. Use of churches. How was cooperation of ministers solicited - was meeting called or were they contacted individually? What degree of cooperation, if any, was received? Announcements, sermons, participation by minister?

II. How were prospective registrants contacted?

A. Door-to-Door canvassing.

a. How were areas selected for canvassing?

b. How was canvassing machinery organized?

c. Was canvassing designed to inform, merely, or was it designed actually to enlist prospects, instruct them, and provide service such as baby-sitting, transport, etc.

d. Were canvassers volunteer or paid? Were they from all walks of life or primarily students? What other types served as canvassers?

e. What provisions were made for follow-ups to initial canvass?

f. How were canvassers motivated and how did they attempt to motivate prospects - idealogically or practically?

B. Mass meetings.

a. Date, time and place held.

b. Number and identify of speakers. Were speakers selected for informative or image purposes, or both; i.e., were they celebrities or were they leaders whose knowledge of political affairs determined their

c. Were those who attended followed up at the meetings or was initiative placed on them to seek participation; i.e., names taken for volunteer work, for registration, for instruction, at meeting. Degree of success of this kind of recruitment - how many participants garnered from meetings as compared to other modes of recruitment.

C. Where the organizations in I.A above used in actual registration work? If so, how and to what extent?

D. Other? Maintenance of an office with full-time personnel?

III. Describe process of registration.

A. Arrangements for transport.

B. Was there a ppol of helpers actually to go to the office with prospective registrants?

C. Was there machinery for enumerating successful registrants and for working with failures?

D. What was attitude of registrar's office - official attitude as well as attitude of personnel in the office?

E. If registrar hours were inconvenient was attempt made to secure extra office hours - successful?

F. What kinds of performance were required of registrants. Was attempt made to determine whether discrimination was practiced at office? Affadavits taken of all incidents of discrimination?

G. Explore the possibility of any organized opposition either official or unofficial to the drive and describe it as thoroughly as possible. Look for unorganized individual or group acts tending to harass, intimidate, etc.

H. Was public attention given by white newspapers, radio, TV, public addresses, etc., to the drive?

IV. An attempt should be made to describe the attitudes of public officials toward the drive. What were their perceptions of this activity among the Negroes - how accurately were they informed as to numbers participating - to what extent did they disapprove or approve- did they perceive this is qualitatively different from similar white activity? Interviews with registration officials are particularly valuable here.

V. What were the concrete results of the drive?

A. Number of persons involved in volunteer work?

B. Number of paid personnel?

C. Were incentives offered for increased registration either to prospects or to workers?

D. Number of persons registered if these records kept by the drive?

E. Numbers on official records during the time of the drive?

Outline for a Report on VEP Registration Project

I What steps were taken to inform the Negro community that a registration drive was to be undertaken ?

A. Use of organizations--i.e., social, political, professional, business, labor, etc. Did they cooperate ? How--mailings to membership, announcements in meetings, etc.?

B. Advertisements in newspapers (find circulation figures and compute column lineage and number of insertions). Get text of insertions. cost per column inch. Personal image part of message ?

C. Advertisments on radio and TV (times and dates, number of ads, text of copy, cost, identity of speaker, was message taped or did staff announcer read copy--was image of speaker part of the message ?

D. Use of churches. How was cooperation of min isters solicited--was meeting called or were they contacted individually ? What degree of cooperation, if any, was received ? Announcements, sermons, participation by minister ?

II How were prospective registrants contacted?

A. Door-to-Door canvassing

a. How were areas selected for canvassing

b. How was canvassing machinery organized

c. Was canvassing designed to inform, merely, or was it designed actually to enlist prospects, instruct them, and provide service such as baby-sitting, transport, etc.

d. Were canvassers volunteer or paid ? Were they from all walks of life or primarily students ? What other types served as canvassers ?

~~BxxMxxxxmxxxings~~

e. What provisions were made for follow-ups to initial canvass.

f. How were Canvassers motivated and how did they attempt to motivate prospects ideologically or practically?

B. Mass meetings

a. Date, time and place held

b. Number and identity of speakers. Were speakers selected for informative or image purposes, or both , i.e., were they celebrities or were they leaders whose knowledge of political affairs determined their selection ?

c. Were those who attended followed-up at the meeting or was initiative placed on them to seek participation , i.e., names taken for volunteer work, for registration, for instruction, at meeting. Degree of success of this kind of recruitment--how many participants garnered from meetings as compared to other modes of recruitment.

C. See ~~A. under I~~ Were the organizations in A-A above used in actual registration work? If so, how and to what extent.

D. other ? Maintenance of an office with full-time personnel ?

III Describe ~~the machinery of actually getting proppects to registrar's office.~~ process of registration

A. Arragnements for transport.

B. Was there a pool of helpers actually to go to the office with prospective registrants ?

C. Was there machinery for enumerating successful registrants and for working with failures ?

D. What was attitude of registrar's office--official attitude as well as attitude of personnell in the office.

E. If registrar hours were inconvenient was attempt made to secure extra office hours--successful ?

F. What kinds of performance were required of registrants. Was attempt made to determine whether discrimination parcticed at office ? Affadavits taken of all incidents of deiscrimination ?

G. Explore the possibility of any organized opposition either official or unofficial to the drive and descsrib e it as thoroughly as possible. Look for unorganized individual or group acts tending to harass, intimidate, etc.

H. Was public attention given by white newspapers, radio, T.V., public addresses, etc., to the drive.

IV An attempt should be made to describe the attitudes of public officials toward the drive. What were their perceptions of this activity among the Negroes--how accurately were they informed as to numbers participating--to what extent did they disapprove or approve--did they perceive this as qualitatively different from similar white activity ? Interviews with registration officals are particularly valuable here.

V What were the concrete results of the drive ?

A. number of persons involved in volunteer work

B. number of paid personnel

C. Were incentives offered for increased registration either to prospects or to workers ?

E. Number of persons registered if these records kept by the drive.

F. increase on official records during the time of the drive.

G. Number of persons rejected during the drive and reasons therefore.

BU 11/23
~~11/27~~
~~11/28~~
12-4-62

Research design

November 15, 1962

Mr. Bill Harrell
Department of Sociology
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Bill:

You have been unconscionably remiss in your responsibilities as a correspondent. I say this not as an accusation but as a statement of fact with which any competent observer could agree. There are two reasons why I will not berate you for your dereliction.

In the first place, I suspect that your deficiency results from a basic flaw in your character for which you are not responsible and over which you have no control. Clearly, to raise great fuss would only aggravate the situation and thereby operate to my further disadvantage. In the second place, it is my purpose to pick some of the fruits of your mind, a pursuit which I have found limitlessly profitable in the past despite the character flaw mentioned above, and despite the other moral deficiencies reflected by your unwillingness to shave regularly and to shine your shoes.

It begins to appear, Bill, that there may be an opportunity here to do some really basic research in a field which looks to me like the sociology of knowledge. I had some discussions last week with some high academic potentates at the SPSA convention and they appeared quite enthusiastic about the prospect of some really important work arising out of research on our registration programs. As a result

of these discussions I bestirred myself in the construction of what I think is a research design.

I am enclosing a copy of the monster. I would greatly appreciate it if you would read it over carefully and see whether it communicates anything to you. I am particularly concerned over whether you think it necessary to explicate the assumptions I have selected and whether you think there are any others which should be treated in like manner. I also wish that you would pay particular attention to the three categories and let me know whether you think they are the most useful which could be deduced from the concepts. Too, I am a little concerned about the advisability of separating the subject matter of the communication into fact and value. Do you think this will be operable?

Also, do you think it is a distinction without a difference to use the two concepts of communication, the one relating to the consumation of communication and the other relating to the induced effect of the communication?

I would certainly appreciate knowing about any other criticism you have of the research design including, possibly, the suggestion that it be thrown out the window and a new start made.

I hope you will exercise every effort to overcome your natural slothfulness in replying because I would like to get this - or some other design - perfected as quickly as possible.

Tell your wife and children we miss their company and we look forward to seeing you possibly when we come through there during the Christmas period.

Best regards.

Jack Minnis

JM:jl
enc.

11/23/62

November 16, 1962

Mr. Ross L. Clark, Jr.
Department of Political Science
Western Carolina College
Cullowhee, North Carolina

Dear Ross:

I am enclosing a research design which I have whipped together as a result of the developments at the convention last week. I hope you will look it over very carefully and tell me what you think of it as a statement of method as well as a basis for operational research. I realize that the categories I have devised are themselves only a beginning so far as operationalizing the research is concerned and that each of the categories is itself a research area. Once I get the basic design more or less perfected I propose to go into each category and suggest the operational designs which would be appropriate.

I am particularly interested in knowing whether you think I have explicated the appropriate assumptions and whether you think there are any others which should be explicated.

I need not tell you, I am sure, how much of you is in this design. As you remarked last week, it probably would be impossible for either of us to think professionally without using some part of the other.

Please let me have your opinions as soon as possible because I want to push along with this whole research matter. I submitted a written report to Les and Wiley summarizing the conversations I had at the convention; I have as yet heard nothing from them.

We are looking forward to seeing you the first week end in December. Best regards.

Sincerely,

JM:jl

Jack Minnis

file with replies to research design.

Western Carolina College
Cullowhee, North Carolina

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Dear Snake,

I am sorry that I was unable to get this back sooner to you. We are on the quarter system here and I have been at the awful business of grading papers and making grades.

In commenting on the P. I have first some general remarks to make. First I think the problem at this point is one of tactics rather than of grand strategy; of effectiveness in the achievement of an immediate objective rather than one of internal clarification of meaning. You must first of all get your hands on the loot – that is the tactical objective at this point. To do this you are going to have to phrase your research design in the kind of language that bears a close resemblance to the compiled, accepted, honorific literature in the field. It will have to look like Lazarsfeld Eulau etc. It will be a comparatively simple task to retranslate this back into your own terms

after you get the money. (Second) From some little experience with trying to communicate the Kantian problem as it relates to Social science to those innocent of all philosophy I predict that the very meaningful distinctions you make about imposing intellectual order on chaos will either be entirely misunderstood or not understood at all. Especially is this true in what you say about the construction of ideal types. Nowhere is the specific comparative use of ideal types for research purposes made explicit. This use is, of course, implicit to much of the commentary on Weber and to Webers system itself. Your suggestion as to its use, therefore, in the form you give it is elliptical. The use of the type, as you so correctly see it, is an intellectual offspring of our numerous conversations, etc on the subject. No committee, however, is going to see this at the present time. When I say that this problem of the use of types will not be understood I speak with perhaps more first hand knowledge than anyone else in the world. It will be much easier for the committee to laugh at your prospectus than to try to understand it.

(3)

Western Carolina College
Cullowhee, North Carolina
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

What I would suggest is to start again from the close of your opening ~~sentence~~ paragraph. Then say something to this effect — "Since the ~~problem~~ statement raises the question of developing an educational programme etc etc. — It is necessary to design a research oriented to discovering what factors influence voting, how can these factors be discovered, how when they are discovered they can be effectively encorporated into meaningful programme of voter education etc etc. Then when you talk about about operational categories talk about Lazarsfeld Guttmann etc — all the old honorific types. Then set up categories analogous to theirs, bearing in mind of course, that once you get the hoot you can easily set up other categories etc.

(over)

What might be successful is to carry the problem of the prospectus to those who have been successful in the tactical operation of getting money from a foundation.

My conclusions are that I can do no better than give you advice which you once gave me. A committee is a hog..... take a stick and hit it on the snout; dont try to reason with it.

Aside from this, I found your prospectus very meaningful to me pessonally (if I controlled the funds I would give you the money you want on the strength of the prospectus). The fact that you and I see eye to eye on the problem of ideal types is very heartening. Now there are at least two of us to see the truth. This considerably lessens the possibility that I am insane

My best to your family

See you early December.

Ross

I have assumed that the copy you sent me of the P I can access. I want to go over it again and maybe we can talk about it in Dec.

November 16, 1962

Dr. James A. Moss
Department of Sociology
Union College
Schenectady, New York

Dear Jim:

It was a great pleasure, both professionally and personally, to discuss the Voter Education Project research problems with you at the SPSA convention last week. It was startling to me to discover the extent to which I have been professionally isolated since last July. Discussing research with you and the others radically altered, I think, the prognosis for the success of research efforts growing out of VEP.

I have put together what I think is a research design which will enable us to do some basic research without interfering with the other interests of the VEP. I would be very grateful if you would go over the enclosed material with some care and then let me know at your earliest convenience whether you think I am on the right track and, if not, what track you think I should be on. It is my idea to structure the research so as to frame a problem in communication. The categories I have devised in the research design are what I conceive to be areas of research. I realize that a number of operational designs would be required for each category, i.e., community surveys, participant observation, studies of community structure, studies of organizations as groups, etc. What I am doing now is getting opinions about the method I propose from folk whose judgment about such matters I value. From the advice I receive I hope more or less to perfect the basic method and then go into the operational phase of the design, at which time I will again want to call upon you for advice and counsel.

On my return here I submitted to Les and Wiley a full account

of my conversations with you, Matthews and Prothro, Heard, et al. I have not as yet discussed the matter with Les and Wiley although I did indicate in the report that I thought it would be of some importance that a decision be made about financing research at the earliest possible time.

You will, I think, be interested to know that Matthews and Prothro were very enthusiastic about the research prospects and they seemed to think it likely that one of the more serious foundations, such as Rockefeller, might be interested in participating. I had a very interesting conversation with Heard in which he indicated that he thought the "presumption" would be in favor of Rockefeller participation given an adequate research proposal and, in general, a viable research operation.

I look forward to hearing from you soon on what you think about the enclosed research design. Please remember to send me the tapes of last spring's conference.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl
enc.

November 16, 1962

Dr. Kenneth Vines
Department of Political Science
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Vines:

In thinking back over the discussions I had with you at the convention last week, I am surprised and dismayed to realize the extent to which I had been professionally isolated down here. It was as though I had suddenly moved from a world of deaf mutes into one populated entirely by intensely alert and perceptive people. I simply had not been aware that my inability to communicate down here had arisen from the same difficulty one experiences in talking to a wall.

I am enclosing a basic method and research design which I hope, with advice and counsel, to be able to get into operational shape. I would greatly appreciate having your opinion of it including primarily what you do not like about it and what you think should be changed. Do you think that this research problem would be successfully approached operationally as a problem in communication?

I think of the categories I have developed as being, in themselves, research areas and propose to develop operational designs for each of them; i.e., community surveys, participant observation. etc., once I get the basic design more or less perfected.

I hope you will let me have the benefit of your opinion at your very earliest opportunity so that I can push along with the next stage.

I submitted to Les and Wiley a written report summarizing

the results of our conferences and making the recommendations for financing which we discussed last week. I have as yet heard nothing from them.

I have not yet had the opportunity to get around to Emory but hope to do so either tomorrow or early next week. As soon as I do I will let you know my impressions.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Minnis

JM:jl
enc.

file Pers

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 5 TENNESSEE

Department of Political Science

NOV 29 1962

Dear Jack,

I will be in Atlanta this Friday the 30 th. I will be busy all day but will have some time after about 4:30. I will call you sometime during the day ~~xxxx~~ at the SRC office and we plan to get together.

Will you not mention my visit to anyone, please, Emory wishes the proceeding to be confidential and at this point I will respect their wishes. Hope you will be in town. See You Soon.

As Ever,

Kenneth Vines

DIVISION OF SOCIAL STUDIES
UNION COLLEGE
SCHENECTADY 8, N.Y.
PHONE: DICKENS 6-3426

JAN 3 1963

December 28, 1962

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jack:

My apologies for delaying so long in complying with your request for my observations on your research statement. I have read over the statement at least three times, and I find it thorough in every regard. But just to make sure that we are really communicating, may I indicate how what you have said strikes me. I see pages one through six as constituting a definition of terms as stated in the purpose for the voter registration project. From the bottom of page six to the bottom of page seven, emphasis is placed upon measuring inhibiting factors in voting and in voting registration. It seems to me that from the bottom of page seven to the middle of page eight you spell out the limitations inherent in a research project of this dimension. For some reason, I feel inclined to want to see on paper what are the specific questions that you would like to have answered thoroughly from the voter research project. Perhaps then we can move more easily into the questions that need to be asked specifically to those working on the project in the field. Because as I remember it, this was the central problem that you raised with me in Tennessee in November. Namely, how can we assure uniformity in data reporting necessary in the voter registration research. I am not quite sure that I have added very much to what you have thoughtfully prepared, but I shall be glad to react again anywhere along the way where you feel it might be helpful.

I have also asked the office to send to you the tape of the voting registration conference. Have fun.

Tell Jean Levine that I shall try to write very soon.

Best wishes to all,

Jim

Jim

WB
RTB

January 13, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara Whitaker

Re: Consultation with Dr. Samuel D. Cook January 10, 1964

Mr. Branton indicated the original request for consultation grew out of Mr. Blackwell's concern for some basic understanding of the research objectives and methods so that field visits can take on more meaning as projects are concluded. In Mr. Blackwell's absence on a field trip to Texas, discussion was generally concerned with the necessity for following more closely details in design and closing gaps in same, if possible. There was indication that we need more than just the number of people actually registered.

There is a need to study files to pinpoint statistics from the projects being supported by VEP. Need was also cited to obtain statistics from as many other sources as possible.

Dr. Cook agreed with an earlier discussion that the 1960 Census report be used as basic research figures.

It was also indicated that projects would be supported through the registration deadline for presidential election. At that point, financial support would be terminated except for limited voter education. Heavy support will be concentrated in Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

It was generally agreed that the research statement needs to be examined and, for practical purposes, reduced to a series of questions to be answered from the field. Also, there is a need to determine whether we would want different types of reports from different areas.

Concensus seemed to have been that we are working with individuals in the field who generally have no appreciation for research problems. The question seems to be how to: 1) Stimulate interest at lower levels, or 2) Take reports submitted and try to fit them to research design.

Barbara Whitaker

BW:js

Research Design

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 5, 1963

To: Members of the Executive Committee
From: Leslie W. Dunbar

You will recall that at several meetings last year the staff was questioned on its formulation of research plans for the Voter Education Project. The subject was also discussed from the floor at the Annual Meeting.

We have now sufficient experience with our material and with our reactions to that material to describe our ideas, goals, and methods more narrowly.

The staff has just concluded a re-statement of research plans, and I send it to you attached.

We are not planning to put discussion of this on the agenda of the February, 1962 meeting. I am sure, however, that there will be time for discussion if any of you wish to bring it up. Wiley Branton, Jack Minnis, Staige Blackford, and I would be delighted to have your comments or suggestions at any time.

I am sending copies of this also to the following members of the Council, all of whom are social scientists, and am similarly inviting their study and comment:

Bell I. Wiley, Professor of History, Emory University
B. R. Brazeal, Dean, Morehouse College
C. G. Gomillion, Chairman, Division of Social Science, Tuskegee
Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Robert J. Harris, Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University

SRC

February, 1963

A STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS OF THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

I. BACKGROUND

A. Before undertaking the Voter Education Project, the Southern Regional Council applied for and obtained a favorable ruling from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, holding that the Project was consistent with SRC's tax-exemption. In letters to the Commissioner, dated December 14, 1961 and February 9, 1962, the Project was described. The following statements, excerpted from those letters, define the research objectives:

> 1. The purpose of the Project is to enable the Council to promote and to study and evaluate methods for teaching and encouraging exercise of the right to register and vote in areas in the South which, from the Council's past research, are known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting. The work will necessarily largely involve the Negro population.
>
> 2. The purpose of the Project is to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register.
>
> 3. Upon the completion of the Project... a report, analysis and evaluation of the Project will be published. Such publication will describe the Project and recommend, on the basis of Project experience, the best methods of education designed to overcome low voter

registration in the various geographic and cultural areas of the South.

B. From the foregoing, it is clear that

1. VEP shall not only study registration efforts, but shall promote them for the purposes of study.

2. VEP is specifically to work and research in areas "known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting." Indeed, this is stated almost as an exclusive interest. This was not, however, intended to be the case and the fuller context of the application amply shows that.

3. Research includes voting, as well as registration, experience.

4. This is primarily experimental research, through which VEP seeks to develop effective programs.

5. Recommendations, therefore, are to constitute a large part of the research product.

II. OBJECTIVES

V.E.P. is substantially the largest research ever undertaken by the Council. The resulting publication will be, unlike the usual SRC release, of book length.

Nevertheless, we do not intend nor should we, to depart from the established objectives of SRC research and publishing. These are:

(a) to inform national opinion accurately and with sound interpretation;

(b) as a special end, to inform southern leaders, both directly and through the press;

(c) to contribute to the formulation of public policies.

Stated this way, there is nothing to preclude research done according to the exacting standards of the social sciences. We do, however, need to keep in mind that the three objectives set out above do preclude the statement of research findings in such ways as require interpretation or translation: our business is to speak directly to the public.

Moreover, our business is to address ourselves to the concerns of public policy, and not to those of social science. As do any disciplines, the social sciences have developed problems which are largely intra-mural in their interest. All the issues of public policy are of interest to the social sciences; the reverse is neither obviously nor probably so. The VEP will not, therefore, seek to serve social science in such ways as the refinement of methodologies or the verification of statistical probabilities.

III. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research problem of the VEP might be re-stated as:

> A study of the effectiveness of organized effort - political activity in the broadest sense - in attacking the cause of low registration in the various sections of the South.

Stated this way, the relationship between the VEP and the Matthews-Prothro work is made more obvious. For the, after close and exhaustive analysis of the social and economic variables of registration, raise the question of the relative importance of these variables, on the one side, against political and legal factors and organized Negro and white supremacist activity on the

other. The following is quoted from their paper at the Duke University Conference of July 12 - 14, 1962:*

> We have seen that both social and economic factors and political and legal factors are associated with Negro voter registration in the 11 southern states. Which type of factor is more important in shaping Negro registration rates?
>
> ...In so far as statistical analysis will answer such a broad and complex question, it would appear that political variables are of about equal importance to socio-economic ones.
>
> . . .
>
> Moreover, our analysis suggests that substantial changes in the level of Negro voter registration can be attained by political and legal means. It is not necessary to await the arrival of basic social and economic change before attempting, with reasonable expectations of moderate success, to enfranchise more southern Negroes. The abolition of the poll tax and modification of literacy requirements to assure fair treatment of Negroes might enhance the southwide vote of Negro registration by 10 or more percentage points. Encouraging the candidacy of politicians -- both Negro and white -- who are favorable to the Negro cause should bring out many more Negro votes, even when they have little chance of success. Finally, heightened organizational efforts by Negroes would increase Negro registration levels over what they would otherwise be. All of these reforms would have a positive effect on Negro registration rates without waiting for massive social and economic change.

---

*"Negro Voter Registration in the South."

VEP can, of course, only take note of and seek to analyze and evaluate legal changes and political candidacies. This will be done. But the "heightened organizational efforts" spoken of by Matthews and Prothro is VEP's special problem. VEP is experimental research, where by organized methods VEP will seek to make the findings set down as objectives in the I.R.S. letters quoted above.

Moreover, the political process is a primary means by which the social and economic benefits of society are distributed. The social and economic variables and the political and legal variables do not, therefore, represent the two sides of a dichotomy. Rather, they represent the two phases of a process in which, at any given moment, existing social and economic conditions are conducive to or permissive of certain political and legal innovations; and they, in turn, will have their effect in altering the social and economic conditions.

The VEP will accept the Matthews-Prothro analysis as the latest authoritative study of the social and economic variables. The Matthews-Prothro analysis of racial attitudes will also be assumed,* except where explicitly questioned.

The various parts of the re-statement above may be separately considered:

(a) "a study of the effectiveness of organized effort"

VEP is dealing with a wide variety of organizations -- all devoted to civil rights -- including national organizations such as

*"Southern Racial Attitudes: Conflict, Awareness, and Political Change," Annals of the American Academy. November 1962.

NAACP, the National Urban League, CORE;

a regional body, the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference;

and the unique

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee;

including also a large number of local organizations, ranging from such sophisticated groups as

All-Citizens Registration Committee (Atlanta)

Durham (N.C.) Committee on Negro Affairs

to inexperienced groups such as

Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development (FOCUS) - Baton Rouge;

the organizations include also ad hoc ones that VEP helped bring into existence, such as

Council of Federated Organizations (Miss.)

Jefferson County (Ala.) Voters Campaign;

and popular crusades such as the

Albany (Ga.) Movement.

The organizations differ greatly - in their structure, their attitudes, their methods of work, their uses of publicity, and their reputations. All of these differences are deserving of study, and of some critique as to effectiveness. The VEP should not shirk the opportunity of contributing some informed evaluations of the varieties of organized Negro political activity, at this still

formative period of a relatively new development that will undoubtedly persist and grow, long after the dramatic controversies of civil rights have been ended.

Some organizations tend to work in different local situations, and this is usually a matter of deliberate choice on their part. This, itself, raises an issue of research interest, because the choices represent, to some degrees, divergent views of strategy. One view favors a concentrated, almost sole, effort in the more liberal locales, where the barriers are essentially only the apathy or alienation of Negroes. The other inclines toward work in the heavily resistant, Black Belt locales. Evaluation of these two approaches merely in terms of new registrants would be pointless, because those will undoubtedly be comparatively few in the resistant areas. The work there, however, represents a strongly held belief that political leverage can be realized by token gains, by opening the bottle, by laying the basis for court suits, by stimulating national publicity, by exposing the crudity of the segregationists' methods, and most of all, by providing the initial opportunity for residents to organize themselves. VEP cannot hope to evaluate such work quantitatively, but the notion that social science is confined to quantitative findings is a recent one, and perhaps not an unrelenting tenet. In fact, nearly all interesting social study of a quantitative sort has had to be given stimulus and direction by preceding observation, analysis, and interpretation of disciplined minds.

Another matter of great interest will be the observation of the effectiveness of local groups. As mentioned above, these include both the experienced and the inexperienced. Some operate with the support -- of various sorts -- of national and regional organizations (other than VEP), and some without.

(b) "political activity in the broadest sense."

The VEP is wisely restricted to work with non-partisan groups and efforts. Registration itself is, however, a political act, and each registration contributes a mite of influence on political alignments and decisions. How much, however, is that influence, how does it work, and to whose benefit in the differing situations of the South, and at differing levels of total white and total Negro registration? Such questions as the following are interesting:

1. does the simple act of Negro registration, or knowledge of the existence of an organized effort to stimulate registration, provoke response, of any ascertainable kind, from officials or from official bodies or from private whites?

2. does increased Negro registration stimulate white registration <u>and</u> voting?

3. what ascertainable increase in Negro voting is produced by increased Negro registration?

4. what are the repercussions of increased Negro registration, or organized efforts to that end, on national politics and policies?

(c) "in attacking the causes of low registration in the various sections of the South."

A great deal of research has been done in the past, some by SRC, some by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and some by academic scholars, on the causes of low registration. These have been generally concluded to be:

1. outright governmental prohibition of Negro registration (since the outlawing of the white primary this has ended as an openly acknowledged practice and, for the most part, has ended in practice, though a few isolated instances persist where local authorities, without pretense otherwise, will not register Negroes).

2. governmental cheating, i.e., the administration of qualifications more strictly for Negroes than for whites, or the capricious or arbitrary rejection of Negroes, or the administration of registration in ways to slow or make personally uncomfortable Negro registration.

3. governmental restrictions against new registrations in such a way as to limit both whites and Negroes (e.g., poll taxes).

4. governmental harassment in reprisal against Negro registration, by such multiform devices as capricious arrest of registration workers, cancellation of governmental services for properties used in registration activities, investigations, etc., etc.

5. private harassment, intimidation, violence, and economic reprisal.

6. Negro indifference (apathy)

7. Negro alienation

8. Negro ignorance, i.e., inability to pass literacy requirements

9. Negro fear

10. in some areas (e.g., Virginia) an effective, if infrequently stated, bias against democratic control, to such an extent that voting, by either Negroes or underprivileged whites, is not part of the tissue of civic values.

These causes do, of course, have extreme variations of importance, according to time and place, and there exists a considerable body of analysis of each.

A basic research interest of the VEP will be, in each area, to appraise, against a defined pattern of local obstacles, the effectiveness of certain organizational structures and methods.

* * * * *

To sum up, the VEP, as a program of experimental research, has set itself the problem of devising, within its

limited field of concern, means by which the political participation of deprived groups within the United States can be stimulated. The VEP supposes that increased political participation is a feasible means of bettering the living conditions of deprived groups. The implicit assumption is that the political process is a primary means by which the benefits of society are distributed. This assumption is, of course, basic to democratic theory.

IV. GENERAL OUTLINE

An attempt at this stage to outline the final publication would be foolhardy. The scheme set out below is, therefore, only an aid to visualizing content and a scheme for organizing work assignments.

1. Background material
   a. most accurate and complete figures yet as to registration totals by race
   b. Analysis of these, in terms of such subjects as:
      - geographic variation
      - rural/urban comparisons
      - educational levels
      - economic indices (e.g., housing costs)
   c. Descriptive and interpretive essay on southern politics during period of VEP
2. VEP record
   a. a report, made up chiefly of figures, on each project and its success
   b. a concise narrative history of the projects
3. Research findings
   a. As of the initiation of each drive, what were the factors inhibiting registration?

b. Methods used to overcome

1. organizational

2. techniques

3. success

c. Anatomy of the factors

1. apathy: prevalence, characteristics, manifestations

2. alienation: ditto

3. apprehension of terror, and response

4. apprehension of white disapproval, and response

5. reaction to official cheating

d. Suitability of organized efforts to cope with the factors

4. Registration and reform

a. During the VEP period, what effects did increased registration have on elections, and also on other civil rights interests?

b. Based on observed trends, what effects can be expected?

V. MODES OF WORK

The statistical compilations and analysis noted above in 1a and 1b will be done by VEP staff, supplementing official and other published records with data gathered from the field programs.

The data required for sections 2a and b, 3a, and 3b will be obtained in several ways:

a. From field reports sent in by the cooperating agencies. VEP prescribes

the forms of these reports. Many of the agencies are not good reporters, and this is hardly unexpected. On the other hand, some of the reporting has been remarkably good and valuable. (Examples of this kind of quality are the report of the Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project: the National Urban League's report on its Winston-Salem campaign; the reporting of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in its Summer, 1962 Mississippi work; and, among several others, the reporting of the Albany Movement.)

b. From field observations carried on by VEP staff. Limitations of staff make impossible the close field study of each project. VEP plans to visit each, however, and will do intensive field study of some, selected for distinctive characteristics.

c. From news reports, government sources including legal proceedings, correspondence and conversations with informed local persons, and other sources.

The data required for section 3c and, in part, for sections 3d and 4a will be obtained in the same manner. This is a convenient place to note specifically that rigorously controlled survey research is not contemplated as a regular research tool. The findings for 3c (as well as 3a) will be drawn from the full range of field reports and observations. Some of the cooperating agencies are carrying out interviews, and these are useful. But systematic sampling and interviews are beyond the range of our resources and research interests. VEP is using conversations heavily, and will expand these even more, but

with selected informed and involved persons. These include officials, workers within the cooperating agencies, and other informed people. VEP recognizes that the selection of officials and "other informed people" will be determined not only by availability, but also by the referral of cooperating agencies and by VEP's own judgment as to the value of the interview.

The work on section 3d will be supplemented by staff review and evaluation; on 4a, by statistical compilation done by VEP staff.

Direct planning and supervision of all the above work will be the responsibility of the VEP Director.

The work of synthesis and interpretation, under 1c and 4b, will be a joint undertaking of VEP staff and the SRC Research staff.

The final ordering of data and writing will be under the direction of the SRC Executive Director.

file Research Notes

Myrdal uses "morality" as a psuddonym for motivation. His concept of a series of conflicting valuations amounts to some of which, at a given time, are kept below the level of conscious awareness, constitutes a paradigm of unconscious motivations.

Myrdal has room here for selective perception, selective retention, and selective inattention, though he does not use them. He discusses the difference between beliefs and valuations--beliefs refer to objectively verifiable, "fact" situations and valuations refer to the individual's affect toward those facts, as he sees them. Clearly, then, facts which are perceived as conflicting with valuations are likely to be screened out of perception or to be lost as a function of the unconscious protection of the valuations. Areas of fact which conflict with valuations are likely to become the subject of selective inattention. Here may be a formulation to takecare of the persistence of the Negro and White stereotypes in the southern subculture. Valuations are formed in conformance with thedemands of the ego with reference to the cultural and social beleif patterns of peer groups and other significant reference groups. These valuations become an integrated part of the personality structure and are maintained as a part of the self-image which permits at least minimum ego-gratification. The valuations then become determinants in the screening processes of selective inattention, selective perception and selective retention.

It is important to know the extent to which.

in a given case, the beliefs upon k which a valuation is based conforms to an objective appraisal of the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ relevant facts. Here the actual information level is extremely k important. Informaton levels with reference to the particular subject matter should be studied intensively.

Gunnar Myrdal, in a methodological appendix to An American Dilemma, made a persuasive argument for, and provided an excellent example of, the extensive theoretical clarification with which a social science research project must begin, if inconsistency between premises and conclusions is to be avoided - if the project is to avoid distortion occasioned by ideological, ethical, and methodological preconceptions of which the social scientist may not be consciously aware without such clarification.

Louis Wirth, writing some four years after the publication of Myrdal's work, lamented the lack of sound theoretical explication and rational organization underlying the activities of the civil rights groups who were, at that time, operating in the field of race relations in the United States. Indeed, he quoted a high official of one of the major action agencies in the field of race relations as stating that, even if social science should show that the procedures of that agency were hopelessly ineffective given the nature of the phenomena with which it was dealing, the agency would probably not be interested in altering its mode of operation. Wirth suggested that this incident provided an illustration of one of the major obstacles to the use of the techniques of science in altering the socio-political environment: the assumption by most persons that their own perceptions define the world of social reality; their complete unawareness of the many biases

which distort those perceptions.

Irving Horowitz, in 1961, decried the degeneration of the social sciences from "dangerous" to "dismal." His thesis was that the scientific study of society can be a sound basis for ameliorative action. He suggested that "what generally inspires criticism of the 'deterministic' social sciences is a distaste for the rigorous practice these sciences commit men to." He argued that "the history of science simply indicates that the success of an enterprise is greater, and better able to mobilize public support, when and where established procedures of verification and confirmation are available." He concluded that social science "can be instrumental in bringing about a more logical ordering of social relations than what we presently have, minus the pain and anguish that has attended the birth of new societies in the pre-scientific age."

The fact that Myrdal, Wirth, and Horowitz (and, of course, a great many others) advocated the use of scientific procedures in the amelioration of social evils does not necessarily mean that those procedures are either desirable or justifiable. It does, however, argue that the conditions which make those procedures necessary are very real - that the conditions are not the figment of a solipsistic imagination. Furthermore, the procedures advocated by Myrdal, Wirth, and Horowitz are those of scientific method, without the use

of which our ability to deal with the physical environment would doubtless be considerably less effective than it is. They were, in short, suggesting that the tools of reason and scientific method which have proved effective in dealing with the problems of the physical sciences be used now in dealing with the problems of society.

The Voter Education Project has set itself the problem of devising means by which the political participation of deprived groups in the United States can be stimulated. It can be argued that VEP has arisen out of a growing concern among a great many people that efforts to better the conditions under which deprived groups live in the United States have lacked precisely the rational and logical approach to the manipulation of the socio-political environment that Myrdal, Wirth, and Horowitz advocated. It would, then, be ironic indeed if VEP failed to achieve its objective precisely because it failed to observe the strictures which social science in general regards as necessary for the accumulation of dependable knowledge about the environment. In order to ensure against such failure, this paper proposes to organize a research approach to VEP's objective which will, I think, meet the most exacting criteria for the dependability of knowledge.

There are two kinds of formulations which must be dealt

with here. Myrdal called them theoretical and practical. I happen to prefer a different nomenclature, because I think the term "theoretical" for one of the types of formulation implies that the other type is, somehow, "non-theoretical." The two levels of formulation will be termed the methodological and the operational for purposes of this research design. Methodological formulations are designed to present what Pepper called the "world-view" according to which observations are to be made, to show the criteria of relevance according to which the data are to be selected, and to show the logical relation between separate categories of data and the research objective as a whole. This level of formulation deals with the philosophy of science which is to be applied.

Operational formulations, on the other hand, refer to the actual process of research, in whichmeans must be devised for obtaining the data which is called for by the methodological formulations. Needless to say, the operational formulations must derive from the methodological formulations, must be, as it were, an explication of the necessary implications of the methodology.

Parts I and II of this paper deal, respectively, with the methodological and operational formulations to be applied to the research objective of VEP.

But there is a series of assumptions about the nature of

the phenomena with which VEP proposes to deal, which, I think, cannot be categorized as either methodological or operational. These assumptions are not explicitly stated in the research objective, but I think it important that they be examined here.

VEP supposes that increased political participation, i.e., registering and voting, is a feasible and viable means of bettering the living conditions of deprived groups in the society. Since alleviatory action against a series of problematical aspects of the environment is being directed ~~against a series of problematical aspects of the environment is being directed~~ toward a particular process in the society, the assumption must be that that particular process is the appropriate one for dealing with those problems. In short, the implicit assumption of VEP is that the political process in this society is the machinery by which the wealth, services, and values in the society are distributed to the various elements of its population. This view of the political process is a commonplace both in political science and among politically knowledgeable persons in the society. Lasswell, long ago, suggested that those most skillful at manipulating the political machinery were the ones who got "the most of what there is to get." David Easton, more recently, has suggested that the substance of the political process is the

"authoritative allocation of values." There is some argument about the relative importance of the items contained in the "values" and some democratic theorists have found themselves a bit uncomfortable with such a forthright statement of materialistic goals for the political process.

But neither of these matters is crucial to our considerations. What VEP is proposing is that there must be a re-distributing of the values of the society, that this re-distribution can be effected through the political participation of the deprived groups, and that the present status quo of political institutions and processes need not be upset by the presentation and satisfaction of these re-distributive demands.

These assumptions are actually biases whose roots are in the democratic ethos of the society. It is important that they be recognized as such. This is not to say that such biases must necessarily distort the perception of reality; but only to point out that there is an opposing set of assumptions arguing that any fundamental redistribution of the values of the society must be accomplished by radically altering the status quo of political institutions and processes. In short, the extent to which means can be found to increase political participation of deprived groups, and make that participation effective in achieving the ends of such groups may very well

be the measure of the viability of the democratic - capitalist theory of government.

This is a summary of conversations I had during the SPSA meeting, November 8,9, and 10, about VEP's research program. I discussed the research aspects of our project with James Moss, DonaldStrong, Kenneth Vines, Donald Matthews, Harry Holloway, James Prothro and Alexander Heard.

I found that everyone with whom I talked was vitally interested in what VEP is doing, and that all were willing, indeed, eager, to provide any assistance they can. I think it has been a mistake (largely my own) for VEP not previously to have established a close liaison with those academicians whose research interests paralle/and complement ours. I realize that the VEP-SRC research orientation is not precisely the same as that of the academicians; nevertheless to the extent that any effective research is dependent upon the design and method used to compile, process and interpret data, there is an overlap. This was the area upon which I tried to center discussions.

Moss, Vines, Matthews and Prothro told me that they had more or less anticipated our difficulties in gathering data through the facilities of the agencies conducting the registration programs. They felt that the lack of training and experience in, and lack of professional committment to, research method, coupled with the heavy action orientation of the civil rights personnel, pretty well precluded their functioning as effective research agencies. It is my opinion, as it was theirs, that this is the core of our research problem.

If this be the assumption upon which we base our approach to VEP research, it follows that/we must find a means of dichotomizing our efforts so that one operation generates data and the other, connected with the first only through VEP direction, observes, compiles and reports data. Interpretation of the data would, of course, produce the final publication on the project, plus any interim reports we might find desirable. Furthermore, such a dichotomous operation, assuming as it would the use of trained research personnel, would permit the application of a rather rigourous research design, which, in turn

4- Research Design

would ensure that the data we gather is relevant to given research objective.

The professors foresaw several difficulties in recruiting research personnel--finding students whose interests and capabilities qualify them; the possibility that the right person would not be in the right place, etc.--however they thought none of these insuperable. The one matter which must be settled before thinking along this line can proceed is the amount of money we propose to commit to research, as opposed to data-generation.

I was unable to comment upon present VEP policy in this regard, because we have never discussed the matter from this point of view. However, all this did lead naturally to one consideration which has come up briefly in some of our casual discussions--the possibility that we might want to seek additional funds to be used strictly for observing, compiling and reporting information.

The professors enthusiastically endorsed the idea and readily agreed to serve on a small, active, advisory committee which would develop a prospectus to be submitted to foundations and then participate actively in designing the research program and recruiting and overseeing research personnel. They suggested that graduate students in sociology, political science, social psychology and, possibly, social anthropolgy, might be interested in writing dissertations, theses and term papers on the aspects of VEP programs which the research design deemed relevant. I pointed out to them that VEP would not be willing to devote its efforts solely to an academic research program--that we would not make of the project a laboratory experiment designed to test pre-conceived hypotheses--that many considerations other than those of pure research must enter into the distribution of funds supporting registration programs. They regretted that VEP could not be a laboratory experiment; however they pointed out that whatever the criteria used for distributing VEP funds, the registration programs inevitably generate enormous amounts of data the importance of which both to social scientists

and to civil rights organizations cannot be over-emphasized. They strongly urged that we utilize their professional capabilities and resources in order to prevent the loss of such data and to ensure that it is gathered in such a way as to make possible its meaningful interpretation.

Matthews and Prothro suggested that the Rockefeller Foundation would probably be interested in a proposal along the lines discussed above, inasmuch as it had evidenced a continuing interest in such matters over a period of some years, and considering its already rather heavy investment in their own research program. I discussed this at some length in a private conversation with Heard and he too suggested that the Rockefeller Foundation would be interested, given an acceptable prospectus and a viable research structure. He mentioned, in passing, that $100,000 might be a reasonable neighborhood in which to place such a proposal.

One alternative to seeking additional foundation support for research purposes would be simply to allocate a given proportion of our present resources strictly for research purposes. This would enable our research program to preceed on the course outlined above without the present necessity for engaging in the tedium of negotiations with foundations. It would have the additional advantage of giving us a background of serious research effort for a future approach to foundations. On the other hand, such a policy would considerably diminish the already inadequate funds available for getting Negroes registered and participating in politics.

Prothro questioned what effect a request for additional "research" funds would have upon our present research-based tax exemption. I suggested that this whole problem has arisen out of the first six months' research experience and that, therefore, such a proposal might be justified on the ground that it merely represents a different approach to the research project as a whole. There is no necessary distinction, so far as tax exemption is concerned, between funds spent to generate the data and those spent to

compile and report it, is there ? The professors agreed that this sounded reasonable, but of course someone familiar with tax law would have to explore the legal implications.

It seems to me urgent that we decide upon one or the other of the above alternatives in the very near future, and that we proceed upon whatever course is selected with the greatest possible dispatch. A significant proportion of the data which will be generated during the life of VEP is already lying about subject to the attrition of time and the inevitable distortion of perspective which that attrition entails.

There are persuasive considerations in addition to the above which, I think, should be taken into accound in contemplating the dichotomization of our efforts. Heard point out that there is a certain "missionary" effect in involving academic personnel in civil rights matters. There is the likelihood that some proportion of them will continue a professional interest throughout their academic careers; and even those who do not will always retain a residuum of concrete personal experience which cannot but alter their attitudes, or reinforce the,, along lines we would consider desirable. Those who, at the outset of their academic careers, engage in this kind of research will have a vested interest in this research area, and we could expect that the interest stimulated and reinforced by the VEP program would result in considerable additional research which could only serve to benefit the civil rights movementas a whole.

Again, While VEP research and social science research have a somewhat different orientation, both must depend upon the accuracy and effectiveness of their methods of compiling information. The difference lies in the manner and purpose of the interpretation of the information rather than in the methods used to gather it. I think we would make a serious mistake if we did not avail ourselves of the opportunity to utilize the research expertise of academically trained personnel.

Too, I think we must give serious consideration to the effect the results of the VEP effort will have upon the professional reputations of us who are involved in it, and upon future evaluations of the effectiveness of the Southern Regional Council. I think that neither we nor the Council can afford to risk the general opprobrium which would attach to a $500,000 research project which failed to produce a significant body of knowledge about the subject matter with which it was concerned. I do not see how we can expect to be able to produce in a creditable manner if we do not systematically organize our research efforts along the lines discussed in this report.

Finally, VEP has a unique opportunity to assemble a body of information whose value to the future of the civil rights movement is incalculable. What part is played by discrimination in the genesis of political apathy ? What are the ingredients of white hostility toward Negro political participation and to what extent does this hostility manifest itself among whites? What are the techniques of resistance to Negro political participation and how can they best be neutralized? To what extent do fears irreconcilible with current conditions contribute to the political immobilization of the Negro ? These are but a few of the subsidiary questions we must answer if we are going to approach our ultimate reasearch objective--an evaluation of measures which will effectively stimulate and promote the political participation of Negroes. But we can provide these answers only if we compile our data uniformly and systematically according to a research design which will ensure that the information we develop will be relevant to the problem we are approaching. And I think our experience thus far amply demonstrates that registration workers are ill-equipped by training, experience and motivation to qualify as implementers of such a research program.

Jack Minnis
November 11, 1962

Gunnar Myrdal, etc.

First paragraph is one long, complex, impossible, jargonistic sentence.

I don't see the need to mention names (Myrdal,Wirth,Horowitz). Language is unnecessarily complex(solopsistic, for instance).

I would, if I were redoing his paper, start with the sentence at the top of p. 3 about the usefulness of reason and the scientific method in dealing with the problems of society.

The ideas are good, but the language is that of a scholarly paper in the stuffy sense of the term.

A Statement, etc.

I can't argue about "interpretation or translation" because that particular sentence is rather ambiguous. The discussion of public policy and/or social science in the second paragraph, p.3 would need much more room to tackle this difficult job. I don't see the need at all for the first two paragraphs on p. 3; I don't see why its necessary to state your position on this matter.

Simplify sentence top of p. 5

I wouldn't argue about the last sentence on p. 5. I'd cut it out as not necessary, though the part before the semi-colon is not provocative at all, in my opinion.

p. 6, since you say a "mite" of influence, you are right. All energy has an effect, and this certainly.

p. 6 why, in that list of questions, don't you include the repercussions of increased registration on local politics,and make this central, with the effect on nationalpolitics a peripheral question so that not too much is expected there.

See #1

p. 10, pt. 4. effect on elections shouldn't be too problematical, though effect on other civil rights interests will be difficult. But even a hedged conclusion is better than none. We can't demand exactness in social research, but probability can be a very useful concept.

p. 11 (c) It seems to me hard to indicate the "criteria of distinctiveness" before you actually go into those sources and see what's there.

p. 12 I too don't see the need for arguing against "machine techniques" etc. It sounds unnecessarily defensive. I don't understand why he calls these sources in the field "secondary".

Back to p. 5 the phrase "by stimulating national publicity" is only one of several, but some people might see that only; yet it is true. I would weaken it by adding to the list asummary of what Minnis says about"getting started" (though in such areas it will really require much more than that I'm afraid).

file research notes

Some of the remarks in Wolfe's paper on the African minerals industry may be appropriate for our theory. "When it occurs that the force which the state has the right to use depends heavily on monies that come predominately from one corporation or a systematically organized group of corporations, it is the state which may be regulated." This probably is a bit over-simplified for use in the U.S. However, there is merit in the idea that lack of economic diversity within a semi-autonomous political entity ensures control of the political machinery by those economic groups who are powerful and efficient enough to dominate economic affairs. Thus, the money actually paid in taxes wouldnot be so important in determinig public policy, as would be the multi-form influence of economic dominance in ensuring the perpetuation of attitudes on the part of legislature, executive and judiciary which attitudes conform to the needs and desires of the economic dominants. A case in point might be the influence exerted upon the legislature of a state by the private power interests to avoid effectivefunctioning of regulatory bodies:i.e., the Ga. public service commission is held by legislaltive act to a budget of $270,000--this is bound to be a drop in the bucket compared to the budget that would be required for adequate supervision of the power industry in Georgia.

Considering all this, it is important to know what is the picture of the economic structure of the county in which registration is going on. If your view is that the political process is what divides up the benefits of the society, and that increased registration for Negroes is a way of advancing their position vis-a-vis the benefits of the society, and if you assume that there may be some reluctance on the part of present dominants to see a reshuffling of the distribution, you would expect that resistance to Negro registration could be traced to those dominants. This, of course, does not mean that the present dominants

need be acting consciously according to a predetermined scheme with clear objectives in view and with a well rationalized reasoning behind it. The set of attitudes found in the south today can be interpreted as resulting from the ideology of an economically dominant class, more or less unconsciously developed. Thus the outlook of that class with reference to economic, social and political desiderata reflects their economic interest in a very broad sense--and they control the institutions of communication (education, church, media, etc.) in such a way as to structure the view of reality inculcated in all elements of the society. Ergo, a very large majority of the community finds itself subserving an ideology which operates directly against that majority's interest, because the ideology explains and justifys a distribution of the benefits of the society which deprives that vast majority.

file in general research notes

THE AFRICAN MINERAL INDUSTRY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY

(Paper prepared for presentation at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, 1962).

Alvin W. Wolfe
Washington University

The need for some sort of human organization at a level of integration superior to the war-prone nation-state has stimulated rational attempts to invent structures intended to reduce international conflict. These inventions, such as the League of Nations and the United Nations, tend to use the very units that are in contention, nation-states, and the same principles of organization, centralized power in a bureaucratic framework, that characterize the nation-state. The long history of development of human social systems suggests, however, that development from one "level of sociocultural integration," to use the concept of Julian Steward[1], to a new, wider, level involves the emergence of genuinely different principles which yield qualitatively different groups at the higher level. A tribe is not a federation of families; a nation is not a federation of tribes; neither is it likely that man's present problem will be solved by a federation of states. It may be that the current decades of enormous upheaval, of crumbling political empires, of rapid social change and population growth, and of acceleration of industrialization, will give rise to some new system of social control somewhat independent of the currently troublesome units, the nation-states. The present paper does not purport to describe a utopian system for establishing world peace. It merely calls attention to a developing system with some characteristics that might make effective an international, supranational, integrative system.

In pursuing answers to quite another question, namely, why the "wind of change" expected to sweep southward over Africa was fairly halted at the point where minerals become important, I found the mineral extraction industry of southern Africa to be controlled by an intricate system based much more on overlapping membership of a variety of groups than on a bureaucratic centralization of administrative power. The network binds groups that are different both structurally and functionally, some business corporations, some states, some families, in a modern supranational structure that is more than just international. The ties among these entities are such that the boundaries of the system are ambiguous. Though operating in a complex modern world, the structure of this system appears to the anthropologist analagous to "acephalous" segmentary social systems. An even better comparison might be with such smaller societies as those of aboriginal Australia where networks of overlapping family, horde, and totemic groups provide a high degree of order without centralized control.

Before proceeding, I should register some reservations. A system such as this is difficult to describe briefly. This preliminary report, based on incomplete data on a system that is dynamic, continuously adapting to changing conditions, attempts only to point out a few salient features which appear important for the future development of this system, and to point out some of those changing conditions to which this system seems adaptable.

INTEGRATION OF THE MINING INDUSTRY

The several hundred mining companies operating in southern Africa are integrated through a series of relationships that focus on some of the larger among them--this system I have elsewhere called the Cape-to-Katanga team.[2] Then, in a variety of ways, these corporations are linked with governments. Many of the connections are simply those of parent company to subsidiary, but the relationships most crucial to the whole system, providing its most important characteristic, are those based on overlapping

membership in key groups.

Some structural principles are apparent in the mere inspection of the lists of directors of nine key companies which, with their subsidiaries and associated firms, can be seen as governing the exploitation of the mineral resources of southern Africa: Union Minière du Haut Katanga, Tanganyika Concessions, British South Africa Company, Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, De Beers Consolidated Mines, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company, Rhokana Corporation, Mufulira Copper Mines, and Rhodesian Selection Trust. Eighty-eight men occupy the 130 directorships; still closer to the hub, six men occupy twenty-two seats. Analysis of the relationships of these, and many other corporations,[3] suggests that the interlocking follows a predictable pattern: roughly, the units which are most similar in function and therefore most prone to compete need the highest degree of interlocking. Those that are functionally disparate can rely more on the market principle in their relations, while the similar companies must create the conditions for cooperation on the basis of reciprocity. Thus, Rhokana and Rhodesian Selection Trust are alike in their emphasis on mining copper in the Copperbelt, but they avoid the temptation to compete by interlocking heavily through a third company, Mufulira Copper Mines, whose sixteen-man-board is nearly filled by nine directors of Rhodesian Selection Trust and six directors of Rhokana. On the other hand, the British South Africa Company, whose place in the system is functionally unique in that it does not operate mines but "owns" the mineral resources over vast parts of the territory including the Copperbelt, needs only three joint directors with Anglo American Corporation of South Africa and only one with Tanganyika Concessions. This latter has another functionally distinct position in that it owns, in addition to much of Union Minière du Haut Katanga, the

Benguela Railway, in collaboration with the Portuguese government. In the American economy, we may need to be reminded, interlocking is greatest among functionally different corporations (except of course in the parent-subsidiary relationships). That the pattern is the opposite in this international, or supranational, system is important enough to be re-emphasized. Between firms that are functionally distinct there already exists something like organic solidarity; between those that do not need each other a relationship of reciprocity is developed by the mechanism of interlocking directorates.

States, too, enter into relationship with such a system as we are describing. Portugal, a state, owns an interest, with Tanganyika Concessions, in the Benguela Railway, a private corporation controlling the most efficient route to the sea from the Copperbelt and Katanga. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, as a state, "owns" and operates primarily for the mining industry the Rhodesia Railways. While the Benguela Railway is a profitable enterprise for Portugal, Rhodesia Railways are an expense to the Federation government which must pay off the bonds held by the British South Africa Company.

States, of course, have considerable bargaining power vis-a-vis other social units within their territories in their having the legitimate right to use force. When it occurs that the force which the state has the right to use depends heavily on monies that come predominantly from one corporation or a systematically organized group of corporations, it is the state which may be regulated. Governments in southern Africa are weak in just this way, and the future may find these states no more than junior partners with the international corporations in a supranational system of mineral exploitation.

Those who see only the enormous growth of state power in the modern world apparently do not take into account the large number of weak states now existing, and the difficulties states encounter in attempting to form stronger units by federation. States cannot readily form overlapping systems among themselves. They can and, as we have seen, do overlap with supranational corporations.

Defining the boundaries of the behavioral system we are here attempting to analyze entails difficulties similar to those met in defining effective political boundaries for societies without state structures--the Nuer of Sudan, the aboriginal Australians, for example. In the mining industry, as in some small societies, controlled cooperation simply becomes weaker as one moves from the point of focus outward. Familiar with such systems, anthropologists are not likely to conclude therefore that systematic organization is not present. Rather, amoiguity of the boundaries can be seen as a characteristic of the system--and may even be of adaptive value in that it permits expansion when the conditions are right and tends to preserve the center, and thus the system itself, when conditions are adverse.

The nine corporations taken as the focus of the southern African mining industry derive their importance from their relationships with the several hundred other corporations and states operating in the area and then, further, with other producers and processors of minerals in the other areas of the world. It is impossible here to list all these relationships, but some indication of the way in which they move outward toward infinity can be given. Union Minière in Katanga is effectively controlled by the Société Générale de Belgique. The Société Générale shares with De Beers, Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, and the Portuguese state, control

of the Diamond Company of Angola. But most of the activity of Société Générale is in Europe, where it links with some of the largest industrial and financial groups in the world. One of the numerous lines that could be followed leads through a subsidiary, Société Générale des Minerais, with ties connecting it to Amalgamated Metal Corporation in the United Kingdom. Société Générale des Minerais, together with its parent, created a company in Canada, Sogemines Limited, among whose interests are significant holdings in Rio Tinto Mining Company of Canada, a subsidiary of Rio Tinto Co. Limited, part of the Rothschild group in the United Kingdom. Rio Tinto, to quote from the Mining Yearbook, "has interests in Northern Rhodesia of which the most important is its large holding of shares in Rhokana Corporation Limited...."[3] It also has interests in South African mines. Tracing the interconnections among the groups involved in the mineral field reveals circles in circles and circles intersecting circles, so that one cannot say, at any point, this is where the system ends, all these are in, all those are out.

Similarly, despite the evidence of an orderly system, the mineral industry of southern Africa cannot be said to be under the willful control of a few men at the apex of a bureaucratic hierarchy. Certainly, differences in power are present between corporations and between men, but there is no evidence, even in the more formally organized segment of the system known as the diamond cartel, that one man or one company controls directly the actions of others. Though here much research remains to be done, the cooperation among the units in the system appears dependent on shared interests and shared information throughout the intricate network. Copper production in 1961 was ostensibly geared down in the Copperbelt region in order to conform to the world market, even though the copper industry has no formal organization comparable to that of the diamond industry.

Concerning the use of the several rail routes to the sea, attempts are made to satisfy the various states and corporations involved although there is no "ministry of transportation" to order such cooperation.

Granted that our information on this aspect of the structure is scanty, it appears certain there is no single ruler, private or public. Yet, this "tribe" pursues its goals with enough efficiency to continue to profit and expand. A positive advantage of this acephalous character is that any sort of a coup d'etat is impossible, as is destruction of the whole system by disintegration of the executive institution.

EVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES

From this altogether too brief exposition of some structural aspects of the system of mineral exploitation let us turn to view the matter in evolutionary perspective. Three on-going processes tend to foster the development of this system: First, the process of industrialization, pursuing man in every part of the earth, will continuously enlarge the already great demand for minerals. Second, the continuing process of political decolonization enhances the freedom of action of this essentially private system. Third, the lowering of international barriers to trade leaves the arena freer for the action of supranational economic organizations.

The rapid development of industrial systems in the twentieth century introduces important new factors into the ecological system within which man operates. The idea that increasing productivity is desirable has spread wherever men are. Once on the road toward higher productivity through industrialization there appears no turning back, no levelling off, without disaster. An important meaning of this is seldom recognized. In twentieth century ecological systems, minerals have become as necessary to the maintenance of human industrial systems as food is to human biological systems.

For Europe alone, projections indicate a kind of economic growth that will, between 1955 and 1970, nearly double the demand for ferroalloys, such as manganese, chromite, and cobalt, and also for nonferrous metals such as copper, zinc, tin, and cadmium.[4] Add to this the increased need for the same minerals resulting from the growth of industrial systems all over the world, and the dimensions of the ecological problem can be appreciated.

To the degree that minerals will be relatively more important in the years to come, those who control them or rather the systems involving their control, will have enhanced influence in what we now call international affairs. Representatives of political states may well become less influential than representatives of such functionally necessary systems as the "Cape-to-Katanga Miners."

Although European state power obviously made possible the establishment of such systematic control over mineral resources as is exercised in southern Africa, the current disintegration of colonial empires serves more to strengthen than to weaken the system. National state controls have frequently been used to inhibit development of wider-scale economic integration, since each corporation operates under a charter from one or another nation-state. Dissolution of colonial ties strengthens the position, relative to states, of corporations whose operations are sufficiently internationalized.

The Congo provides a clear case, almost too extreme to use as a general example, of weakening of state power relative to private "international" corporations. The Belgian-administered government of the Congo had enormous control over the economic destiny of that territory rich in natural resources. Especially was this true in regard to the mineral industry, where not only did the state own a

minority interest in most of the corporations but it also had an effective device for almost complete control of the largest among these, such as Union Minière, through a parastatal corporation, the Special Committee of the Katanga, of which the government could appoint two-thirds of the directors. The Belgian state had considerable leverage it could apply toward controlling such corporate giants as the Société Générale. The dissolution of this Special Committee just before Congolese independence resulted not only in stripping the new Congolese state of much of its potential to influence the mining industry but also in diminution of the Belgian state in this regard.[5]

Numerous events in international affairs involving large states as well as small ones suggest the power of the mineral industry system. I will only refer briefly to the difficulties experienced by the United Nations, even with strong support from the United States, in dealing with the Katanga secession. The difficulties stem in part from the fact that the wealth-producing units are corporations organized supranationally, so that states and state-based structures such as the United Nations have no effective way of dealing with them. Newspaper reports in January, 1962, told that the United States was using as an unofficial ambassador to the Union Minière people, Admiral Alan Kirk, a director of several Société Générale affiliates in the United States. These reports were denied by the Admiral, who was, shortly after the incident, named U. S. Ambassador to Nationalist China (N. Y. Times, January 2, 1962 and May 14, 1962). Complications in dealing with South Africa, too, result in part from the strength of the supranationally organized mineral industry. While the United States government is opposed to apartheid there and sees much potential danger in its persistence, positive action such as participation in a United Nations boycott is out of the question.

but this is not the real reason is it? Doesn't the business about states being weaker than their industrial systems apply here too?

The supranationally organized mineral industry that finds its focus in South Africa cannot be dictated to by any states, for what they control is too valuable to any state. In the years following the Korean War, when the United States was interested in stockpiling strategic minerals and in fostering certain types of economic development at home, many federal loans at exceptionally reasonable rates went to corporate members of this African mineral system, including one hundred million dollars to a number of South African mining companies. Even the Soviet Union, a strong state, too, finds itself making contracts with the diamond-producing companies, agreements governing the production and distribution of industrial diamonds (Africa Report, November, 1961).

One should take into account, finally, the current trend toward relaxation of trade barriers--the common market in Europe, and the American legislation to this effect in 1962. Directed primarily at increasing economic activity in general, the reductions in tariffs and in national-state controls of many kinds benefit especially those firms already organized internationally. The concept of "gross national product" had already been illusory insofar as such productive units as those engaged in the African mineral industry were concerned. The increased freedom of movement of capital which is part of the Common Market plan makes the very concept of "national economy" obsolete. The corporations of this group are registered in many different nations, and are owned and directed by persons of diverse nationalities. Where one or another is registered, or where one or another director is citizen, has little to do with economic facts, to which legalisms bow. That South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth involved no change in her trade and financial arrangements with the United Kingdom is a case in point. The supranational integration in the economic sphere superceded the political, international ties. The concept of "national economy" may be an illusion which must be

given up if we are to understand the new world of industrial systems.

CONCLUSION

In order to understand the world that is rapidly becoming industrialized we ought to consider the changing ecological circumstances this industrialization entails. We ought, also, to open our minds to the possibility that cultural evolution may not have ended with the development of state institutions. If we organize our observations of recent history in the comparative perspective of anthropological theory we may discern some principles and structures, however incipient, of an emerging new and higher level of sociocultural integration. In this field anthropology has something to offer as well as something to learn.

FOOTNOTES

1. Julian Steward, Theory of Culture Change, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1955.
2. Alvin W. Wolfe, "The Team Rules Mining in Southern Africa," Toward Freedom, January, 1962.
3. Mining Year Book, Walter E. Skinner, London, 1962 p. 531.
4. J. Frederick Dewhurst et al., Europe's Needs and Resources, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1957; Britain and Europe, The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited, London, 1957.
5. For some details of these events, see Les Trusts au Congo by Pierre Joye and Rosine Lewin, Société Populaire d'Editions, Brussels, 1961, and Morphologie des Groupes Financiers, Centre de Recherehe et d'Information Socio-Politiques, Brussels, 1962.

VIA AIR MAIL

October 9, 1964

Eugene Marans, Esq.
Austin Hall
Harvard Law School
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Mr. Marans:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation today, please find enclosed copies of VEP Registration Statistics.

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Acting Assistant Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

Request for information

VEP REGISTRATION FIGURES--1960 AND 1964

State	White Registration 1960	White Registration 1964	Jan. 1. Pct. Increase	Negro Registration 1960	Negro Estimated Registration Sept. 1 1964	Pct. Increase
Alabama	828,946	925,000	11.6%	73,272	111,000	51.5%
Arkansas	517,897	553,665	6.9	72,604	80,000	10.2
Florida	1,584,319	1,958,499	23.6	163,128	250,000	53.3
Georgia	1,020,000	1,183,181	16.0	180,000	270,000	50.0
Louisiana	973,443	1,027,981	6.3	156,938	163,041	3.9
Mississippi	478,000	525,000	9.8	22,000	28,500	29.5
North Carolina	1,647,703	1,856,497	12.7	172,166	258,000	49.9
South Carolina	480,973	703,000	46.2	58,122	144,000	147.8
Tennessee	1,300,000	1,397,026	7.5	185,000	218,000	17.8
Texas	2,078,500	2,601,967	25.2	226,818	375,000	65.3
Virginia	866,974	923,792	6.6	100,100	127,000	26.9
	11,776,755	13,655,608	15.2	1,410,148	2,037,541	43.6

1960 Voter Registration Statistics, taken from the Southern Regional Council Suffrage files

STATE	NVAP*	TREG	WREG	NREG	%W VAP REG	%N VAP REG
ALABAMA	506,000	902,218	828,946	73,272	62.5	15.5
ARKANSAS	197,000	590,501	517,897	72,604		
FLORIDA	477,000	1,747,447	1,584,319	163,128		
GEORGIA	613,000	1,200,000	1,020,000	180,000		
LOUISIANA	518,000	1,130,381	973,443	156,938	74.1	34.1
MISSISSIPPI	423,000	500,000	478,000	22,000		5.2
NORTH CAROLINA	547,000	1,819,869	1,647,703	172,166		
SOUTH CAROLINA	379,000	539,095	480,973	58,122	54.4	15.5
TENNESSEE	298,000	1,569,000	1,300,000	185,000	74.6	
TEXAS	624,000	2,305,318	2,078,500	266,818	43.5	43.6
VIRGINIA	439,000	967,074	866,974	100,000		
TOTAL	5,021,000	13,270,903	11,776,755	1,410,148		

The Southern Regional Council files contain both official and news media reports, therefore it would be best to quote these statistics as approximate.

*NVAP= Negroes of voting age population

TREG= Total registration

WREG= Whites registered

NREG= Negroes registered

%WVAPREG= Per cent whites of voting age population registered

%NVAPREG= Per cent negroes of voting age population registered

Ripon
Box 138
Cambridge 38, Mass

JAN 18 1965

THE RIPON SOCIETY
P.O. Box 138
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

January 15, 1965

To the members of the Republican National Committee:

This coming week the Republican National Committee will convene in Chicago for the first party-wide meeting since the elections of November, 1964. The Ripon Society has prepared the enclosed report, "Election '64" as a background analysis for all Republicans who are concerned about our party and who wish to rebuild a winning national Republican force.

The report was written before the announcement that Chairman Burch would retire and that Mr. Bliss would assume the chairmanship upon invitation of the National Committee. We welcome that accord and offer our congratulations to all those who shared in achieving it. It is an important step toward settling our differences so that we may face the future.

Yet in facing the future, we believe that our party must give sober and honest consideration to the past. The story of the 1964 campaign is one most Republicans would prefer to forget. We have recreated "Election '64" only with a certain sense of sadness. But we have done so in the conviction that candor is our party's greatest present need. For only through hard thought leading to constructive action can the Republican party regain and win the allegiance of the millions of Americans it needs to become a vital majority party. We have concluded our analysis with a series of recommendations to this end which we offer for your consideration on pages 120-124.

We in the Ripon Society feel very deeply that the Republican party must be the party of the future, the party that recognizes the nation's needs and faces them with responsible solutions. We hope that we may be able to contribute to the finding of those solutions.

Respectfully yours,

The Executive Committee,
The Ripon Society

PRESS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE 6 PM MONDAY JANUARY 18, 1965
FOR TUESDAY AM JANUARY 19 NEWSPAPERS

RIPON SOCIETY OFFERS TWELVE "FIRST STEPS" FOR REBUILDING REPUBLICAN PARTY TO MARK REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

A twelve point program of "specific first steps" for Republican recovery, based on a careful indepth analysis of the 1964 elections, was recommended to the Republican National Committee in a report made public today. The 124 page report, entitled Election '64 and containing a state by state analysis of the past campaign, was prepared by the Ripon Society, a Republican research and policy group. (NOTE: Individual state election reports are included on pages 46-118 of the report. For the state analysis see page .)

In a cover letter to members of the Republican National Committee, the Ripon Society noted that the Chicago parley would be "the first party wide meeting since the elections of November, 1964." The Society emphasized the need for "sober and honest consideration of the past" in planning the Republican future. It stated its conviction that "candor is our Party's greatest present need." "For only through hard thought leading to constructive action can the Republican Party regain and win the allegiance of the millions of Americans it needs to become a vital majority party." The report, said the Ripon Society, was directed to "all Republicans who are concerned about our Party and who wish to rebuild a winning national Republican force."

(more)

RIPON RECOMMENDATIONS
(For complete list see pages 120-124)

In its recommendations, the Ripon Society called for a reversal of the Southern strategy of 1964, unequivocal disassociation of the Republican party from irrational and irresponsible extremist elements, more representative national party bodies, a re-examination and updating of the Bliss "Big City" Report of 1962, efforts to win back into the party Negro Republicans, efforts to recruit "qualified, vigorous, articulate, and moderate candidates" for 67 Congressional seats that could be won in 1966, and a national policy conference as suggested by the Republican Governors.

In redirecting Republican efforts in the South the Society recommended that the Republican National Committee recognize that "only by championing the cause of civil rights can it make real and permanent gains in the South and retain strength in the North." It urged Republican Negro voter registration drives and "national Party pressure [to] assure that all State party machinery and elections are administered on a completely open and non-discriminatory basis." The Ripon Society also recommended that a formal apology be extended to Dr. Martin Luther King for efforts attributed to an employee of the National Committee to induce Negro voters to waste their votes by writing in Dr. King's name in the recent election.

ELECTION ANALYSIS

The Ripon analysis concluded that issues did play an important role in the 1964 campaign (pages 12-37). It noted that "the public reaction to Goldwater's positions on civil rights,

(more)

nuclear responsibility, and social welfare legislation, was so strong and universal that it far outweighed the voters' concern with their regional or socio-economic interests." Goldwater's selection as the Republican standard bearer cast many issues before he left San Francisco, the report stated. His campaign forfeited most of his remaining issue advantages. His opponents hit him both on his past record and on his consistency when he changed to more defensible positions. "Goldwater's position on national issues, clearly documented in his past statements and publications, proved to be an insurmountable obstacle to his campaign ever getting off the ground." Other Republican candidates suffered as well, the Ripon report concluded. "Ironically, the very reason that issues were dominant in 1964--Goldwater--made a moderate Republican position on them indefensible."

In recommending a national policy conference the Society noted the almost total alienation of the academic and intellectual community from the Republican party as a result of the 1964 campaign.

Much of the Ripon analysis dealt with the Southern strategy and the impact of the civil rights issue and Negro vote on the election outcome (pages 14-26). The Ripon Society pinpointed at least a dozen Southern Senatorial and Congressional races that Republicans might have gained with a healthy percentage of the Negro vote. Unless a Republican national ticket can get at least 20 per cent of the Negro vote, the report concluded, it is in "serious trouble." "The Goldwater-Miller percentage (6%) was fatal not only to Republican hopes for the Presidency, but also

(more)

to countless Republican candidates who went down under straight ticket Democratic voting."

In assessing the results of the 1964 Republican campaign strategy, the Ripon Society estimated that the loss of 43 Republican seats in the House of Representatives and 2 Republican seats in the Senate were directly attributable to the Goldwater-Miller ticket. The ticket won the Party only 7 segregationist Congressmen from the deep South. The Society estimated that Republican candidates also lost the chance to add at least 13 new Congressional seats, 5 new Senate seats, and 5 new Governorships. (pages 39-41 and Table VII page 119).

The Ripon Society directed its closing remarks to the young voters of the nation who were alienated by the 1964 campaign: ". . . today no man and no Party carries the torch of our generation. This is the great tragedy of American politics--all too easily overlooked in the excitement of the 1964 election. And it is the great opportunity of a new Republican Party."

* * * * * * *

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The Ripon Society is a Republican research and policy group with headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Founded in December, 1962, it was inspired by the Bow Group of British Conservatives. It draws its name from the founding place of the Republican party, Ripon, Wisconsin. Its purpose is to generate thought and debate within the Republican Party leading toward the adoption of creative, realistic, and relevant policies. The Ripon Society hopes to be a catalyst in regaining respect for the Republican Party among the intellectual community of America--and in the Party's most current crisis, Ripon hopes to help define the programs upon which Republicans can base their claim to leadership. The Society has national membership open, upon application, to younger members of the academic, business and professional communities. Inquiries concerning the Society, subscription to Ripon publications or additional copies of Election '64 should be directed to the Ripon Society, P.O. Box 138, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

PRESS CONTACTS: Cambridge-Boston, Mass. Area Code 617
Thomas Petri, Editor Election '64 Ki-7-0679; or Emil H. Frankel, 254-5344; Eugene J. Marans, Un-8-7600, X-405 or 868-7987; John S. Saloma, Un-4-6900, X-3145, 5262 or 491-1814.

WB ✓
LWD ✓
file VEP

J. EUGENE MARANS

Box 138
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
February 8, 1965

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

As you requested in your letter of January 19, we have mailed copies of the Election '64 report to Messrs. Currier, Hunter, Garrison, Hahn, and Stern with an appropriate covering letter.

Thank you again for the assistance.

Sincerely yours,

J. Eugene Marans

J. Eugene Marans
for the Ripon Society

January 19, 1965

Mr. J. Eugene Marans
Austin Hall
Harvard Law School
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Marans:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the Ripon Society's press release and the report, "Election '64." Our thanks goes to the editor for acknowledging the contribution of the Southern Regional Council in the preface of the report.

I find the report extremely interesting, and it parallels conclusions we arrived at on many points which we examined in the South.

Your recommendation No. 8 suggests that, "Republican Negro voter registration drives should be undertaken immediately." Our project has just completed a 2½ year program of conducting a strictly non-partisan voter registration campaign in 11 southern states, and I am personally of the opinion that it would be better for Republicans to support some similar non-partisan vehicle for registration and then make a strong effort to attract newly registered voters (as well as old ones) to the Republican party. When our own project was launched, we received the public endorsement from the national chairmen of both the Democratic and Republican national committees, and local Negro Republicans were very active in all of our registration programs.

I would very much like to have you send a copy of, "Election '64" to a few of the people who are connected with the foundations which contributed to the Voter Education Project.

Note: As of 2/19/65, Election '64 has not been rec'd from Lewis's office.

A list of the names and addresses of such persons is attached so that copies might be sent to them, unless you would prefer sending five copies to me to be forwarded to them.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Attachment

NAME	ADDRESS
Mr. Stephen R. Currier, President	Taconic Foundation, Inc. 666 Fifth Avenue New York, New York
Mr. David R. Hunter Executive Director	Stern Family Fund 55 West Forty-fourth Street New York, N. Y. 10036
Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison	Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton, and Garrison 575 Madison Avenue New York 22, New York
Mr. Maxwell Hahn Executive Vice President	Field Foundation, Inc. 250 Park Avenue New York, New York
Mr. Phillip Stern President	Stern Family Fund 1712 "I" Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006

* * * * * * * * *

WB
LWD
Return to VEP

J. EUGENE MARANS

Rec'd 1/13/65

Austin Hall
Harvard Law School
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
January 11, 1965

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I wish to acknowledge the materials you sent me last December for use in the Ripon Society's report on Election '64. The report is to be issued next week and includes a great amount of data based on the VEP statistics. Wherever it was practical we tried to give specific credit to Southern Regional Council for the information, and I believe the introduction acknowledges the assistance of SRC.

It is my understanding that VEP is terminating operations this year. If that is so, I hope that some agency will remain to continue the co-ordination of voter registration that your group has so well provided these last three years.

Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

J. Eugene Marans

J. Eugene Marans

P.S. - I will make sure you are sent a copy of the report next week.

Jem

December 18, 1964

Mr. J. Eugene Marans
Austin Hall
Harvard Law School
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Marans:

I enclose herein a copy of our report, "What Happened in the South," and "Southern Negro Voter Statistics," and photocopies of a couple of work sheets prepared by Lloyd Elliot of the SRC staff in preparation of the report.

If we can be of any further assistance to you, then by all means, let us know.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encls.

Pol-Rep. 2-18-65 WB

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THU

BURCH ASKS G.O.P. TO REJECT RACISM

WB

Seeks to Hold Gain in South Without Losing the North

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17 — Dean Burch, the Republican National Chairman, said today that his party must consolidate its gains in the South without resorting to racist appeals, "overt or covert."

"I don't want to go into the South and lose the North," he told the Young Republican National Leadership Training School, which opened a four-day session at the Sheraton-Park Hotel.

About 500 Young Republicans are here for speeches by party leaders and seminars on campaign management, fund raising and public relations.

Mr. Burch, who will be succeeded as national chairman on April 1 by Ray C. Bliss of Ohio, got a warm reception. He was applauded frequently and enthusiastically.

The applause was particularly long and loud when he mentioned the name of former Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, the 1964 Republican Presidential nominee.

Replies to Ripon Society

Some critics have accused Mr. Burch, Mr. Goldwater and other Republican campaign strategists of writing off the Negro vote in 1964 and catering to racial rejudice in the South. The Ripon Society, a liberal-oriented Republican group with headquarters in Cambridge, Mass., said in a report Jan. 18 that the "Southern strategy" of the Goldwater forces was largely responsible for the party's crushing defeat in the rest of the country.

A request from the audience for his comment on the Ripon Society report prompted Mr. Burch to repudiate racism as a campaign tactic. He called the report "a slanderous defamation" and said its authors were "not bothered with facts."

"It is fascinating to me," he said, "that an organization of only about 80 members can write a report and get so much attention."

Mr. Burch said it would be a good thing if 1964 could be remembered as the year that the Republican party became a national party by establishing itself in the South. However, he warned that national strategy could not be based on racial appeal, overt or covert.

Instead, he asserted, the party should appeal to the economic conservatism of the average Southerner.

"You don't have to go down there and wave the Confederate flag," he remarked.

Urges Tolerance in Party

Mr. Burch said it was "amazing" that Negro registration in the South was overwhelmingly Democratic despite efforts by local Democratic officials in such cities as Selma, Ala., to keep Negroes from voting.

He said Republicans should "take steps" to see that followers of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights leader, "don't just automatically register Democratic." But he conceded that he did not know how this could be done.

On the broader question of rebuilding the party, Mr. Burch appealed for tolerance by all factions. A political party "can't fly on one wing," he said.

"You must have a left, a right and a middle," he said. "Otherwise there is a tendency to go into a spin. I am afraid that's what happened to us last time."

Stamps to Honor Churchill

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Feb. 17 — A portrait of Sir Winston Churchill will appear on two special commemorative postage stamps to be issued in April or May, the General Post Office announced

Ja

Ripon Soc.

Make file
Rockefeller Brothers Fund

WB

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Eaton's
Glazetopy Onion Skin
BLUE BRIGHT

September 4, 1964

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Confirming our telephone conversation of this afternoon, the Voter Education Project has distributed nearly all of the funds made available to it for field grants. There are still, in several southern states, specially attractive opportunities for work during the summer and fall. If we could undertake these, we would be able both to realize registration results from earlier organizational work and first-rate research findings.

It is respectfully requested, therefore, that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund review its file on the Voter Education Project and our earlier conversations about it. If you would find that you could grant support to the project, we would be most appreciative.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

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FAX WASHINGTON DC 25

WILEY BRANTON, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ROOM 201 ATLA

HOLDING ONE-MONTH SOUTHERN STAFF TRAINING PROGRAM AT UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, JANUARY 31 TO FEBRUARY 26. WOULD LIKE TO USE YOU DURING WEEK OF FEBRUARY 15-19. WILL CALL TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY

GEORGE T GUERNSEY AFL-CIO 815 16 ST NW WASHINGTON DC

50

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
232-2770 232-2771

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GUS TYLER
JAMES E. WOLFE

January 27, 1965

Mr. Wiley Branton
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

This is to confirm the arrangements between you and George Guernsey that you will be teaching on "The Southern Political Scene" at our Southern Staff Institute February 7, 8, and 9th.

We are deeply grateful for your cooperation, and look forward very much to having you with us.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Mire

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw
cc: George Guernsey

NILE SOUTHERN STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE, The University of Texas, Austin
Stephen Austin Hotel January 31--February 26, 1965

Week of February 7 through February 13, 1965

	9:00-10:00	10:00-12:00	2:00-4:00	7:30-9:00
SUNDAY				Panel Discussion (this week's staff)
MONDAY	Reading Workshop (Art Edwards)	Labor & Civil Rights (Don Slaiman)	History of Southern Politics (Dave Olson)	Voter Registration (Wiley Branton)
TUESDAY	"	"	"	Labor's Political Program (Dan Powell)
WEDNESDAY	"	Labor & Civil Rights (Don Slaiman & John Field)	Organizing in the South (Al Kehrer)	
THURSDAY	"	Labor's Political Program(Dan Powell)	History of Southern Politics (Dave Olson)	
FRIDAY	"	"		AFL-CIO Latin American Conference
SATURDAY	AFL-CIO Latin American Conference	(all day)		

Faculty and Personnel of the Second NILE
Southern Staff Institute

Joe Mire - Executive Director, National Institute of Labor Education. Co-chairman of the Southern Staff Institute.

George Guernsey - Education Department, AFL/CIO. Co-chairman of the Southern Staff Institute.

Al Kehrer - Southern Director, AFL/CIO Civil Rights Department. Assistant chairman to Institute.

Doris Gibson - National Institute of Labor Education. Assistant to Institute.

Art Edwards - University of Texas, Division of Extension.

Dr. F. Ray Marshall - University of Texas, Department of Economics.

Nat Wells, Jr. - Attorney-at-Law, Dallas, Texas.

Leslie Dunbar - Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Don Slaiman - Director, AFL/CIO Civil Rights Department, Washington, D.C.

Dan Powell - Area Director, COPE, serving the Southeast.

Wiley Branton - Southern Regional Council, Director of Voter Education Project, Atlanta, Georgia.

Dave Olson - University of Texas, Department of Political Science.

John Feild - U.S. Conference of Mayors, Washington, D.C.

Larry Rogin - Director, Department of Education, AFL/CIO.

Dr. Norris Hiett - Associate Dean, Division of Extension, University of Texas

Make file: Southern Labor Sch.

LIST OF STUDENTS - SECOND SOUTHERN STAFF INSTITUTE

University of Texas - January 31 to February 26, '65

NAME:	PLACE:	UNION:
Fay A. Marsh	Columbia, South Carolina	CWA
Jack K. Grimm (Covers Texas)	Hutchinson, Kansas	IBEW
T. O. Parsons Overlaps Ark closely	Oklahoma City, Okla.	CWA
Farris Sawyer from Ark.	Houston, Texas	UPP Paper Workers
Olan R. Long	Jackson, Tennessee	IAM
Wayne W. Johnson N	Fort Worth, Texas	IHC Food Commission
John H. Gillespie (Covers also Ala.	Tupelo, Mississippi	IBEW
John L. Coleman	St. Louis, Missouri	OCAWIU (Oil Workers United Chem Workers
Earl Fisher - N	Memphis, Tennessee	RWDSU
M. A. Williams	Chattanooga, Tennessee	IBEW
Norman Warnke (from Network Food News)	Austin, Texas	IPEU
Leonard Lewis - N	New Orleans, La.	ACW
Arvel Cupp	Danville, Kentucky	ACW
F. F. Medrano Latin	Dallas, Texas	UAW
E. A. Thompson, Jr.	Palestine, Texas	LFE
Marion G. Ramon Latin	Fort Worth, Texas	UPWA
O. W. Moody	New Orleans, La.	SIU
George Holloway	Memphis, Tennessee	UAW
Carlos Garcia Latin	Houston, Texas	BSOIW
Eugene Solon	Washington, D.C.	IUD

Jane
Dave Farinet
CI 7-8300
212 - N.Y.

Virgie H. Preyer

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To: Leslie Dunbar

From: Harris Wofford

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Elbert T. Hudson
Charles James
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Mrs. Hideo Kodani
Daniel Koshland
Kango Kunitsugu
Mrs. Jack M. Kurutz
Tats Kushida
Samuel A. Lader
Manny Lansky
Ernest R. Lilienthal
Manuel A. Maldonado
Tom Maloney
Seaton W. Manning
Mrs. Robert McWilliams
Loren Miller
Floyd Ming
James E. Murray
Jerry Nemer
Thomas Neusom
John O'Connell
Gerald J. O'Gara
Timothy I. O'Reilly
Paul O'Rourke, M.D.
Edgar D. Osgood
Pearl Paull
Sam Paull
Teresa Hall Pittman
I. H. Prinzmetal
Mrs. Sven Reher
George R. Reilly
Anthony Rios
Ida Mae Robertson
Dr. E. I. Robinson
Bernard Rodin
Mrs. Edward Roodberg

(over)

Coordinating Committee for Organizations Supporting Civil Rights Legislation

California Committee For Fair Practices

CALIF. STATE OFFICE: Labor Temple · 2940 - 16th Street · Room 212 · San Francisco · MArket 1-7742
SOUTHERN OFFICE: Room 256 · 590 N. Vermont Ave. · Los Angeles 4, Calif. · NOrmandy 2-1148

October 3, 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D. C.,

Dear Mr. Wofford:

When Franklin Williams was in San Francisco last week for the Peace Corp, we discussed one of our mutual interests, registration of voters. As a result, I determined to write you as the person most concerned on behalf the Administration, with voter registration in the South.

By way of background, in 1958, when C. J. Haggerty was Secretary-Treasurer of the California Labor Federation, we were successful, in California, in developing a start at a labor - NAACP - CSO (Community Service Organization -the grass roots action group in the Mexican-American communities), joint program on voter registration. The California Labor Federation supplied funds and some supervision (mostly myself). The NAACP and the CSO made their organizational structures available for this project. They also supplied the volunteer deputy registrars and the few temporary but full-time "organizers". The 1958 program was sufficiently successful to lead to a more ambitious program in 1960.

In 1960 the labor movement put some $50,000 into the registration of minority voters in California. This sum includes both the pre-primary and the pre-general election periods. About $30,000 came from the California Labor Federation and $20,000.00 from the National AFL-CIO Voter Registration Fund.

(Continued)

Joseph Roos
William Rosenthal
William M. Roth
Bert Rule
Edwin A. Sanders
Masao Satow
Fred Schreiber
Dr. Harvey J. D. Seifert
Milton A. Sem
Dr. Otto Schirn
Leslie W. Shaw
Joseph E. Smith
Lionel Steinberg
William Strong
Benj. H. Swig
Louis A. Tabak
George L. Thomas
Richard M. Thomas
Clarence E. Todd
Matthew Tobriner
Dr. Kazue Togasaki
Leo Vie
Carmen Warschaw
Leon Washington, Jr.
Meyer Weinstraub
Don West
Helen Wheeler
Franklin H. Williams
Mrs. Josephine M. Williams
Dr. Thomas Wu
Joseph Wyatt, Jr.
David Ziskind

The results of the 1960 drive were dramatic enough to attract some national attention: 137,000 registered through the CSO campaign (mostly but not all Mexican-Americans) and some 73,000 through the work of the NAACP and some other groups based in the Negro community. The keys to this success, and passing them on is a chief purpose of this letter, seemed tobe:

1- The use of existing organizational structures and memberships from which to recruit the active teams. The NAACP and CSO gave institutional status to registration with people who already looked to them for leadership.

2- Full time organizers are necessary. Registration is mostly work and organization and more work, by large numbers of people at the grass roots. Few people are self-starters or will remain on an intense campaign without prodding and close contact with actively-involved local leadership. This is where the temporary-full-time field workers came in. They were assigned by mutual agreement to the key areas to work with their groups and with the other two where possible. They recruited the deputy registrars and the "bird dogs" and kept them going out night after night.

3- The crucial full-time field workers would not have been possible without the funds which the Labor Movement made available.

Recently in correspondence with people in Washington and New York I have tried to urge an early start on a long term project of registration of voters in the South, especially Negro voters. I have been a little disturbed by some of the responses which do not seem to measure up to this, the most important single need for American Democracy in 1962. I am told that Reverend Martin Luther King is prepared to give registration his first priority, and that related groups under Reverend Suttleworth and CORE will participate. I know, however, that King's hopes of last year to recruit some full-time organizers for this, have had to be postponed. I am not sure that the groups now concerned with the costs and debts of the Freedom Ride suits will be able to do as much as they want to. The NAACP has not been able to develop a really on-going emphasis on registration. There is also some lack of coordination if not cooperation between these various groups. I know that a few international unions are interested in voter registration in the South, but their own membership is somewhat limited there. When the AFL-CIO conducted a crash program on this in 1960, they did it not through COPE, but through a separate structure directly under George Meany.

Perhaps now is the time to work out a similar program with the AFL-CIO which involves some labor money and some staff people in a cooperative effort (assuming this is possible) with the groups in the Negro community who can be effective on such a project.

(Continued)

I am writing you on this now because:

The Administration is the most likely force for achieving the unity and cooperation of all the possibly helpful organizations, and

The Labor Movement has sometimes decided too late (for maximum achievement) to move into some "fringe area" projects. Maximum achievement in 1962 probably requires that a beginning be made now.

The South may not be the responsibility of those of us who live on the West Coast, but I am concerned that we should be able to do there, where there are the same organizations which have worked together here, a basic job of voter registration. Perhaps these suggestions will have some value.

Sincerely,

William Becker

William Becker
Secretary
California Committee For Fair Practices
2940-16th Street-Room 212
San Francisco, California

WB:lm
cc
OPE-3-AFL-CIO (84)

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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date August 7, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Possible Involvement of State Councils on Human Relations in Voter Registration Effort

I think we can depend on the cooperation and support of the state offices to the extent of their ability. I think we must recognize, however, that certain problems are involved in attempting to utilize the state councils as major channels in this effort. The state councils are fairly small groups, averaging about five or six hundred in most states. As liaison or communications groups they generally include Negro representation from the professional and leadership groups. They do not, however, have vast Negro membership nor have they won the emotional loyalty or attachment of Negro communities below the leadership level. The interracial nature of the councils may be a strength in some places but a handicap in others. In some of the strongly resisting areas, an all-Negro effort at increasing the vote might meet with more success than would a door-bell ringing effort by white persons or mixed groups.

Of course, the strength of the councils varies considerably from state to state and from community to community. I would doubt that the councils would be able to launch drives of their own in any community. I think there might be a number of places where councils might be effective coordinators or catalysts to involve a number of groups. Unfortunately, but inevitably, council membership and support is lightest in the rural areas where the need for a voting effort is greatest. I think the following might be noted as probable places where council strength would enable our groups to play a significant role: Richmond, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Alexandria, Arlington, and Fairfax County, Virginia; Savannah, Georgia; Gainesville, Jacksonville, and Daytona Beach, Florida; Charlotte and ~~Raleigh,~~ North Carolina; Nashville, Memphis, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Houston and Austin, Texas; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

CRC

SC

Women's Interracial C

Corr - SRC

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ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

January 9, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
119 E. Barrque Street
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dear Wiley:

Some random notes:

1. Telephone and air credit cards have been ordered for you and George.

2. In addition to the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has told me that it is in the midst of preparing some more detailed plans. A representative of SNCC called me over the weekend and indicated that SNCC was going to attempt to draw up a detailed budget request. I replied that it would be well for them to talk with you before they got very far into this.

Somehow I have the feeling that there would be advantage to your giving SNCC and SCLC an early call and visit; these people need guidance.

3. At some time convenient for you and George, could one of you, or both, see Paul Christopher in Knoxville? I have several reasons for suggesting this. Paul is a regional AFL-CIO director; he has had considerable experience in voter registration; he has a great interest in this program; he is a member of our Executive Committee. (If possible I wish you could see him before the next Executive Committee Meeting which will be some time in early February - we'll let you know definitely when because you should attend.)

4. We are getting some letterheads designed and will send them on to you for your approval.

5. Please make a note when you are in New York to visit, if at all convenient, David Freeman at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. David would like to meet you. This would be nothing more than a get acquainted call. RBF is not likely to invest any money in this project. Freeman is, however, a person widely consulted by others who may be interested. Moreover, if you have time in New York, I would be gratified if you could pay a similar call on Vernon Eagle at the New World Foundation.

6. Of rather more tangible importance, don't forget, when in Washington, to call Helen Hill Miller for an appointment. I hope to see her Wednesday myself.

7. Confirming our telephone conversation of Friday, it would be well for you to establish communication with Louie Martin.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

cc: George Barrett

January 15, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
119 East Barraque Street
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dear Wiley:

Enclosed is a letter received today from J. H. Calhoun of the Statewide Registration Committee in Georgia. I earlier gave you a copy of their campaign plan which had been delivered to me. Please note the January 20 date.

I certainly would doubt that you could make any kind of definite commitment to Mr. Calhoun but I would be grateful if you could get in touch with him before January 20.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 5, 1962

To: Wiley Branton From: Paul Rilling

Subject: New Orleans

Div of Source Sec

SO4 Counsel N.O.

While in New Orleans last week both Dan Thompson of Dillard, Chairman of the Negro Coordinating Council, and Harvey Kerns, Executive of the Urban League, spoke to me about possible assistance on voter registration. The Coordinating Council has just completed "their first phase" of a major voter registration effort in New Orleans. Some 200 plus voter registration schools were held throughout the city. Canvasses were taken for the most part by organizational membership such as churches, social clubs, etc., rather than by street addresses. The drive was under the direction of the Rev. Milton Upton, who was partly paid for his work. The drive had an office donated by the Longshoremen's Union, and one full-time secretary. Something in excess of $5,000 was donated for the effort by the 90-some organizations involved in the Coordinating Council. The money was expended in a drive from October through December last fall, aiming at registration for the recent mayoralty primary election.

According to Upton and Thompson, some 5,000 Negroes were added to the roles, although this was not a net gain. Around 4,000 Negroes had been removed from the roles in a recent purging of voting roles. They estimated that over 10,000 Negroes attempted to register during this period, but then more than half were turned away by a non-cooperative registrar. According to everything I could learn, this was an effective and truly coordinated effort, worthy of our attention and support. They plan to keep pushing on the effort, even though no imminent election looms as incentive. They feel sufficient momentum has been built up so that the community will continue to cooperate.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

Page 2

Dan Thompson states that the Coordinating Council needs approximately $6,000 in financial assistance from outside the city to make possible a full-time field man to work throughout the community in this effort. The Coordinating Council plans to raise $7,500 in the New Orleans community.

Harvey Kerns mentioned that he had seen the Urban League proposal concerning the Joint Voter Project. He commented that as the local representative of one of the major participating agencies, he would be happy to support the application of the Coordinating Council or to have the funds channelled through the Urban League to the Coordinating Council, so long as the League has sufficient representation on the voting committee of the Coordinating Council. He indicated he thought it probable that the local NAACP would similarly support the idea of channelling support to the Coordinating Council.

cc: LWD

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
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JAckson 3-6764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February21, 1962

To: Wiley Branton From: Paul Rilling

Subject:

While in Virginia last week I talked with Dr. Waldo Scott of Newport News, Virginia, Chairman of the Peninsula Coordinating Committee, and with Lester Banks, the Executive Secretary of the Virginia NAACP.

Dr. Scott is known to me as an effective and able man. I thought you would be interested in the enclosed flyer from the Peninsula Committee. Like everyone else, he asked about possible assistance from your project. He stated that the NAACP was one of the sponsors of the Committee. I suggested he write you and also call the Committee to the attention of the NAACP. Lester Banks claims that the NAACP is all geared up for a major effort in the 4th Congressional District of Virginia, a strong South Side Byrd district, and that they wait only the launching of the Voter Education Project. I don't know whether this effort is covered in the NAACP memo on the project. I think that Banks heads the most effective NAACP organization in the South and one that will probably produce. The major problem here may be that the Virginia Christian Leadership Conference may also lay claim to leadership in Virginia.

I would suggest that at some point you confer with Johnny Brooks, Director of Voter Registration and based in Richmond. Perhaps you have already done so. I believe that the NAACP plans for the project were developed primarily by Brooks.

Enc.

The facets of our total needs in the community which can be effectively met by the Peninsula Coordinating Committee are many, and the benefits to be gained are tremendous.

Nothing worthwhile is cheap, and in this effort, we solicit financial help and cooperation from the community of which each of you are a part.

Send your contributions to:

PENINSULA COORDINATING COMMITTEE
646 25th Street
Newport News, Virginia

Phone: 244-4505

Dr. C. Waldo Scott, Chairman

Mrs. Norvleate Downing, Executive Secretary

The P.C.C.

What It Is . . . !

What It Has Done . . . !

What It Will Do . . . !

Peninsula Coordinating Committee
646 25th Street
Newport News, Virginia

WHAT IT IS . . .

The Peninsula Coordinating Committee describes an organization formed in 1960-61 in the City of Newport News to fill what is felt to be a serious need confronting the Community.

There are at present many organizations such as lodges, fraternities, sororities, voter's leagues, professional organizations, civic and social clubs, etc. A great problem has been to coordinate their efforts for more effective work toward the goals of citizenship to which we aspire.

We realize there are many sincere and dedicated persons in the community — but entirely voluntary leadership has proven inadequate for the type of program needed. For that reason, a paid Executive Secretary has been employed to coordinate these efforts.

WHAT IT HAS DONE . . .

The Peninsula Coordinating Committee opened an office on July 5, 1961, where records and voter registration files have been set up and a Resource file is being assembled for the benefit of the various organizations in the community.

On August 5, 1961 the PCC launched it's first major project, "Operation Doorknock—#1"—a registration drive to increase the number of registered voters in the City of Newport News.

In November, "Operation Doorknock—#2" followed with concentration on payment of Poll Taxes and Registering. A total of over 250 volunteer workers have helped in both projects—over 400 voters were added to the Registration Books thru these two efforts which extended over a period of 4½ months in 1961. A permanent Precinct Organization has been established to function under the Voter Registration Committee.

On December 2, 1961, the PCC co-sponsored an Institute on Community Problems in conjunction with Virginia State College.

A club directory has been compiled and distributed. A business directory is on the way!

WHAT IT WILL DO . . .

I. Continue the drive to **increase the voting strength** in the community working on a year-round basis.

II. Work for the **Improvement of the Economic Status** of the Negro in the community, thru investigation of Government contracts by business and concerns on the Peninsula; thru selective purchasing to achieve many goals such as employment as salesmen, in clerical positions in city government; to increase pride in our own businesses with support that will reflect in expansion and a capacity to render greater service.

III. Work for the **Improvement of the Social Status** of the Negro in the community. This embraces the educational, health and cultural concepts. We have not, prior to the PCC, had a central organization with an office to which could be brought complaints and objections to the inequities to which we are often subjected.

February 25, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: Ruth House Alexander

From: Wiley A. Branton

The attached check from National Institute of Labor Education in the amount of $176.14 should be deposited to the Voter Education Project account, representing reimbursement of my travel expenses to Austin, Texas, earlier this month. I had already charged the expenses to VEP.

WAB:js

Attachment: $176.14 check

February 18, 1965

Mr. Joe Mire
National Institute of Labor
Education
Suite 300
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Mr. Mire:

Will you please issue a check to Southern Regional Council, Inc., in payment of my travel expenses in connection with my recent trip to Austin, Texas, for the Southern Staff Training Program:

Round trip Air Coach (Atlanta to Austin)	-	$135.92
Taxes and limousine (Atlanta & Austin)	-	13.50
Meals	-	11.50
Hotel	-	15.22
		$176.14

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
232-2770 232-2771

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JAMES E. WOLFE

February 23, 1965

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $176.14, to reimburse you for expenses in connection with our Southern Staff Institute.

Your cooperation is much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Mire

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

Enclosure

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

April 30, 1962

To: Leslie Dunbar

From: Miggy Rilling

Subject: Use of SRC restrooms by second floor offices

I have the impression that Mrs. Paschal may not be aware that no restroom facilities go with the office she occupies across the hall from the VEP. If this is so, it is likely that she will expect to use the SRC restroom, and I thought you might want to consider what may be involved in this before it is formally brought to your attention.

1. The women's restroom is now uncomfortably crowded at times, and the addition of Mrs. Paschal, her secretary, and visitors will make this considerably worse, not to mention the added confusion in the SRC office generally as these extra people run in and out of the office all day.

2. If the SRC restrooms are open to the use of all offices on the second floor except that of the Merry Way Employment Service, the only office on the floor not engaged in human relations work, this may seem to smack of discrimination in reverse.

What position you will want to take on this I don't know, but it seems to me that if you are going to let the Episcopal Society and the Georgia Council use the restrooms at SRC, it might be a good idea to send a memo to all the offices on the floor saying something to the effect that SRC offers its restroom facilities to the second floor offices, but because the restrooms are small and the number using them will be large, SRC must ask that only staff use the restrooms, and that they not be made available to visitors to the offices. (SRC visitors to be the exception, of course.) This is far from an ideal solution to the problem of congestion that is probably inevitable under the circumstances, but after much consideration of this from many angles, it's the best suggestion I can come up with.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMO

TO: John Morris, Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
Wiley Branton, Voter Education Project
Mrs. Merry Drury, Merry Way Employment Service
Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

FROM: Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

The Southern Regional Council is aware that there are many more tenants on the second floor of this building than there were when it first occupied its present office space. It is also aware that within the Council offices are the only restroom facilities on the second floor.

In view of this situation, the Council would like all of its co-tenants on this floor to know that these restroom facilities are available to the above organizations and their staffs. We are happy to have you use them, the only limitation on such use being the office hours of the Council: Monday-through-Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.

May 4, 1962

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

May 1, 1962

Memo to: L.D. & W.B.

From: G.B.

Re: Conditions of Grants so as to afford VEP control Required by the Internal Revenue Ruling

In the original request to the Internal Revenue Service, dated December 14, 1961, it was stated:

> "The purpose of the Project is to enable the Council to promote and to study and evaluate methods for teaching and encouraging exercise of the right to register and vote in areas in the South which, from the Council's past research, are known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting. The work will necessarily largely involve the Negro population."
> (Page 2,12-14-61)

This study or research project will be carried out by the Project. Grants of funds to organizations in the field of Voter Registration will be under the following conditions.

1. No program will be approved which does not provide that the program, its employees and agent will refrain from any partisan political propaganda or activity aimed at information legislation or supporting any political party or the campaign of any candidate for election to public office. (Page 2 IRS, 3-22-62)

2. Responsible organizations will be permitted to participate in the program when said organization is willing to submit in writing for approval by the Project a proposed program in keeping with the purpose of the Project.

3. Such organization must be able to show that it has a background or experience, knowledge and personnel adapted to carrying out such a program.

4. Such request must be accompanied by detailed budget on line-by-line basis. Said funds granted in light of the budgetary request will be held in a separate bank account from other funds of the organization, with all expenditures from said account supported by vouchers. Significant deviation from said budget will require project concent.

5. Semi-Annual detailed accounts, reports, expenditures of the budget supported by vouchers, will be required. In addition the applicant for grants agrees that project staff may at any time have the right to examine the pertinent accounting records dealing with the grant of the applicant.

6. Any applicant for grant agrees to provide the Project with the names of its key personnel and what their duties are and in what particular areas.

7. Project commitments will be on a yearly basis, when warranted. Grants in light of said commitment will be on a quarterly basis with it expressly understood that if an applicant fails to follow the fuide lines of the Project the remainder of said grant will be cancelled.

8. Applicant of grants, if from a particular geographical area, should include in the request for grant any knowledge or information that he may have as to other Voter Education Projects being carried on in the area, which they propose to operate, and the status of such project.

9. Applicants for grants should include in the request for grants certain basic statistical data which should include but not be limited to the population of the area in which they intend to work. The break-down of said population by age, sex, and race, and some indication of the concentration of certain population groups. When available, figures on registrations should be by race.

10. Said request should also express a willingness to cooperate with the project in the gathering of statistical data for the purpose of research. Said cooperation should be in the form of an undertaking on the part of the applicant to provide the Project with whatever forms or reports or data the Project may require from time to time of the progress of applicant's program.

11. Applicants for the funds must be able to give reasonable assurance to the Project that the activities carried on by the applicant as a result of the grant from the Project will be separate and apart from any other activities which the applicant may be carrying on at that time which are not exclusively charitable or educational so as to be exempt by the IRS.

GEB/mr

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 8, 1962

To: WBranton From: LWDunbar

Subject:

Here are some various things I have been meaning for some time to bring up with you. I decided the only way I could do so is to note them on paper. I will be glad to discuss any of them with you at any time you wish.

(1) You and I need to get together fairly soon to discuss the VEP budget.

(2) As you know, I have tended always to think that you should have two helpers. Perhaps when we really get rolling there will be a need for more, but I doubt that you will be able at any time to get by with less. I more than ever believe that you would do well to consider choosing one of your helpers to be a sort of combination research and field man. I think we need to be more clear than we are about the division of research responsibilities between your office and the Director of Research. Generally, I have always seen it this way: basic responsibility for SRC's research planning and subsequent publications should be over here carried on, however, with your close participation and advice; responsibility for carrying out SRC's research plans should be over here but again in intimate association with you; what we might call operations research, that is, the fact-finding needed for field programs, the assembly of statistics and other information needed for field programs, and the observation of programs should be your

responsibility primarily and the Research Director should provide only advice and services.

(3) We should give a lot of thought soon to the possibility of VEP preparing literature that could be used by all of the agencies. I notice in the minutes of the meeting of April 17 that Henry Moon brought this up again. This would be another example of the usefulness of your having on your staff a person with research and publications skills.

(4) I would like to reiterate that George Barrett can operate under your direction as long as you feel that he is needed but that when you prefer he can be reassigned and taken off your budget. I say this neither to encourage you one way or the other, but merely to emphasize that you should feel completely free to decide his status as you think best in the interest of VEP. It is, of course, possible that we can use George on other assignments as well as and at the same time as VEP and this kind of flexibility would possibly be best all around. If we do this there should be some budgetary adjustment.

(5) It seems to me imperative that files be set up on each of the places where VEP has undertaken program. As per your letters of May 4 and, of course, including the earlier Atlanta and Durham commitments. We shall have to be in a position to have some documentation in our records of what was done and what was achieved in each of these places.

(6) In the above connection, I think one of the more interesting things which came out of last week's meeting was the willingness of some of the professors to select for us graduate students who could write up local situations. I don't think you would necessarily want to do an extensive report which would require this kind of added staff in each case, but I believe you might well consider the possibility in some few cases especially if the services of the graduate students could be obtained at a reasonable cost. I think we should approach the professors with the

assumption that this is as much an opportunity for their students as it is a service to us.

(7) The Atlanta registration drive is now over. I wonder if we should not move promptly to write up a report on what has been achieved here.* Some of the newspaper coverage has indicated that there have been fairly substantial gains made. If this is true, we should not lose any time in writing our report of it; especially because it could be of probable value in fund-raising.

(8) Now that we have got the 90-day wonders off, VEP needs to be drawing long-run plans. I would define this to mean plans for field programs during the remainder of this year, plans for staff and organizational preparation -- both done with an eye on 1963 and 1964.

(9) You and I should now give first priority to preparing a memorandum for Harold Fleming indicating projects that cannot be financed with present funds at all or to the degree we would like.

*Perhaps George could do it?

- : -

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Ga.

MEMORANDUM May 9, 1962

To: PRilling
NLong
METilly
JMoss
WBranton
BHuss

From: LWDunbar

The Executive Committee meets May 30th and I would like to resume the practice which we formerly followed in sending to the Members reports of program activities. This both cuts down on the amount of oral reporting that must be done at the meeting and makes possible more thoughtful questions from committee Members.

May I please, therefore, have from each of you a short, concise statement of the activities of your programs since January 1, 1962? This should include activities completed, in progress, and definitely commited; please do not report on plans and ideas unless definitely decided.

One or two pages will be enough.

I shall need these reports by MAY 16th.

- : -

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

May 10, 1962

To: Jean LeVine

From: Wiley Branton

Subject: Congressional Record

Because of the greater interest which Research has in the Congressional Record and the fact that it seems as though I cannot get around to reading CR, I think it best that someone in SRC read and mark (or clip) the Congressional Record. I mentioned this to Janet Feagans, who formerly had the responsibility, and she has agreed to resume the responsibility for reading and marking the Congressional Record.

WAB/mr

Memo from JEAN T. LEVINE

MAY 1 1962

5/1/62

Wiley -

Les has requested that the Congressional Record be clipped (discriminately) and so would you, when reading it, mark it and Dottie Miller will clip it after you have read and marked it.

Thank you.

Jean

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV ... ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 17, 1962

To: LWD, BM, A. Spearman From: Paul Rilling

Subject: Field report on Charleston, S.C., Visit of May 14 - 16, 1962.

The Negro boycott of King Street merchants is now in its eighth week. The Rev. Ben Glover, Chairman of the local NAACP and of the boycott, estimates effectiveness at 50 to 60%. Other estimates range somewhat lower, but there seems little doubt that the boycott is hurting the merchants. This was confirmed by second hand reports from several white persons. The boycott is aimed only at King Street merchants, and will continue until the bulk of the merchants have agreed to go along with some changes in employment patterns. Around 8 stores have already made some adjustments, and approximately 3 or 4 others have promised to do so soon. As the stores come into line, pickets are withdrawn from those particular stores, but Negroes are still encouraged to stay off the entire street. ~~Boycotting~~ Picketing is carried on Friday and Saturday by approximately half and half teen-agers and adults. Flyers are printed every week and circulated at meetings and churches. The leadership of the Negro community seems to be fairly well united behind the effort, although there is at least some criticism of Glover's management and direction from a technical standpoint. Esau Jenkins, particularly, is critical of Glover, probably reflecting the competition for leadership between the NAACP and the Citizens Committee.

The major push in the Negro community seems to be on Merit Employment and Voter Registration; the NAACP is heading up the job push, the Citizens Committee the Voter effort. Prior to the boycott there were several months of effort concerning Federal employment and contract industries. Help was received from the President's Committee and Glover reports 76 Negroes employed in non-traditional occupations in these offices. The Citizens Committee continues program of voter education schools and Esau Jenkins donates four hours a day to the work of the office. Results of the voter drive are somewhat hard to come by, however. Jenkins is somewhat discouraged and feels that the major barrier is apathy. He reports that the registrars are reasonably good. Glover conceeds that the Citizens Committee is handling the voter education effort.

Jenkins is proud that he has been able to carry on without outside help. He feels that the NAACP should have "first chance" to assist program. This indicates that any voter funds probably should go through the NAACP to Charleston. Both groups would accept this and some or all the money would be channeled through the Citizens Committee.

Esau Jenkins emphasized that he is "not yet" affiliated with the SCLC, even though their recent publicity concerning King's tour identifies him as "SCLC's man in Charleston." He indicated he had been under heavy pressure from SCLC and had been offered money for voter work. He is a great admirer of King and recently brought him to Charleston, but is a little cautious about this kind of affiliation. Glover is strongly counseling him against ~~it~~ affiliation and states that he is "somewhat worried about" SCLC's method of operation. In case SCLC is claiming an operation in Charleston it should be noted that they have none at present, except to the extent that Mrs. Septima Clark is residing in Charleston and somewhat active in between assignments at the Dorchester Citizenship School.

~~Late~~ last fall a small interracial committee was formed. The white persons on it are primarily those referred to in Ben Muse's last report (Rabbi Padoll; Mrs. Thomas Tobias; de Rosset Meyers; Rev. Osborne, Unitarian). Most of the recognized Negro leaders were related to this group although Glover did not personally attend any of the meetings. The group was somewhat helpful in arranging for the employment of Negro bus~~-~~ drivers and then addressed itself to the task of persuading the Mayor to appoint an official body. They were in communication with us and others at that time. They tried to get Tom Waring and the Mayor to go along with them. Waring refused and the Mayor likewise. They then went to the Merchants Association and tried to set up some form of negotiation of the employment picture on King Street, where ~~patrons patrons~~ patronage is predominantly Negro. This failed. At this time the Committee, somewhat discouraged, disbanded and the white members agreed that the time had come for more direct action by the Negroes. The boycott was launched approximately one week later.

Like all situations that in Charleston is unique in some ways. The Negro leaders are unusually reasonable, moderate, and responsible. They evidence very little bitterness or hatred. Jenkins, particularly, is almost unbelievably patient and trustful of appeals to reason and good will. The ~~will~~ white powers are unyielding, but in a sophisticated and responsible manner. ~~they~~ The ~~pl~~ police force has been correct and fair, according to the Negro leaders, and has permitted the picketing. ~~they~~ There seems to be little violence potential in the situation. The local press, of course, completely omits any mention of current activities. The current effort seems to have attained some results on King Street, but none of the big establishments have as yet cooperated and there is certainly some doubt as to whether the boycott can be maintained until effective results are achieved. Several white persons with ~~s~~ whom I talked expressed the opinion that the general

community was almost unaware of the effort and that the only ones really concerned were the merchants on King Street themselves.

There seems to be virtually no activity on the school front and no case pending. Five Negroes did try to register some time ago. They were not accepted by the board on various individual reasons. They went through the administrative appeals but did not go to court. Several white liberals expressed some irritation that they were not too well selected and could not pass individual evaluation. There seem to be no plans afoot for the coming fall. Hallinan, before coming to Atlanta, had announced desegregation of Catholic schools next fall. No one I spoke with seemed to know the status of this or what will happen.

There seem to be woefully few forces for support in the white community. The Chamber of Commerce will do nothing. The Ministerial Association likewise; the Ministerial Association is completely inactive on such matters, so are the United Churchwomen, the YWCA, etc.. There are the usual group of well meaning liberal and sympathetic whites, some of them fairly well placed. Even more than in most Deep South cities, they seem to be out of touch with each other and with the Negro community. My contacts were as follows: 1. The Rev. Ben J. Glover, minister, AME Emanuel Church, 110 Calhoun Street, office phone: Raymond 2-2561, residence: Raymond 2-6301. Glover is President of the Charleston branch, NAACP. He appears to be an extremely able, sharp, balanced individual and the key Negro leader in Charleston at the moment. He impressed me as knowing exactly what he is doing and his work indicates a good degree of planning and organization. He is a sick man, suffering from hernia difficulties. Just prior to the boycott he returned from John Hopkins Hospital, where they wanted to hospitalize him for a year. He indicated he was "too busy" and came home. He recently told his friends he was giving himself three hours a day therapy because he could not afford the fees for therapy at the nearby hospital. All of this information came from others.

2. Esau Jenkins, chairman of the Citizens Committee. Jenkins is well known in the Civil Rights field. He is also a successful businessman, operating a motel and restaurant for Negroes in Charleston and several other restaurants on St. John's Island. He is from the Islands and has the difficult Island accent. He is a man of very little formal training, and this is somewhat evident in his manner of talk. He is a man of great heart and total commitment, surprisingly trusting and optimistic. He sees his role and that of the Citizens Committee as assuming greater importance than does Glover. The nearest thing he has to an office is the Registration Information Center at 41 Cannon Street, Telephone Number: Raymond 3-2908. His business is the J & T Cafe and Motel, Telephone Number: Raymond 2-9621.

3. Rabbi Burton Padoll, leader of the Reform Jewish Congregation, address of study: 90 Hazel Street; Office: Raymond 3-1090; Residence: 723-1086. Padoll is from Boston and has been in Charleston about one year. He worked hard on the interracial committee and has spoken on racial issues to his congregation.

He has received more criticism than support from within the congregation. He is currently somewhat discouraged and disillusioned. He feels that he has little influence anywhere, and is a little touchy that Negro leaders have not kept him closely informed since the boycott began. A young man, late thirties, he seems to be able and committed, somewhat impatient and idealistic.

4. Mrs Thomas Tobias (Rowena). Mrs. Tobias operates a public relations-advertising business at 121 Church Street, telephone number: Raymond 2-4438; Residence: Raymond 3-2414. Mrs. Tobias is Jewish, old Charleston, well placed in the business life of the city. She is fortish, vivacious, energetic, balanced, optimistic. Has well placed contacts throughout the white community and makes no secret of her views.

5. Herbert U. Fielding. Mr. Fielding is chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Negro PTA. He is a businessman, fairly affluent, operates a funeral home, etc. Considered, although fairly young, representative of the more conservative school of the Negro leadership, seeking accommodation, etc.. He is, however, working with the Citizens Committee on the Voter effort. He is quite defensive about a recent PTA project which resulted in the construction of a new Negro school because of over-crowding. Emphasizes that this was not because the PTA was opposed to desegregation, but...etc.

6. The Rev. William Kirkland, Rector of St. John's Episcopal Church in suburban Oakland, study telephone: Snow 6-6231, home: 766-3466. Kirkland is fortyish, quiet, extremely concerned, feels somewhat helpless. He is well thought of by Jenkins and Glover, seems not to know most of the other white liberals. Has been in Charleston less than a year. Indicates he would just as soon get out because of the repressive atmosphere which cuts across all fields. Was quite eager to talk with me. Suggested that some sort of one or two day workshop be organized quietly to pull together white and Negro leadership for some mutual planning and discussion with the help of outside consultants. I gave him encouragement on this. He will check it out with others. Was formerly in Milledgeville, Georgia, where he was involved with the Georgia Council and was smeared and isolated, he says, because of public identification with Guy Wells. Is anxious to make a greater contribution in Charleston if he could but see how.

NOTE TO LWD, AND FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

The white liberals are generally not related to the South Carolina Council and not familiar with Alice Spearman. Several of them know of her somewhat vaguely. Mrs. Tobias is a member of SCCHR but does not take it very seriously. Alice is well and favorably known to all of the Negro leaders, who smile at her but respect and appreciate her. SCCHR is not strong or effective in the Charleston area, which was a major reason for my visit.

June 6, 1962

To: Jim Moss, Leslie Dunbar

From: Wiley Branton

Subject: South Carolina project (Ira Kaye)

I note from Jim's memo of June 1 that Ira Kaye expects the preliminary research for the South Carolina project to be completed by June 15. As soon as this information becomes available I would like an opportunity to go over it with Jim Moss prior to his meeting with the interviewers who will conduct the field work.

WAB/mr

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 14, 1962

To: WBranton From: PAnthony

Subject: Telephone conversation with Bob Thompson, Atl. Urban League

Bob Thompson called this morning to discuss a program Jim Forman had brought to him. Why Forman had gone to Bob is not clear.

Forman wanted to go to Little Rock with a group of students to work on the problem arising from the Citizen's Council sending Negroes North. It also was not clear to me what unique service these students could offer that could not be offered by those already in Little Rock.

SRC came into the picture Because Forman and Thompson had decided that the ideal way to finance this program would be for the VEP to grant money to the students to do registration work. They would work "50 - 75% of their time on voter registration and the rest on the problem."

Forman will talk with Branton about this tomorrow (Friday).

For the record, I think we should note this rather disturbing interpretation of the Voter Project, the use of its funds, and the method by which SNCC, in this instance, chose an area for registration work.

-:-

cc: LWDunbar

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date ~~August 28, 1962~~

To: ~~Anthony, Barrett, Branton~~ Blackford, Long, Rilling

From: ~~Leslie Dunbar~~

Subject ~~Staff meetings~~

The dates for our staff meeting to review program will be September 6 and 7. Please make no commitments for any time on these two days.

The Annual Meeting is scheduled for November 19-20, beginning with lunch on Monday and ending with lunch on Tuesday. There will probably be an executive committee meeting on the morning of November 19. We shall want to discuss this further, but in the meantime I would be grateful if you could keep the afternoon and evening of November 20 free and plan also to be in town on the afternoon and evening of Sunday, November 18.

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

July 9, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Wiley A. Branton

FROM: Jack Minnis

RE: South Carolina Project

I met with Ira Kaye and his associates on Saturday, July 7, in Sumpter, South Carolina. Present were Ernest A. Finney, Jr., who is responsible for Lee, Clarendon and Williamsburg Counties; Newton Pough, North Boulevard Street, Orangeburg, who is responsible for Calhoun, Bamberg and Barnwell Counties; and Charles E. Washington, Jr., and Alfonso Pendergrass from Beaufort (the latter is Washington's partner and is participating in the project), who are responsible for Jasper, Hampton and Allendale Counties.

We discussed the project at some length, and I get the impression that all of Kaye's associates understand that the purpose of the project is to determine any relationship which may exist between Negro political participation and the manner in which Federal farm programs are administered in the nine counties and in South Carolina as a whole. We worked up a series of questions which will be administered by the attorneys to twenty farmers in each of the nine counties. The farmers to be interviewed will be selected by each attorney, using as a criterion of selection the information he is able to derive about the farmers of each county. Selection of respondents will be designed to maximize information rather than to randomize a sample. The reason for this is that we could not possibly interview a sufficient number of farmers in each county to make a random selection at all meaningful statistically. Thus, it appears advisable to point the interview program toward getting interviews from those farmers who are more likely to be able to give us the information we want.

~~Miscell~~
1-VEP Inter-office memos (miscell.)

Kaye will be out of town for the next two weeks, but the lawyers feel that they should be able to complete the interview program during his absence and that all of the data should be in Kaye's office by August 1. We should be able to expect a final report on the project from Kaye, along with all of the project data, shortly after August 1.

One of the lawyers, Charles Washington, says that he will try using a tape recorder for his interviews. If he succeeds, we may want to think about this mode of interviewing for any further projects of this kind. All of the attorneys agree that the best mode of reporting on the interviews will be a narrative summation of the interview content derived by reconstruction of the interview from notes taken during it. At the completion of the project then, we should have 180 such narrative reports.

The lawyers have asked for a $100 advance each as soon as possible. If I understand correctly Moss's letter to Kaye of May 22, such an advance would be within the terms of the original agreement.

JM:gwc

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth House Alexander

FROM: Wiley A. Branton September 12, 1962

In order to maintain a closer check on all of the operations of VEP, I would like an opportunity to see all bills, other than those of a fixed amount (annually or monthly, etc.) before payment is made by you.

Thank you.

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 12-5-62

To: Wiley Branton From: Leslie Dunbar

Subject: Washington Meeting

So that I can finally throw away my pencilled notes on our September meeting in Washington, I would like to record a couple of items which came out of that conference. I know that you have considered them and I believe you have decided not to act on them, for justified reasons. I suspect, however, we may hear of them again and should, therefore, be prepared to speak to them.

1) The proposal that we coordinate an audience with the President to emphasize the terroristic conditions in some of the Black Belt.

2) Fleming's proposal for widespread and advance publicity for a voting campaign in a hard core county.

3) This was not exactly a suggestion but you will recall John Brooks statement that what he needed was money for additional field personnel.

WB

BCC: Wiley Branton

December 6, 1962

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Early last September, as you may recall, a home was shot into out in Sunflower County, Mississippi and two girls staying there were badly shot up. Ironically, neither of the girls had been participants in the voting registration which was the cause of the shooting, but were merely stopping over as guests on their way to start back in college at Jackson. They have missed a term as a result. The girls now are out of the hospitals and their bills, we are told, are about $300. We have asked to see itemization and we are also hopeful that some current efforts will yield help to their families in paying the bills. But it this doesn't prove to be the case, or if the full amount cannot be obtained, would you approve of Contingency money being given for this purpose; it would, of course, have to go to some organization in Mississippi which we will select.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

January 21, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth House Alexander

FROM: Jean Levine

The following is a listing of all grants made by VEP during the fiscal year ending December 31, 1962, as reflected in our records:

Alabama State Coordinating Association (also named Voter Educ. Proj. of Jefferson County)	6/25/62	$ 1,500.00	
	9/14/62	3,000.00	
	11/21/62	3,000.00	$ 7,500.00
Albany Movement, The	9/6/62	$ 2,000.00	
	8/17/62	2,000.00	4,000.00
All Citizens Registration Committee	4/12/62	$ 2,000.00	
	5/15/62	1,600.00	3,600.00
American Friends Service Committee	6/4/62		2,000.00
Congress of Racial Equality	5/4/62	$ 8,625.00	
	8/15/62	6,400.00	
	12/14/62	6,400.00	21,425.00
Council of Federated Organizations	9/5/62	$ 4,000.00	
	10/2/62	2,000.00	
	10/18/62	2,000.00	
	10/29/62	2,000.00	
	11/29/62	1,000.00	
	12/12/62	1,000.00	12,000.00
Davidson County Independent Political Council	5/24/62		3,000.00
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs	4/27/62		2,500.00
Federated Organizations for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development	6/4/62		1,000.00
Greater Little Rock Voter Registration Campaign	9/5/62		2,000.00
Madison County Coordinating Committee	10/12/62	$ 400.00	
	11/19/62	400.00	
	12/14/62	400.00	1,200.00

NAACP	5/4/62	$17,250.00	
	10/8/62	11,000.00	$28,250.00
National Student Association	5/30/62		1,140.00
National Urban League	5/4/62	$ 5,750.00	
	10/31/62	1,000.00	
	9/13/62	4,382.00	11,132.00
Northern Virginia All Citizens Committee	10/12/62		200.00
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	5/4/62	$11,500.00	
	9/10/62	7,850.00	19,350.00
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee	5/4/62	$5,750.00	
	7/2/62	125.00	
	8/16/62	500.00	
	9/10/62	2,000.00	
	11/20/62	554.00	
	12/6/62	700.00	
	12/10/62	2,000.00	11,629.00
Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters	11/29/62		1,000.00
Womanpower Unlimited	8/16/622		1,000.00
TOTAL GRANTS MADE TO 12/31/62			$133,926.00

M E M O R A N D U M

January 23, 1963

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

On November 9, 1962, we furnished the Executive Director of each of the state councils with a copy of a schedule of VEP Participating Programs, as of November 1, and solicited their cooperation for all VEP programs within their respective states. Heslip Lee was furnished this information. It is our intention to up-date this schedule and distribute it in the same way from time to time.

We are enclosing a copy of a letter to Heslip Lee as a result of your memmarandum of January 21.

WAB:jl
enc.

4- SPC - Date - Office memos

January 23, 1963

Mr. Heslip Lee, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Lee:

Paul Anthony has passed on to us your request for current information on VEP programs in Virginia. Subsequent to the schedule of VEP programs which we mailed you on November 9, 1962, we made a small grant to the Northern Virginia All Citizens Committee, 307 W. Fairfax St., Falls Church, Virginia. Dr. Edwin B. Henderson is Co-Chairman. This group is to carry on limited voter registration activities in the following counties:

Alexandria	Prince William
Arlington	Warren
Fairfax	Clark
Loudon	Fauquier

We have under consideration at this time requests from the Peninsula Coordinating Committee (Newport News) and the Voter Registration Project of Norfolk.

It is our intention to update the schedule of participating programs from time to time and you will receive such schedules as we do.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Paul Anthony

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Jan. 21, 1963

To: Wiley Branton From: Paul Anthony

Subject:

Now that I'm wandering about the South--like in Birmingham last week where the matter of VEP came up--I would appreciate as much information as possible about current VEP programs. Don't solicit them, but am also available for chores.

Also, have promised Heslip Lee of Virginia Council we will keep him informed of VEP programs--as well as other SRC affairs--in Virginia. Would appreciate your help in this.

January 24, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Maggie Long

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

I thought that I had proofread your article on Mississippi which appears in the October issue of New South. If so, I must have overlooked an erroneous statement.

On Page 6 you state "Mr. Henry picked up a young white hitchhiker..." The facts are, as reported by Mr. Henry, that he didn't pick up anyone and was not even on the highway on the day in question.

WAB:jl

4- SRC Interoffice memos

WAB ✓
RTB ✓
JM ✓
JL ✓
JS ✓

April 18, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Interoffice

From: Jean Levine

Now that there are so many of us in the Project, it has become increasingly difficult to keep tract of long distance calls from this phone. Would you all therefore either inform Janet Shortt or me when you place long distance calls so that we will be able to keep a record and compare the telephone charges?

Thank you.

Jean Levine

1- VEP Interoffice memoo

WB
JM
RTB
JL
JS

June 5, 1963

THE STAFF - vep

LWD

Representatives of Aetna Life Insurance have been trying very hard to persuade us to adopt their hospital and medical plan instead of Blue Cross-Blue Shield. They have asked for an opportunity to talk with you, and because Aetna has been most cooperative with us recently in regard to straightening out some problems in our group life policy, we have agreed to call a staff meeting at 3:30 p.m., FRIDAY, JUNE 7, at which time Aetna representatives will be here. The situation is this.

SRC and VEP now pay the entire cost of Blue Cross-Blue Shield. I do not think that we can, at this time, add anything substantial to this cost.

The Aetna program would cost more. On the other hand, there are substantially better benefits. I have not studied the matter closely, but it seems to me, on the basis of such study as I have made, that the additional benefits are worthwhile, and fairly cheap.

The only basis on which we can, at this time, adopt the Aetna program would be for employees to contribute the difference in the cost. This is entirely up to you, and I don't even have a recommendation.

You will decide (a) how the question will be decided. That is, whether ~~shall~~ by majority or unanimous vote or what; and then, (b) you will decide whether you want to make the change.

5 - SRC - Miscell.
or Inter-office memo

Staff Memo - 2.
June 5, 1963

Ruth Alexander has, in her office, charts prepared by Aetna which show a comparison between their program and that of Blue Cross-Blue Shield.

MD 2 FAF 0 VMT BO MD

WB

June 25, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph Blackwell

Subject: A Critical Examination of VEP

Registration for voting in the Negro community is running a poor second to many other programs of less significance, all of which appear to be motivated by a deep-felt need for personal recognition. This is not a conclusion that one finds pleasure or ease in articulating, nor is it a conclusion that is profound, novel, or new. It is precisely the same problem that manifested itself at other periods in history by the buying of gold teeth with money that should have been spent on food, or the buying of old church pianos when no one in the family could play. This quest for recognition has reflected itself sometimes in the decision to buy an expensive automobile or join social clubs.

This kind of thing is now reflecting itself in the degree of support that a demonstration for public accommodations can command as compared with a program to obtain jobs. Sit any Negro down and ask him, "Is it more important to be able to spend a dime than it is to be able to earn one?" and he will answer with an unequivocol, "No". And yet, we hear so much about public accommodations. I suggest that this movement has spread from city to city much like a fad. Can this be so? Is there greater interest in public accommodations than in jobs - the right to vote? The answer to this question is, to a degree, to be found somewhere in the quest for recognition.

Among the cruelest things that has happened to the Negro people in America has been to inflict him with a kind of illness that has caused him to be constantly torn between a quest for personal recognition and a quest for things fundamental.

Understanding and appreciating this problem in its fullness would require professional training in psychology. However, we do note that most of the people that we have worked with seem to be very much involved in a quest for personal recognition. It is this very thing, we have concluded, that is responsible for Robert Adams', up at Huntsville, refusal to follow what has proven to be a successful method of conducting a drive. It is also responsible for Mr. Leflore's refusal to throw his influence in the program that is being planned for Mobile. To a degree, it figures into the conflicts that we see developing between organizations.

It would seem to me that we of the VEP staff have the task of deciding whether we will present voter registration on its own merits, or whether we will present it in a way as to afford honor and recognition to those that become involved. If we decide to present it on its own merit and worth, we will surely miss many individuals that we could involve. If we decided to present it as a program in which individuals can obtain recognition and honor, then we will surely be strengthening a value system that I rather suspect that we all reject. A decision in this regard is needed. I don't think it has to be a totally black or white one. But we must decide where the emphasis will be placed.

I came back to the office from the last two field trips with the conviction that if large numbers of registered voters is what we want, then we need to find ways of satisfying the craving for personal recognition.

If large numbers is what we want, then I propose:

1. That we start now to establish the impression that VEP is the only organization capable of passing judgment as to who is doing real work in voter registration.

2. That we start, as soon as possible, the publishing of a news letter in which we can give recognition to those that are working, using pictures wherever possible.

3. That we establish a system whereby we can hand out certificates and trophies for those that are willing to work in voter registration.

As field director, I need the reaction of the staff to this memo.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

WB

July 5, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

Blackwell and I have developed a formula for establishing county by county quotas for registration programs to be conducted during the coming year. Our primary concern has been the request made by Mr. Reese during his recent visit here. It is our understanding that Mr. Reese is concerned to produce the greatest possible number of new Negro registered voters at the least possible expense, and without the creation of public disturbances which might further embarrass the administration. (This was the substance of Mr. Reese's remarks to us during his visit.)

We do not think that the utility of the program we have outlined is necessarily restricted to any participation in VEP by Mr. Reese and the Democratic National Committee. What we have attempted to do is estimate the number of new registered voters which we may reasonably anticipate as a result of VEP operations during the coming year, assuming that this program is adopted by VEP.

We have selected in all the southern states (except Texas and Arkansas), those counties in which Negroes of voting age represent 30% or less of the total voting age population, in which the total number of unregistered Negroes of voting age is 1000 or greater, and in which 50% or less of the Negroes of voting age are registered. We reason that a concentration of 30% or less of voting age Negroes is a handy index for measuring the likelihood of die-hard resistance to Negro registration. The 30% figure is more or less arbitrary and represents no more than an informed guess. We feel we should concentrate our meager resources where the pool of unregistered's is largest - hence the 1000 minimum. We used the 50% breaking point to exclude areas where the cream may have already been skimmed. In the states of Georgia and Tennessee, there are a number of counties for which we do not have Negro registration figures and therefore, for which we have been unable to use all three criteria. Once the counties were selected according to these criteria, we then set quotas of 20% of the unregistered Negroes of voting age. This percentage was, like the other percentage, just an informed guess. Then we assigned quotas equal to 10% of the Negro voting age population.

We think the next step in establishing a program for the coming year should be a field trip by Blackwell into each of the states in order that he may personally judge whether the quota for each county is a

realistic one in the light of conditions which will be peculiar to the county, and which are not taken into account by our selection formula. Too, such a field trip is required in order that contact may be made with persons in the county who will be willing to undertake registration activities, and with whom we are not presently in contact through a participating agency. When this field inquiry is completed, (and we see no reason why it cannot be begun immediately on a state by state basis beginning with South Carolina), we think we will be in a position to recommend a series of what we have called "Plan B" programs (see our memo of March 10, 1963), and also make recommendations with respect to the programs which are presently underway, and which should be initiated under "Plan A".

We are attaching quota sheets for each of the states except Texas and Arkansas. Because of the peculiar nature of registration in these two states, computation of quota is a bit more complicated, and will require another few days. It should be emphasized that these quotas are tentative, and some of them will undoubtably have to be altered as a result of the field inquiry. The total quotae in the states excluding Texas and Arkansas comes to 287,119. We expect that the tentative quota including the other two states will reach 350 to 400,000. After the state by state qeeding-out process is completed, anticipation for the year should be in the neighborhood of 300,000.

We are giving you this memo now so that you may use it if you feel it advisable to correspond with Mr. Reese immediately. You will recall that we told Mr. Reese we would have this information for him by the end of last week. We felt that perhaps you would not want to delay any further correspondence with him.

Jack Minnis

JM:js

Memo

ALVIN J. [illegible]
ALBERT A. [illegible]
MARION S. [illegible]
[illegible]
BURTON C. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

July 20, 1963

Mr. Charles Harris
Editor
Doubleday & Company, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Harris:

I believe the material Professor Morroe Berger had in mind, and which you refer to in your letter of July 3, was some field reports received from workers of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee engaged in voter registration activities in southwest Georgia and Mississippi. This is, as I recall, what we showed Berger when he was here.

These particular field reports are indeed intriguing, but they are a part of an accumulation of reports on the progress of our Voter Education Project. The Project, which began Spring a year ago, will run through the Fall of 1964. It is a large effort to define, through practice, the most effective methods of increasing Negro registration in various areas of the South. When the field work of the Project is completed, we do intend to prepare a book about it, which will draw on and, I suppose, include some of the reports which Berger saw.

We have not even begun to form publication plans, but if such a book would seem of interest to you, we would be pleased to discuss it further.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

cc: Wiley Branton - VEP

July 29, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

Re: "If We Must Die" by Junius Edwards

Wiley, this is a brief novel of some 130 pages (reading time about 2½ to 3 hours), which dramatizes the voter registration situation in the hard-core resistance areas in the South today. It is, I think, a first-rate piece of work - both from the point of view of literary quality, and from the point of view of historical accuracy.

In the book, Will Harris is a southern Negro who has just returned from the Korean war, and to whom, largely through the influence of his mother and his war experience, the right to vote symbolizes everything that American citizenship is supposed to mean, and everything he had supposed he was fighting for.

By detailing these specifics of Will Harris' attempt to register and the bitter consequences which follow, rather than by amassing a catalog of abuses, Edwards portrays very movingly and within brief compass, the tragic political fraud that passes for Democracy in many parts of the South.

The book is of importance to VEP, I think, for two reasons. First of all, its subject matter is exclusively voter registration and the southern Negro. Therefore, I think we are particularly competent to make some kind of public comment upon the book, and also particularly responsible for making such comment. I think anything we can do to promote the widespread distribution of this book would be appropriate to our objective, because the book depicts with great clarity, one of the principal problem areas of voter registration in the South.

Secondly, if the American people are going to act through their congressional representation intelligently upon the civil rights legislation, they must have such information as is contained in this book.

I have discussed the book with Blackwell, although he has not yet had an opportunity to read it, and he suggests that if the book is as I have said it is, it could well serve the purpose for the 1960's which Harriet Beecher Stowe's writings served during the Abolitionist period.

If, after reading the book, you agree with what I have said about it, I would like to suggest that the following action might be appropriate for VEP:

1. A letter by you, either to the publisher or in the form of a press release, commending the book to the public as an accurate portrayal of conditions in many parts of the South. I have no doubt that the publisher would be eager to take up such comments for use on the dust jacket.
2. You could suggest to the participating agencies that they undertake to promote the widespread distribution of the book throughout the country.
3. Organizations other than participating agencies such as fraternities, professional associations, et cetera, probably would respond to any suggestions you might make about the desirability of calling the book to the attention of their membership.
4. The National Student Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, and possibly such outfits as the League of Women Voters, would probably respond similarly to a suggestion from you.
5. I think you could appropriately urge SRC to activate all of its facilities for distribution of the book.
6. Perhaps some of your friends in COPE could be induced to use the facialities of the AFL-CIO to call the attention of Labor movement to the book.

I would suggest that if we are going to take any such action as recommended here, we incur as little delay as possible in doing so.

Jack Minnis

JM:js

August 6, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Subject: New Employees for the Voter Education Project

In light of your suggestion of some few days ago, I have checked out the persons among my acquaintances that I feel would have a contribution to make to the program of the Voter Education Project. In this regard, I would like to recommend Mr. Charles Ray, Jr., who is known to me as a person capable of serving the Voter Education Project in some two or three capacities.

I have known Mr. Ray for several years as a student of mine, and later as a professional educator in the Huntsville, Alabama, community. I would estimate that Mr. Ray is about 28 or 30 years old. He was a better-than-average student at the Alabama A. & M. College, with ability to be an excellent student. I have had the opportunity to observe Mr. Ray in the capacity of a teacher, and as an assistant director in a local funeral home. In both regards, I can say that he has acquitted himself to be a person of mature judgment, sound and sober values.

I can testify of my own knowledge to the fact that he makes an excellent presentation of himself, and that he meets people easily, and that he is reasonably effective as a platform speaker. If we should, at some future time, undertake the political climate creation idea that we have talked about, I am sure he could handle such duties effectively. As a former clerk in the military, I am certain that he could handle voluminous correspondence. He types, and also has the skill necessary to oeprate duplicating machines.

Mr. Ray has been active in most of the social action projects of the Huntsville community, and was chosen state president of the now defunct Alabama Student Union, an organization that was put together by college students to do work in registration and voting among Negroes in the year 1959.

I talked with Mr. Ray by phone, and he indicated that he would be willing to consider a job with the VEP for a salary of $5500 or better, per year. I explained to him that there was no certainty that the VEP would be able to give him a contract that would extend beyond one year. I take pleasure in recommending Mr. Ray, feeling certain that he will serve well any job that he accepts.

Randolph T. Blackwell

WBV

August 8, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Subject: "A Proposed Plan of Operation"

In the month of February, it was proposed that VEP recognize and promote a program that would consider two types of projects. For want of better names, these projects were to be called "Plan A" projects, and "Plan B" projects.

"Plan A" projects were to be the projects that the VEP would make financial grants to; "Plan B" projects were to be those that were to be encouraged and supported by the giving of advice and registration material.

At the time of this proposal, it was theorized that:

1) A survey of the South would reveal that there is some kind of registration organization in just about every community that could be fitted into our description of "Plan B" projects.

2) That these small organizations can be encouraged to do registration work if VEP would merely express an interest in what they are doing - cause them to feel that they are a part of a big south-wide movement - keep them informed as to what is happening, and advise them as to how they might improve on what they are doing.

3) That these "Plan B" projects would require little in the way of finance, because the program would be administered largely through the mail by one person out of Atlanta.

This theoretical framework is affirmed by almost every field trip, the most recent example being Oconee and Union counties, South Carolina. (See "Field Report to Oconee and Union Counties, South Carolina" dated August 8, 1963).

It would appear that "Plan B" is a desirable way to get the necessary activity going on all over the state, at the same time that it is necessary to obtain large numbers of Negro people registered in the face of the one day per month limit so common in many South Carolina counties.

Promotion of "Plan B" becomes even more important when we examine critically the program of CORE as it operates in the V and VI congressional districts in South Carolina. As best as I have been able to determine, CORE in South Carolina consists of only two men, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brown. Both of these individuals are sincere and work hard, but they cannot be expected to do the job desired. No two men can - especially if they are ineffective at involving local people of the community in which they are working.

Therefore, I propose that VEP hire immediately, a man to conduct the "Plan B" program. He would have as his responsibilities:

1) Assembling and putting in a usable fashion, a leadership list for the entire area in which VEP operates.

2) Establishing contact with the persons on this list.

3) Searching out information of his contacts where registration work is being done that VEP is not aware of.

4) Handling the distribution of the VEP newsletter.

5) Getting started, as soon as possible, programs that would create a climate favorable to registration in each state (in much the same way the Billy Sunday, Billy Graham used mass psychology).

I recommend:

1) That the "Plan B" program be started at once.

2) That Mr. Charles Ray of Huntsville, Alabama, be hired for this job.

3) That a working budget be assigned so as to afford some freedom in the conduct of this program.

I have made a preliminary inquiry into the availability of Mr. Ray. (See memo "New Employess for the VEP" dated August 6, 1963), and will proceed to try to arrange an interview between Mr. Ray and the project director within the next five days unless advised otherwise.

Field investigation and other factors dictate the desirability of pursuing this course.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

August 9, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Leslie W. Dunbar

From: Jack Minnis

Subject: Resolving Research Problems

Les, this is the one-page memo involving my proposals for resolving what I consider to be our research problems.

As I indicated to you in my last research memo, and in our conversation the other day, I think the time has long since passed when we can continue reasonably to expect the kind of reporting from the agencies which will develop data which would support a respectable study of VEP.

I am therefore recommending that we hire one additional person whose primary duties would be field observation and reporting. You will recall that you suggested that one research absolute should be a description of the community and its problems at the time the project gets underway, along with a rationalization of the problem-solving facility of the techniques to be used in the project. You will also recall that I agreed at the time that this was a necessity. I do not think that this kind of thing can be done from the office here in Atlanta. I think it requires some on-the-spot observation, interviewing, et cetera.

In addition to performing this service, the individual would really spend the bulk of his time - at least in the beginning - in providing us with on-the-spot research reports from each and every project which we are supporting. I think the great burden of this kind of reporting could be completed within 90 days after the individual began. And then, he could do such field reporting and observation as was necessary, as well as spend some of his time in the office helping to distill from the agency reports, such information as is of immediate use to VEP.

I should imagine that an individual with the skills we would require would expect to receive somewhere in the neighborhood of $6000.

Does this make any sense?

Jack Minnis

JM:js

cc: Wiley A. Branton

J. M. — I am extremely busy. I see no reason why this could not go out over your signature. I will be back by Friday if you think it best for me to sign.
WB

August 9, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

Subject: "If We Must Die" by Junius Edwards

Wiley, in connection with this book, I would suggest, first of all, a letter from you to Louise Thomas, Director of Public Relations at Doubleday, 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, saying something like the following:

> All too frequently, fiction which attempts to serve the purpose of social protest can be comfortably dismissed with the argument that it is, after all, fiction, and does not necessarily conform to the situation which actually exists. I think the American people need to know that such an argument is wholly invalid with respect to Mr. Edwards' work. Those who read it - and I think it extremely important that it receives the widest public attention - will doubtless be uncomfortable at the conflict between the conditions which the book presents on one hand, and the kind of society which we should all like to think America is on the other. If such discomfort cannot be alleviated by rationalizing that the book is merely fiction, then perhaps the American people will be more inclined to take the action which is necessary to remedy the conditions.
>
> THE VEP
>
> For more than a year, our organization has been granting funds for the support of registration drives among Negroes in the South. Since our primary purpose is that of research, we have taken the trouble to assemble a large body of data concerning the conditions with respect to Negro registration throughout the South. The story which Mr. Edwards presents in "If We Must Die" could have been taken, almost in its entirety, from any one of dozens of files in our office. I say this to point out that while technically Mr. Edwards' book is a work of fiction, as a matter of fact, it is an accurate description of conditions which exist with respect to registration and voting for Negroes in many parts of the southern United States as of today.
>
> If you think any part of this letter would be of use to you in increasing the distribution of Mr. Edwards' book, please feel free to quote it at your discretion.

Now in addition to this, Wiley, I would suggest that a note from you to the appropriate persons in the civil rights agencies might get them to use their facilities to call the book to the attention of those whom they can communicate with and influence. I would also suggest a similar note to the appropriate functionary in your own fraternity and other fraternities and sororities; to the National Student Association, the League of Women Voters, and if you think appropriate, the American Civil Liberties Union, along with the appropriate functionary in the AFL-CIO.

If you do not have time to undertake this, just scrawl a note across the face of the memorandum, if you want, and I will draft the correspondence and forward it to you in New York for your approval and signature.

Jack Minnis

Jack Minnis

JM:js

M E M O R A N D U M

August 21, 1963

TO: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

Mrs. Tilly, you have by now, no doubt, heard of my appointment as Executive Director of the Council of United Civil Rights Leadership, and of the fact that this responsibility requires that I spend a great deal of my time in New York. This, as you know, will be the situation through the next four to six months.

For this reason I very much regret the fact that I will be forced to cancel my commitment to speak to the Fellowship of the Concerned on Tuesday, October 29. If you will let Mrs. Levine know, however, she will be happy to schedule either Mr. Minnis, or Mr. Blackwell, whichever is in town at that time, to speak in my place and to represent the Voter Education Project.

bj

August 23, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

I talked today by telephone to Mrs. Holmes in the office of the registrar of voters in Birmingham. She is the chief clerk in that office. She said that from April 1 to the present date, there have been about 4,000 new registrations in Jefferson County. She said that she was unable to estimate the number of Negroes in this 4,000.

I had called Mrs. Holmes because Andy Young had asked me to see if I could straighten out the mix-up about how many persons have been registered in Birmingham, and I felt that it was important to do so in the light of Mrs. Johnson's letter of August 17.

Andy called me today on another matter from Dorchester, and since I had been concerned about the content of Mrs. Johnson's letter, with respect to the relationship with the young people who had been working in voter registration, I asked him his opinion of the breach between Mrs. Johnson's group and the young people. He said that he had known of one instance in which an SCLC bus was used on a weekend bit of skylarking, by the youngsters, and he had been aware that many of the young people accustomed to finding a certain amount of recreation in the bottle. It was his feeling that persons could not reasonably expect such youngsters to become overnight converts to middle-class respectability, and that if they proved to be effective workers in voter registration, it was worth the trouble to try to get along with them, and see to it that their pleasure did not interfere with their business.

He said that on one occasion, the youngsters went to the ASCARV office to get some materials from Mrs. Johnson, and she severely limited the number of hand bills which she would give them to distribute. Andy did not comment on who he may have thought was in the right and who was in the wrong in this conflict, but he seemed to feel that the conflict itself was probably inevitable. He and I had more or less concurred in this view at the time we discussed it during my last visit to Birmingham.

In view of the proposal contained in Mrs. Johnson's letter of August 17, I asked Andy whether he thought the program using the youngsters could be re-activated in Birmingham, and would be likely to be as effec-

tive as it has appeared to be in the past. I recalled that SCLC was running the program with the youngsters for a cost of a little over $1,000 a month, whereas Mrs. Johnson's proposal involved something over $3,000 a month.

Andy said that since some of the young people would be going back to school, and would probably be fully occupied with carricular and other school activities, he felt it probably would be inadvisable to try to re-activate the young people's program at this time. He suggested that the ASCARV people be given an opportunity to see what they could do now. He said that he was thinking of taking the young people with whom he had worked that were not going back to school and using them in the joint SCLC-CORE program which is in the proposal stage for Louisiana.

As you will recall from my report of my last visit to Birmingham, the day or so that I spent there, left no question in my mind about the effectiveness of the program that the young people were running at that time. As I recall, no one with whom I discussed that project felt that the youngsters might be suffering from an over-developed sense of social propriety. Nevertheless, with either Andy or Jim Bevel, or Dorothy Cotton there to smooth out some of the roughes spots, and to act as a kind of liason with the more respectable adult registration people, an effective program was possible.

Andy says he thinks that he will try tp get some of the same young people down to Dorchester for a week or so this coming January, and that then, SCLC might want to run a project in Birmingham using them. If this takes place, I would strongly suggest that we remember this difficulty in considering the possibility of coordinating such a program with existing programs which may be in effect in Birmingham at that time.

Jack Minnis

JM:js

Attachment: Mrs. Johnson's August 17 letter

August 29, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

This is the delayed response to your request of two or so weeks ago for information on national firms doing business in Greenwood, Mississippi.

According to the 1960 census, there were 1,159 persons in the manufacturing labor force of Leflore County. The following firms accounted for 877, or 76% of that labor force. (Company employee figures are taken from the Mississippi Directory of Manufacturers):

Baldwin (D.H.) Co. (Formerly Baldwin Piano Co.)
Gilbert Avenue and Eden Park Entrance
Cincinnati, Ohio.....200

Conmar Products Corp.
140 Thomas St.
Newark, New Jersey.....167

Georgia-Pacific Corp.
375 Park Avenue, New York,
New York..... 60

Supreme Electronics Corp.
wholly owned subsidiary of
Hickok Electrical Instrument Co.
10514 Dupont Ave.,
Cleveland, Ohio.....200

Medart Lockers, Inc.
St. Louis, Missouri.....150

I can supply names of officers and directors, along with other corporate connections of these officials, if you think it advisable.

Jack Minnis

JM:js

M E M O R A N D U M September 10, 1963

TO: SRC AND VEP PERSONNEL

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

Effective September 9, 1963, Vernon Jordan will serve as the Acting Assistant Director of the Voter Education Project. He will continue to handle his present assignment with SRC but will divide his time between VEP and SRC.

In serving as the Acting Assistant Director of VEP, Vernon will assist the Director in carrying out all the duties and responsibilities normally carred by the Director and will, in the absence of the Director, act in his stead.

WAB:jl

1 - Interoffice memos

MEMORANDUM Septemb er 11, 1963

TO: RTB
FROM: WAB
RE: August 27 memorandum on South Carolina

I am particularly pleased about the valuable information and the manner of presentation of your recent field reports from South Carolina.

In other South Carolina reports you have recommended that we reserve a certain amount of money for a particular area and notify the people in that area of our action and inform them that the money is available whenever they can come up with a sound program. I am opposed to this policy as I would rather encourage people to come up with a sound program for presentation to us before we make any commitmenet whatsoever, including the encumbrance of funds.

In your membrandum of September 3 you suggested that we try to interest SECC or some other organization in working with CORE in the 5th and 6th Congressional Districts of South Carolina. I would be opposed to this suggestion unless you first discuss this with the CORE people and make sure that this is something which they could work out.

Replying specifically to your six recommendations contained in your Augusy 27 memo, my answers are as follows:

1) VEP has already assisted the expansion of the Citizenship Classes in Charleston and Berkely County by paying for six citizenship schools for a period of 3 months.

2) The idea of the proposed leadership meeting at Charleston on September 21 is hereby approved.

3) The $300 budget to cover the cost of this meeting is hereby approved. In view of the fact that this meeting will be conducted away from Atlanta you probably will have to take some cash with you and prepare vouchers in support of the cash expenditures. Wherever possible, we would like for payment to be made by check. Vernon Jordan is hereby authorized to approve payment of this budget if I am not available.

1- Interoffice memos

4) I have no objection to a change in the 30% formula previously adopted and you and Jack Minnis should discuss a new formula for that state.

5) The only grant which we are likely to make in South Carolina prior to September 21 would be in Clarendon county but that grant will not be made without prior consultation with you.

6) The working formula of $1.00 per new registered voter is approved as a basic formula, but I would remind you of our staff conference yesterday morning when I stated that this formula should never be made known outside of VEP. You should always inquire first as to how many new voters an organization thinks it can get registered and the formula is purely for your own information in helping an agency to prepare a budget for final VEP consideration.

WAB:jl

M E M O R A N D U M

September 12, 1963

TO: WAB
RTB
JM

FROM: Vernon Jordan

In an attempt to keep the lines of communication open between members of the VEP staff, and for ease of handling of inquiries, etc., a house calendar has been placed on the bulletin board and you are requested to begin use of this calendar immediately.

Please mark this calendar for all engagements, local or out-of-town, and in so far as you can ascertain in advance the place, date, time, and hotel or motel accomodations. If your appointment is for a speaking engagement would you please state the name of the group to whom you are speaking.

Vernon Jordan

VJ:jl

MEMORANDUM

September 19, 1963

TO: RHA

FROM: J. Levine

When Vernon Jordan submitted a voucher for Travel Expense money recently, in the amount of $30.00, he inadvertenly requested these funds from SRC. This trip is in fact being made for the Voter Education Project.

Would you, therefore, repay SRC from VEP funds for this travel expense. Thank you.

September 24, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Jack Minnis

From: Jean Levine

RE: Geographic Expenditures on All Grant Monies Since April 1, 1963

The following breakdown represents an almost accurate accounting of NAACP and CORE expenditures by state since April 1, 1963. Because of the fact that both of these agencies might stilllbe reporting on old grant receipts in April, this picture may not be completely accurate, but it is close.

NAACP

NAACP has expended $9,890.15 of the $20,020.00 granted to them since April 1. These expenditures are broken down by state as follows:

Florida	$1359.38	
Georgia	657.93	
Mississippi	709.52	
North Carolina	238.57	
South Carolina	183.14	
Tennessee	980.00	
Texas	75.00	
Virginia	100.00	
		$4304.24
Overhead		
Overhead		$3300.00
Administrative Expense		2285.91
	TOTAL--	$9890.15

CORE

CORE has reported expenditures of $7683.03 of the $15,000.00 granted to them since April 1.in the following manner:

Florida	$1750.76	
Louisiana	2222.76	
South Carolina	3667.48	
		$7641.00
Administrative Expense		42.03
	TOTAL --	$7683.03

The geographic breakdown of all of the projectsexpenditures is on the attached list.

STATE	AGENCY	INSTALLMENTS PAID	TOTAL
Alabama	Madison Cty. Coor. Com.	$1500.00	
	SNCC-Dallas Cty.	1000.00	
	ASCARV	[illegible]	
	Tuskegee Civic Assn.	[illegible]	
	ASCARV	[illegible]	
	Mobile Cty. VEP	[illegible]	
	Colbert Cty. Voters League	[illegible]	
	Montgomery VEP	[illegible]	
			$13656.85
Arkansas	SNCC	$1200.00	$1200.00
Georgia	SNCC	$2000.00	
	SGCV	1000.00	
	Bibb Cty. Coor. Com.	2250.00	
	All Citizens Reg. Com.	6555.00	
			$11805.00
Louisiana	Coor. Council of N.O.	$6000.00	$ 6000.00
Mississippi	Mississippi Voter Proj.	$16000.00	
	Miss. Human Rights Proj.	1000.00	
			$17000.00
North Carolina	NUL (Winston Salem)	$5000.00	
	American Friends Ser. Com.	955.00	
	Non Par. Voters Reg. Com.	1000.00	
			$ 6955.00
South Carolina	SNCC	555.00	
	VEP of Charleston Cty.	1651.50	
	S. C. Voter Proj.	3350.00	
			$ 5556.50
Tennessee	YWCA-NSCAF VEP	$1695.00	$ 1695.00
Texas	Voters of Texas Enlist	$3500.00	$3500.00
Virginia	All Citiz. Reg. Com./N.Va.	$ 200.00	
	Peninsula Coor. Com.	1800.00	
	Tidewater Voter Reg. Proj.	820.00	
			$ 2820.00

js

Reported June thru ~~aug~~ only } naacp

Florida

25.00 40.00
100.00
225.94
249.44
59.00
110.00
100.00
250.00
200.00

1359.38

Georgia

139.27
368.66
100.00
50.00

657.93

Virginia

100.00

Mississippi

250.00
160.00
299.52

709.52

Tenn.

112.75 593.00
180.00
94.95

980.70

Texas

75.00

North Carolina 4.70 28.04
147.70
36.18
1.95

238.57

So. Carolina 33.34
93.26
31.29
25.25

183.14

4304.24

9890.15

3300.00 overhead
621.69 admin "
115.15 "
549.07 "

5585.91 + geography 4304.24
=
9890.15

thru July only

Corps 15000.00

1750.76 Florida

2222.76 Louisiana

3667.48 South Carolina

7641.00

42.03 admin. Expenses

7683.03

(How much they spent where)

navys 20,020.00

Tennessee

~~Jackson~~, Miss.

Georgia

Florida

North Carolina

South Carolina

Virginia

Texas

Alabama

3-7	(1500.00)	1500.00
~~"~~		~~500.00~~
3-1		1000.00
3-10	2279.05	~~1660.00~~
3-13		2000.00
2-21	4142.80 ~~3642.80~~	~~207.80~~
~~3-4~~		~~500.00~~
~~2-21~~		~~500.00~~
~~3-13~~		~~1000.00~~
~~2-21~~		~~2435.00~~
3-17		750.00
3-19		200.00
3-21		1785.00
~~3-10~~		~~619.00~~
~~2-21~~		~~4000.00~~
~~3-19~~		~~100.00~~
		13656.85

Arkansas

3-19 (Total) $ 1200.00

Georgia

2-19	2000.00
~~3-4~~	~~750.00~~
~~3-2~~	~~1000.00~~
~~2-25~~	~~1000.00~~
~~3-2~~	~~1000.00~~
~~3-4~~	~~750.00~~
~~3-2~~	~~1555.00~~
~~3-2~~	~~1000.00~~
~~3-4~~	~~750.00~~
~~3-2~~	~~1000.00~~
~~"~~	~~1000.00~~
2-25	1000.00
3-4	2250.00
3-2	6555.00
	11805.00

Louisiana

3-12	2000.00
"	1000.00
"	1000.00
"	1000.00
"	1000.00
	$6000.00

Mississippi

3- 3 16000.00 ~~2000.00~~

" ~~2000.00~~

" ~~2000.00~~

" ~~2000.00~~

" ~~2000.00~~

3-15 (Total) 1000.00

~~3-3 2000.00~~

~~" 2000.00~~

~~" 2000.00~~

~~2600.00~~

17000.00

North Carolina

3-11 5000.00

3-18 (Greensboro) ~~850.00~~

~~3-18~~ 955.00 ~~105.00~~

3-23 1000.00

6955.00

So. Carolina

2-19		555.00
3-16	1651.50	~~430.50~~
~~3-16~~		~~430.50~~
3-20	(Total 5000.00)	3350.00
~~3-16~~		~~740.50~~
~~3-20~~		~~1650.00~~

$5556.50

555.00
1651.50
3350.00
5556.50

Tennessee

3-14 $1695.00

Zepas

3-22

$3500.00

Virginia

2-24	200.00
3-9	1800.00
3-8	520.00
~~3-9~~	~~900.00~~
	$2820.10

MEMORANDUM

September 25, 1963

TO: RTB
FROM: WAB
RE: 1st Congressional District Meeting, Charleston, South Carolina September 21, 1963

I have read your memorandum of September 23 regarding the First Congressional District organizational meeting and am pleased to know that you regard it as a success. I am unable to determine whether you envision a district-wide VEP program such as we have in the Second District or not. If so, when is the best time for the program to start and what kind of budget will it require? How would the existing programs in that district be involved?

I note that you recommend that a similar district meeting be conducted in the 3rd and 4th Congressional Districts. It would seem to me that such a meeting ought to be called first in either the 5th or 6th Congressional District so as to see what we can do to boost the CORE effort which we have been supporting so long. What do you think?

I am concerned about the matter involving your decision to have Janet Shortt attend this conference in Charleston. No such request was ever communicated to me and it is my understanding that the request was not made of Vernon Jordan until late Friday afternoon. Vernon made a policy decision that VEP would not approve her trip under the circumstances. It would seem to me that this would have ended the matter but apparently it did not. When you told me late Friday night that Janet was flying up to Charleston I told you then that I thought this was an unnecessary expense as you should have been able to get someone there in Charleston to take care of all of the secretarial duties which you wanted Janet to handle, particularly since we are supporting the Charleston County project. I thought after you remained in Washington until Thursday that you would have gone on down and checked our long overdue Norfolk area projects and come on

back by way of Charleston without having to come to Atlanta and turn around and go back to Charleston.

I assume that Janet knew that Vernon had denied your request that she be allowed to go to Charleston and, therefore, it seems to me a matter of poor judgement on her part to proceed to Charleston without check further with Vernon or me even though you had agreed to pay her expenses. What I am concerned about here is the matter of policy decisions and support of those decisions by everyone on the staff.

WAB:jl

OCT 12 1963

Knoxville Crusader
1900 McCalla Ave
Knoxville, Tennessee
Attn: Marion Barry, Jr.
Sheila Michaels

October 3, 1963

Information Officer
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We are a new Negro weekly in Eastern Tennessee.

Please send us all news releases, mats, pictures and cuts. Also, please put us on the SRC mailing list for same & New South.

Thank you!

Yours for Freedom,

Sheila Michaels

Sheila Michaels
Associate Editor

Janet -
Please do, including SRC & New South by memo to Robbie Morgan for SRC + Janet Smith for New South. J

BTR Request made 10/14/63

Knoxville Crusader

VOL. 1, NO. 2 | KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1963 | PRICE 10c

Youth Shot By City Policeman

"Lord, I hate to tell you, but Ronnie just got shot."

This is how Mrs. Annie Lowery heard from Mrs. Daisey Campbell, 118 Bertrand St., that her teenage son, Ronnie Lowery, had just been shot by a city policeman.

The shooting climaxed three hours of sporatic fighting between 12 Negro youths and 20 to 30 white boys.

Ronnie Lowery, 16, of 119 Bertrand, explained the chain of events in this way:

"I was on my way to the football game at East High when I met about six of my friends running. They told me that some white boys had jumped on them with sticks, chains, and bricks. I asked them why, and they told me that they didn't know."

Gerald Bluford, 15, of 1700 McCalla, in a later interview, said that he and five other boys had gone over to watch East play. "We usually stand up on the hill and watch the game from there," Buford explained. "We have been doing this for years and never had any trouble. The white boys stand up there and watch Austin's games and we never say anything to them."

Buford said that four or five white boys came down out of a tree and said something to him and his friends. One of the boys picked up a stick while the others called some of their friends

Mr. Lowery

When police later learned that Lowery had only a blank pistol, Inspector Pace stated that it was fortunate that the boy did not get killed.

"Why, we don't wait and ask a man if his gun is real or not, we just try to protect ourselves."

Lowery and Buford accused the policemen of hitting them several times while the boys were in the police car. Inspector Pace de-

Police Refuse Crusader Press Card

By Sheila Michaels

"Well, I won't issue a card to any paper that's continually on the police department," said Chief Harris when he was approached for a press card by a *Crusader* editor, on Monday, September 23.

When I called the department, I was told Chief Harris issued the cards. Our conversation follows.

I gave my name and asked Chief Harris if he issued the press cards. He said he did, and which paper did I work for? When he heard *"Knoxville Crusader,"* he replied, abruptly:

"Well, no ma'am!"

"Why not?"

"Just, no, ma'am. I don't know who you are."

"Well, shall I send you a copy of the paper, and then you can see . . ."

He interrupted and said that he had seen a copy already, and asked where I was from. I asked, "Why?", and he repeated his question. I answered that I lived in Knoxville, now. He cut in to repeat his question.

I'm a native of the mid-South, but felt had had it been Nairobi or Stockholm or Harlem it would still have no bearing on my claim to a press card.

I asked "Well, what does it matter?"

AUSTIN HIGH INADEQUATE

Too Many Pupils Too Few Teachers Too Little Space

By SHEILA MICHAELS

A teacher at Austin High has described the curriculum as offering arts and crafts instead of vocational training, and frills instead of remedial courses. About 30% of our students go on to college, the rest go to menial labor or domestic work or unemployment. The vocational courses Austin offers won't help them get jobs around here, and if they take the vocational curriculum they don't get enough academic courses to help them pass job examinations; so they don't have much to offer anyone."

Austin suffers from having too many pupils, too few teachers, not enough space or classrooms, a shortage of textbooks, outdated vocational courses, and absence of a remedial program. The causes of this situation have been attributed to a lack of funds and segregation.

When asked about conditions

been approved, he said, "I don't see any reason why they've slowed down, and someone will have to do them if it's the county court or the city council.

THE BUILDING

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Buford said that four or five white boys came down out of a tree and said something to him and his friends. One of the boys picked up a stick while the others called some of their friends to help them.

"We started running when fifteen or twenty white boys came over to help the others out," Buford said. "We ran down several streets before one of our boys was caught and beat for a few minutes. He got up and we all kept running until we met Ronnie and told him what happened."

Lowery said, "they decided to go over into the projects and get some other of their friends. We got about five or six other boys to go with the six of us back to the game. We had radio antennas and sticks."

Lowery explained that they met two or three of the white boys who had attacked his friends. The Negro youths ran the white boys down Jefferson before they lost the boys. Lowery said that they did not see any other white boys and decided to go back home.

On the way home, a white man, who had seen them chasing the white boys earlier, tried to run over the Negroes, according to Lowery and several of the youths.

"I had a pistol that shoots blanks and I pointed it at him. He got scared and ran away."

The next series of events happened very rapidly. According to police, a white man parked in the Magnolia Lanes parking lot accused the Negroes of trying to steal his hub caps. The Negro youths denied this saying that they had gone to find some more sticks. Lowery also said that he shot his "blank" pistol at the unidentified man.

The Negroes ran when they saw city policemen arrive. One youth, John Parker, 1704 Jasper, was arrested as they tried to run away.

Lowery, according to Inspector W. G. Pace, city policeman, ran and started firing his blank pistol at officers. Sergeant Odum, one of the officers on the scene, shot Lowery in the hip.

Lowery said he did not know he was firing at police officers. "I thought they were some more white boys coming after me."

Mr. Lowery

When police later learned that Lowery had only a blank pistol, Inspector Pace stated that it was fortunate that the boy did not get killed.

"Why, we don't wait and ask a man if his gun is real or not, we just try to protect ourselves."

Lowery and Buford accused the policemen of hitting them several times while the boys were in the police car. Inspector Pace denied that this happened.

Mrs. Annie Lowery came to the Crusader's office to report what happened. She said University of Tennessee Hospital officials did not treat her son's wound properly. "Why, I had to take him to my private doctor. The only thing they did out there was to X-ray him and put some dressing on his wound. We went back out there Wednesday, September 25, and they told me to bring him back October 25. By that time his leg would have rotted off."

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I'm a native of the mid-South, but felt had had it been Nairobi or Stockholm or Harlem it would still have no bearing on my claim to a press card.

I asked "Well, what does it matter?"

Chief Harris replied, finally, *"Well, I won't issue a card to any paper that's continually on the police department. And I saw a copy today and there's not much in the paper I can say I liked. I would not issue a press card to any employee of that paper."*

Which ended his definition of freedom of the press.

On September 26, Marion Barry called and got a milder response: Chief Harris said he would issue a press card if the Mayor ordered.

AUSTIN HIGH INADEQUATE

Too Many Pupils Too Few Teachers Too Little Space

By SHEILA MICHAELS

A teacher at Austin High has described the curriculum as offering arts and crafts instead of vocational training, and frills instead of remedial courses. About 30% of our students go on to college, the rest go to menial labor or domestic work or unemployment. The vocational courses Austin offers won't help them get jobs around here, and if they take the vocational curriculum they don't get enough academic courses to help them pass job examinations; so they don't have much to offer anyone."

Austin suffers from having too many pupils, too few teachers, not enough space or classrooms, a shortage of textbooks, outdated vocational courses, and absence of a remedial program. The causes of this situation have been attributed to a lack of funds and segregation.

When asked about conditions at Austin, Superintendent of Schools, Thomas N. Johnston, said that the School Board was "aware" of the conditions at Austin. That their correction had "high priority on the list" but that it had been "slowed down" for the past six or eight months, because of the confusion over who would issue bonds" and other factors dependent upon School Consolidation.

When asked why the Consolidation issue had been allowed to affect plans which had already been approved, he said, "I don't see any reason why they've slowed down, and someone will have to do them if it's the county court or the city council.

THE BUILDING

Austin High was built in 1952 to accommodate a maximum of 750.

"But," says Austin Principal O. T. Hogue, "That's on paper. The school really accommodates 600. And we have 815 students, now."

"When they built Austin, I was in on the planning. I asked for eight academic classrooms and only got six. Last year I asked for three more classrooms, and that was with the understanding that Beardsley was to be enlarged and continue through the 12th grade. This year I would have to ask for four more classrooms,

Continued on Page 4

CONSOLIDATION ---- FOR AND AGAINST

Editor's Note: In keeping with its policy of bringing important issues to the public, the Crusader asked two Knoxvillians to present arguments for and against consolidation.

FOR

Dr. James Colston

Dr. James A. Colston, President of Knoxville College, had this to say:

"As a member of the Commission that drew up the plan for consolidation of the Knoxville-Knox County School Systems, I firmly believe that a consolidated school system will provide better educational opportunities for all concerned — the students, the teachers, and the taxpayers. If I did not believe this I never would have, as a Commission member, voted in favor of it.

Because of the measure of fiscal independence provided for in the merger plan, the plan offers the community a greater assurance that the educational levels of our schools will be raised than is now provided in either the City or County school systems. For example, if a budget for school purposes is now presented by the City School Board to City Council and City Council says it does not have the money to support it, then the City Board of Education has no further recourse. The same thing is true in the county; however, in the consolidated plan if the Board of Education presents a budget to Quarterly County Court and the Court indicates that it does not have money to support it, then the Board can take its claim to the people. If the people want better education, then they can provide the support for it and force the Quarterly Court to meet the expenditures.

Not only does the Plan guarantee that there shall be no diminution in the highest level of education in either system, it also provides that there shall be improvement in the level of education provided all of the children of Knox County. The Plan thoroughly protects the welfare of all of the teachers, their salaries, tenure and retirement benefits. It also protects the taxpayers. Without consolidation county taxes are going to skyrocket because the taxpayers will have to support a small, widely dispersed system around the edges of the county. This will certainly not encourage new industry to come to Knox County. In fact, it might drive industry already here out of the county because of the high tax rate.

My personal interest is in the welfare of all the people. As a teacher myself, I would of necessity be interested in the best welfare of all of the teachers; and if the Plan did not provide for it. I would be solidly against it. I am also interested in making it possible for all people to have jobs —more and better jobs. With the encouragement of existing industry to remain in our county and more to come in will mean that more jobs will be available and surely this will mean more jobs for Negroes. I fear that a reduction in job opportunities may work to the disadvantage of the Negro.

On the basis of my knowledge of the provisions of the Plan for Consolidation, my faith in the people you will elect to administer it, and my deep interest in the welfare of all of the people, I recommend this plan without any reservation whatsoever and urge you to vote in favor of it."

AGAINST

Mrs. Charlene Michael

In the last few years the Knoxville Teachers League and the Knoxville Education Association have worked together on some issues and projects; such is the case on the matter of consolidation. In light of this we hereby present the statements as adopted by the Executive Boards of the Knoxville Teachers League and the Knoxville Education Association on September 5, 1963:

Knoxville Teachers League and Knoxville Education Association oppose consolidation because:

1. The plan does not, in reality, provide for improved education for the children involved.

2. The plan does not create a new school system but rather provides for an all-inclusive County system.

3. The legality of major advantages which have been claimed for the plan has been questioned by the State Commissioner of Education and other legal authorities.

Continued on Page 4

KNOXVILLE CRUSADER

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EDITORIAL PAGE

Go To The Polls Thursday

GO TO THE POLLS THURSDAY AND VOTE.

Every citizen of Knoxville who is eligible to vote should go to the polls and vote Thursday, October 3. You will not be living up to your responsibility as a citizen if you fail to vote.

We are fortunate that here in Knoxville we can vote without fear of economic or physical harm. In Mississippi and some other Southern states there is this fear. We all remember Tent City in Fayette County, Tenn.

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Men have died while trying to get the precious ballot. In 1955, the Reverend George W. Lee, the first Negro to register since Reconstruction, was shot to death in Belzoni, Mississippi, from ambush, when he refused to remove his name from the voting rolls voluntarily.

Harry T. Moore died in Florida.
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Many others have died in other places.

If these men can give their lives, surely you can give a little of your time.

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We don't care if you are for or against consolidation. **Go and vote.**

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Voice Of The People

Salutes Crusader For Printing Truth

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The call for leadership is long overdue. Realizing that there are too many "big" people in Knoxville doing little, and too many "little" people doing nothing, I salute you and your diligent staff of tireless workers.

Negroes, as well as whites, need to know the facts about city employment, public facilities, and political factors in our cities. Only now do we see the first real attempt to print such material. I salute you and your staff again for being courageous enough to print that which is true, and not which we would like to be true.

This is 1963 and the Negro community is awakening to the injustice and unequal treatment it has received for so many years. I only hope that the community will open its eyes wider and see that there are persons who will support it, if it will give support in return.

I salute you and your staff once more as you take a stand for complete integration. With you stand the open-minded, and just, the non-violent, the sincere, and the freedom fighters, as well as those others who support the Knoxville Crusader. I want to be counted as a member of the informed citizenry.

Yours truly
Marion Agnes Delaney

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I do wish your paper the best of success and hope that the people of Knoxville will give you the necessary support.

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Dear Mr. Editor:

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Know Your Rights

The United States Commission On Civil Rights

Briefly stated, the Commission's function is to advise the President and Congress on conditions that may deprive American citizens of equal treatment under the law because of their color, race, religion or national origin.

The Commission has no power to enforce laws or correct any individual wrong. Basically, its task is to collect, study, and appraise information relating to civil rights throughout the country, and to make appropriate recommendations to the President and Congress for corrective action. The Supreme Court has described the Commission's statutory duties in this way:

. . . its function is purely investigative and factfinding. It does not adjudicate. It does not hold trials or determine anyone's civil or criminal liability. It does not issue orders. Nor does it indict, punish, or impose any legal sanctions. It does not make determinations depriving anyone of his life, liberty, or property.

In short, the Commission does not and cannot take any affirmative action which will affect any individual's legal rights. The only purpose of its existence is to find facts which may subsequently be used as the basis for legislative or executive action.

Specifically, the Civil Rights Act of 1957, as amended, directs

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In a recent editorial, the Knoxville **Journal** used the Birmingham dynamiting of innocent children as an excuse to hurl charges at Dr. Martin Luther King, whom the **Journal** blamed for the deaths equally with Alabama Gov. Wallace. The morning paper charges that both King and Wallace are "responsible for such eruptions of violence" as the church bombing. In typical fashion for this newspaper, the **Journal** accuses Dr. King of "threats of violence," which presumably incite Negroes and whites to violent action.

This kind of journalism is the trademark of the **Journal,** which seemingly has enjoyed a long history of allegiance to racists and their methods of white supremacy. Consequently such attacks upon Dr. King are not unusual or surprising. Because of their misleading character, however, the **Journal's** statements should not be allowed to pass by entirely without correction.

Blaming Dr. King and other protest leaders for racial violence is like blaming early Christians for their own persecutions. The Romans threw the Christians to the lions for refusing to bow down before their pagan gods. Die-hard segregationists throw home-made bombs and dynamite into churches because the Negro refuses to bow down any longer to the gods of White Supremacy.

Dr. King, a Christian minister, is reviving the early Christian message of **love and forgiveness** for the whole world by leading us through the wilderness of hate and oppression toward **the land of freedom.** As it was with Peter and the early Christians, King and other leaders will not be turned back by the deathbombs hurled by **Hate and Ignorance.**

The **Journal** accuses Dr. King of "threats of violence." Accusations such as these are typical of the **Journal's** editorial policy. Every informed person knows well that Martin Luther King preaches love and non-violence, that he has dedicated himself totally to the philosophy of Christian non-violent proest of oppressive racial practices.

Oppressed peoples of other countries have overthrown injustice with the sword. America is fortunate to have King and other leaders, who resort not to the sword but to peaceful demonstrations seeking only the rights of ordinary American citizens—**rights that are long overdue.** In its pretended ignorance, the **Journal** fails to note that assemblies protesting injustice are exercises in the best American tradition and replace bloody revolutions in countries which suppress peaceful petitions.

Editorially the **Journal** also speaks out against civil rights legislation and suggests that the courts should be used to fight injustice. Again the **Journal** pretends ignorance in opposing Negro freedom.

Even the **Journal** knows that the courts are of little use without legislation and that Negroes cannot get justice in local courts where white racist judges refuse Negroes their Constitutional rights.

Time and time again the morning newspaper makes its position against Negro freedom quite clear. Its opposition to Martin Luther King and civil rights legislation is just one more effort in the **Journal's** continuing campaign to keep freedom's door locked and to preserve full American citizenship for the lily-white.

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Sincerely Yours,
Rev. Percy Smith, Jr.

Sermon For The Week

By Rev. Robert J. Tolbert, Pastor
Lennon Memorial Methodist Church

Text: *"But I say unto you, That in this place is one greater than the temple."* Matthew 12:6.

Christianity is not an "it." It is not a "lism" or a "tism" or an "ism." It is a way of life. It is a commitment not to some thing but to a person, God through His son Jesus the Christ. Anything living or dead that obstructs or takes the place of true fellowship or communion with God is idolatry.

I love education. How thrilling it is to take advantage of some of the vast knowledge at our fingertips today. I like to think of how in the early days of our country and religion locked arms and enabled education to lift the bonds of ignorance from many people.

But if education does not cause me to get along better with my fellowman, if it does not somehow make our community a better place to live, if it does not enhance my life to the point where I can have a more vivid contact with God, it has not served its purpose: it is idolatry.

I love the Church. I admire all for which it stands. I often like to think of the many saints it has produced. However, if the Church does not somehow serve as the instrument through which I can have fellowship with God, it has not served its purpose: it is idolatry.

Someone is doubtles saying to themself, "Well preacher I have a problem. I want to do more for my Church and for my community, but I am an alcoholic."

Without the help of God through His Son Jesus the Christ, there is no help for one who has become victimized by alcohol. Many records will attest to the fact that there have been many people caught in this predicament. Some have turned themselves toward God. Many have channeled their aspirations through Alcoholics Anonymous.

With much faith, discipline, self-restraint and determination a large percentage have emerged victorious. It didn't happen over night, but now many of those people are making great contributions to their Churches and communities.

In the story of our text Jesus is concerned with the importance and worth of the human personality. His Disciples have been accused of breaking the *Law* by pulling off ears of corn on the Sabbath. Apparently the Disciples were hungry.

As they proceeded to give nourishment to their bodies, as they passed through the corn field, they and Jesus were confronted by the Pharisses, who were strict observers of the Law. It was a question of which was the more important, the *Law or man?*

Jesus told of two occasions where their ancestors had committed similar acts on the Sabbath in connection with the temple and were blameless. Jesus not only asserted that the human personality was of more worth than the *Law* but he went to tell them, "That in this place is one greater than the temple."

Whatever our problem might be, in our individual or social life, there is One in our midst who is greater than the forces that would prevent a true fellowship or communion with God.

Rights

The United States Commission On Civil Rights

Briefly stated, the Commission's function is to advise the President and Congress on conditions that may deprive American citizens of equal treatment under the law because of their color, race, religion or national origin.

The Commission has no power to enforce laws or correct any individual wrong. Basically, its task is to collect, study, and appraise information relating to civil rights throughout the country, and to make appropriate recommendations to the President and Congress for corrective action. The Supreme Court has described the Commission's statutory duties in this way:

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In short, the Commission does not and cannot take any affirmative action which will affect any individual's legal rights. The only purpose of its existence is to find facts which may subsequently be used as the basis for legislative or executive action.

Specifically, the Civil Rights Act of 1957, as amended, directs the Commission to:

Investigate formal allegations that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin;

Study and collect information concerning legal developments which constitute a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

Appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

Prepare and submit interim reports to the President and the Congress and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings and recommendations.

The material on which the Commission's reports are based has been obtained in various ways. In addition to its own hearings, conferences, investigations, surveys and related research, the Commission has had the cooperation of numerous Federal, State, and local agencies. Private organizations have also been of immeasurable assistance.

TO FILE A COMPLAINT

Send as much of the following information as you can to

THE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Your name, address, phone number.

2. Date of the alleged act of discrimination.

3. Reasons for discrimination (race, creed, color, or national origin).

4. Explain what happened. Include: All the facts and dates you can recall. The names and addresses of other persons who knew about the incident. The name and/or position, if known, of the company, person, or persons responsible for the alleged act of discrimination. Any other information which may have some bearing on your complaint.

News In Brief

Colleges Integrated

University of South Carolina, at Columbia: Miss Henri Dobbins Monteith, Mr. Robert Anderson and Mr. James L. Solomon. **U. of South Carolina,** at Beaufort: unidentified Marine sergeant. **Clemson College,** S. C.: Harvey Gantt is joined by Miss Lucinda Brawley. **Mercer University,** Macon, Ga.: Mr. Benny Stevens, Mr. Cecil Dewberry, and Mr. Sam Jerry Oni, of Ghana. **Florence State College,** Alabama: Mr. Wendell Wilkie Gunn. **Stephens College,** Columbia, Mo.: three unidentified women.

Wallace Punched

In Baltimore, on a political campaign tour last week Gov. Wallace of Alabama was approached by an unidentified man.

"Who in this bunch do not like President Kennedy?" the man asked.

"I, for one!" Wallace replied.

"Without warning, the man let go with a right hook that landed dead in Wallace's mouth," one witness reported.

Va. Okays Seating

The Virginia Supreme Court threw out state laws requiring segregated seating last week. It ordered segregation ended at Richmond's baseball field and Civic Auditorium.

Duke's Granddaughter, TV Dancer

Duke Ellington's granddaughter, 24-year-old Mercedes Ellington, has been signed as a June Taylor dancer on the Jackie Gleason Show. She is the first Negro to win a spot on a major television show.

New Orleans Hotels Open

Because New Orleans lost the American Legion convention over segregation, four of its largest hotels have desegregated. Last week the Sheraton-Charles, the Royal Orleans, the Jung and the Hilton Inn, all owned by national chains, announced that they had ended bias.

Union Asks: 'Jail Wallace'

Delegates to the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers 28th annual convention in New York, last week, voted unanimously to ask the Attorney General to indict and ar-

Air Force Refuses To Place Selma Off Limits

WASHINGTON, D.C. September 23 — The Air Force has declined to act on a request from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) that Selma, Alabama be declared off limits to personnel from Craig Air Force Base.

The request was made by Worth Long, SNCC staff coordinator, in a conference with Craig Commander Richard Ault on Monday, September 16. The request was reinforced with a telegram from SNCC Chairman John Lewis to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara after Long's arrest and beating in a Selma jail last Monday evening.

The Department of Defense said here Colonel Ault had turned down the request because "the commander may not intervene on behalf of persons not under his command."

After the first refusal SNCC wired McNamara and Colonel Ault, again asking that Selma be placed off limits to help settle racial problems there.

Sixty-eight demonstrators were arrested there Monday, Sept. 16, and Long, who was an observer at the demonstrations, was arrested and beaten by Deputy Sheriff W. T. Marvel in the jail.

Over 100 demonstrators have been jailed there in a week of protest.

In Atlanta, SNCC Chairman John Lewis said demonstrations would continue there until "every vestige of segregation has been removed."

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee began working in Selma and Dallas County in February, 1963.

Around Towne

With Jane Browne

Mesdames Margaret Carson, Mable Bryant, Margaret Smith, and Fannie Derrick were hostesses at a bridge party on September 21, 12 noon, at Greenacres Country Club. There were twenty-four tables, and a delicious menu was served. Mrs. Annie M. Taylor won first prize, Mrs. Eleanor Taylor, second, and Mrs. Sue Lee, third. Mesdames Ozana Hunter, Gertrude Porter, and Almeda Smith won prizes also.

On September 21, Mrs. Thelma Hamilton was hostess at a bridge party at Greenacres Country Club for the Saturday Night Cotillion Club. First prize was won by Mrs. Alva Fields, second prize by Miss Christine Logan, and third prize by Mrs. Jeanette Bradenburg.

The NAACP State Convention, September 28, being held in Jackson, Tennessee, will be attended by Knoxvillians Rev. Frank R. Gordon, State President of the NAACP, and James F. Reese, President of the Knoxville Chapter of the NAACP. Knoxville delegates to the convention will be Mrs. Edna Smyre, Mrs. B. H. Netherland, Rev. G. J. Hill, and Rev. R. J. Tolbert.

The Knoxville Interdominational Ministerial Alliance, at its September 23 meeting, elected the following officers for the year ensuing: Rev. R. E. Honeysucker, President, succeeding outgoing President, Rev. C. H. Huston; Rev. G. J. Hill, Vice-President; Rev. Robert J. Tolbert, Secretary; Rev. H. J. Bailey, Treasurer; and Rev. Roland Hayes Armstrong, Chairman of the Program Com-

The speaker for the occasion will be Mrs. Lillie Powell Lindsay, a prominent citizen of this city. Mrs. Lindsay was one of the persons speaking out for integration and recently wrote an open letter to the Knoxville Journal deploring the delay in justice to Negroes.

The Roger's Memorial Women's Chorus will render music, and after the service there will be a fellowship hour. Mrs. Henrietta Harper is General Chairman and Miss Ruth Morgan is Publicity Chairman.

The climax of Seney Chapel Methodist Church's "Miss Personality" contest will be Sunday, September 29. The contestants are Mrs. Margaret George, Miss Elouise Johnson, Miss Elizabeth Wilburn, and Mrs. Marion Lyons. The congregation of the church is divided into four groups, each of which is to support one of the contestants. Rev. Maceo Cox is pastor.

Rev. Percy Smith, Jr., was in Salisbury, North Carolina, the latter part of this week visiting his family and Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Gilliam, his in-laws. Mr. Gilliam, Mrs. Smith's, father is seriously ill and she is helping to care for him.

Knoxville College held its opening convocation on September 25, 1963, in the Giffen-Alumni Memorial Building. At this program full time students who have a cumulative averaged of at least

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Biracial Bank for Harlem

The Freedom National Bank, with an initial capital of $1,250,000, is awaiting final approval and issuance of a charter, and plans to open this January in Harlem. Its officers will be, Jackie Robinson, Chairman; Dunbar S. McLauring, President; Irvan B. Altman, Exec. Vice President.

Wallace Has Mental Problem, Says Morse

Washington, D. C.—Alabama's segregationist governor, George Wallace, has a war-connected psychoneurosis and is receiving disability payments, Senator Morse (D. Ore.) has revealed to the U.S. Senate. A spokesman for the Veterans Administration disclosed that Wallace is receiving $20 a month for a war-connected disability.

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The Atlanta-based student anti-segregation group maintains voter registration and direct action projects in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Virginia and Maryland.

Demonstrations Legal In Baton Rouge

Tthe U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled last week that a Baton Rouge injunction stopping anti-segregation demonstrations was illegal.

City officials claimed that the shifting of police to the scene of the demonstrations left only a reduced force to protect the city.

Judge John Wisdom ruled that the city's charge: "has the earmarks of a bad pun."

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The Ministerial Alliance meets each Monday, from 11:30 to 12:30 at the Payne Avenue Baptist Church.

Rev. Percy Smith, Jr., pastor of Clinton Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church, and his congregation will worship with Rev. John Robert Culum and his congregation. The joint worship service will take place at Rev. Culum's church, the A.M.E. Zion Church of LaFollette. After the service a basket dinner will be served to be shared with all friends and visitors.

The women of First A.M.E. Zion Church will be celebrating "Women's Day" Sunday, September 29, 1963, at 4:00 p.m.

The speaker for the occasion will be Mrs. Lillie Powell Lindsay, a prominent citizen of this city. Mrs. Lindsay was one of the persons speaking out for integration and recently wrote an open letter to the Knoxville Journal deploring the delay in justice to Negroes.

The Roger's Memorial Women's Chorus will render music, and after the service there will be a fellowship hour. Mrs. Henrietta Harper is General Chairman and Miss Ruth Morgan is Publicity Chairman.

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Rev. Percy Smith, Jr., was in Salisbury, North Carolina, the latter part of this week visiting his family and Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Gilliam, his in-laws. Mr. Gilliam, Mrs. Smith's, father is seriously ill and she is helping to care for him.

Knoxville College held its opening convocation on September 25, 1963, in the Giffen-Alumni Memorial Building. At this program full time students who have a cumulative averaged of at least 2.0 (out of a possible 3.0) were honored. Knoxvillians honored were Phiefer L. Browne, Beverly Y. Chandler, Wallace Madden, Joyce Riddle, and 1963 graduates Gloria Burgess and Barbara Ivey.

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ADDRESS _____
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Austin High . . .

Continued from Page 1

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"East High School has about 623 pupils, and a capacity somewhere around 650," B. A. Bible, Principal of East High, reported. "We have 24 academic classrooms."

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Because there are not enough classrooms, two classes are held simultaneously in the cafeteria four times a day, and home room is held in the auditorium.

"A number of teachers do not have their own classrooms, or even their own desks," Mrs. Carriella Thomas, a teacher at Austin, reports.

"Because the cafeteria is so small, there are lunch hours every fifteen minutes from 11:45 until 1:30, creating so much movement in the hall that it is almost impossible to teach for two hours a day," Mrs. Thomas stated. "After they finish lunch, the students must go to the auditorium to wait until their lunch period is over to return to class."

"By law, the cafeteria is supposed to accommodate one-third of the student body at a time" Mr. Hogue explained. "On paper our capacity is 750, and the cafe-

the school should be painted every three years," Mr. Hogue said, "Last year they started to paint. They got the outside painted, but they didn't get to the inside because of annexation, and they had to go paint some school that had just been annexed.

They say they'll get back to paint the inside sometime around Christmas; but that means they'll be painting while the kids are in school, and that's just too much confusion."

"We could use another janitor," he said, "The PTA recommended to the Board that we get another, but we just haven't gotten one. We have all those vocational classrooms to clean, and it's just too much for them to do."

"Only some of the students have lockers," Mrs. Thomas reports: Although there are two students to a locker already."

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Consolidation . . .

Continued from Page 1

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Knoxville Education
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U. S. CHARGES MISS. POLICE

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Four of the victims, Miss June Johnson, Miss Annell Ponder, of SCLC, and Mrs. Fannie Hamer, Mr. James Jones, and Mr. Harold West, of SNCC, were arrested last June at the Winona bus terminal restaurant. The fifth, Mr. Lawrence Guyot, 25, a SNCC field secretary, was arrested after going to Winona to seek their release.

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Teen Corner

By Alfred Babbington-Johnson

Several Austin students spent worthwhile summers this year engaging in such activities as Boy's State, Girl's State, summer school, Life Sciences Institute and the usual summer jobs.

Those students who engaged in these activities rather than just sitting around and loafing this summer will be well prepared to face the present school year.

Boy's and Girl's States, sponsored by the American Legion, are held yearly in Nashville, Tennessee, to acquaint boys and girls throughout the state with the structure and the ideas upon which the government here in Tennessee is based.

Representing Austin and the Knoxville community were eleven young people possessing all the desired qualities of leadership. The young people were: Boy's State—James Bussel, Marc Chandler, Reginald Felton, Melvin Huff and Ralph Smith; Girl's State—Angela Cherry, Rosalyn Frazier, Barbara Rodgers, Haywoodene Settles, Louella Settles, Connie Taylor and Norma Tench.

These young people carried home to Knoxville the offices of Supreme Court Justice, County Judge, City Clerk, Police Chief, U. S. Senator, State Senator, Cabinet Posts, and just missed bringing back the Governorship by one vote.

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We would like to take this opportunity to encourage the community to support Miss Connie Taylor, an Austin senior who is running for "Miss Democrat", a contest sponsored annually by the Women's Democratic Society, at the Auditorium Coliseum. The candidates for "Miss Democrat" are four white girls and Miss Taylor, who is a Negro.

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"By law, the cafeteria is supposed to accommodate one-third of the student body at a time" Mr. Hogue explained. "On paper our capacity is 750, and the cafeteria holds 175, so it was short to begin with. Two years ago the plan was approved to enlarge the cafeteria to hold 250. Now we have 815 students. If I even had a cafeteria to accommodate 250, I could release teachers from the auditorium to supervise the cafeteria."

"I also asked for Beardsley to become a Senior High. As it is, it goes to 10th grade, and then they come over here. The plans were drawn up and the land was reserved, and they were supposed to go ahead, and then I found this summer that the Bearsley pupils were coming here instead.

We weren't prepared for them and we can't contain them. We didn't even have the textbooks ordered for them. We ordered them at the beginning of the year, but it first has to be processed, and it's going to be a while."

"Some of the elementary schools go up to fourth grade," Mr. Hogue explained, "then the students switch over to another school. Beardsley goes to 10th grade, and Vine Jr. goes to 9th grade, so they come over here at different times. It's a mess." Asked why the schools were not run on a single plan, he said, "Segregation brought all this about."

Because the auditorium is too small, two assemblies must be held, instead of one, to reach all the students.

"Equipment is short. There are not enough desks; many of the children sit on folding chairs, and sometimes folding chairs run short," Mrs. Thomas said.

"There are only three janitors for the entire school," Mrs. Thomas stated, "and it impossible for them to keep the school clean in its overcrowded condition. The walls have not been painted in years, and the heating plant breaks down continually during the winter."

"The regulations specify that they didn't get to the inside because of annexation, and they had to go paint some school that had just been annexed.

They say they'll get back to paint the inside sometime around Christmas; but that means they'll be painting while the kids are in school, and that's just too much confusion."

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Mr. Bible, Principal of East High, said his school was "short in some classes."

Mr. Hogue reports he has 33 teachers at Austin, ten are vocational teachers, and only 16 are fulltime academic teachers for the student body of 816.

"We have about 623 students," East High Principal Bible reports "and we have 28 teachers, two for shop and one for home economics."

TEACHERS OVERLOADED

At Austin each teacher carries five classes, one home room and one study hall each day. The average English class has 35 or more pupils, although the State specifies 30 per period as a maximum load.

Language classes average 25 - 35 students, Mrs. Thomas states. "Last year, the French teacher wound up with one class of 81 pupils. I had to take half of her class, which still left us with 40 and 41 pupils apiece. Language classes should be about 20 pupils."

She further maintains that overcrowding is especially serious in segregated schools, because most of the children come from low socio-economic backgrounds. The teacher often has to provide the first regulated environment the child has.

In overcrowded and under-equipped schools it is impossible to give the child even the minimum attention it needs, and supply all the needs the community has failed to provide. The child, therefore, cannot learn, and as a result of this segregated background, Mrs. Thomas estimates that ⅔ of the students are simply not ready for high school.

Because of lack of space, the second part of this story will appear next week.

Patronize Our Advertisers

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Four of the victims, Miss June Johnson, Miss Annell Ponder, of SCLC, and Mrs. Fannie Hamer, Mr. James Jones, and Mr. Harold West, of SNCC, were arrested last June at the Winona bus terminal restaurant. The fifth, Mr. Lawrence Guyot, 25, a SNCC field secretary, was arrested after going to Winona to seek their release.

It was clear, the Attorney General said, that Sheriff Payton and Chief Herod acted under authority of their office and the laws of Mississippi. They are charged with beating and kicking Miss Johnson and Miss Ponder on June 9, and Mr. Guyot on June 9 and again on June 10.

The remaining two counts charged all the defendants with compelling two other prisoners to beat Mrs. Hammer and Mr. West on June 9, and giving one of the prisoners a blackjack.

Maximum penalty for each would be a year in prison and $1,000 fine on each of seven counts. The charges are based on Section 242, Title 18, of the U. S. Code which makes deprivation of rights by law enforcement officers a federal offense.

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Feast of St. Michael and all Angels, this Sunday

Matthew A. Jones, Sr.
Priest-in-Charge

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Also in Nashville this summer were three other Austin students, Charles Howell, Christopher Robinson and Alfred Babington-Johnson, who participated in a Life Science Institute sponsored by the National Science Foundation.

The Institute was held for eight weeks, offering such courses as biology, biochemistry and plant physiology. Its purpose was to provide students with college experience while still in high school, thereby making the transition from high school to college much easier.

Spending his time just as wisely was Charles Michael who received a Reader's Digest Foundation Scholarship in Drama and Music to attend a camp in Inter-Lochen, Michigan, where he could receive the instruction that would enable him to realize his full potential in drama and music.

We would like to congratulate all these young people for their ability to see far enough into the future as to use their summers wisely. I would also like to congratulate them on representing Austin High and the Knoxville Community as well as they did in as many fields as they did.

We would like to take this opportunity to encourage the community to support Miss Connie Taylor, an Austin senior who is running for "Miss Democrat", a contest sponsored annually by the Women's Democratic Society, at the Auditorium Coliseum. The candidates for "Miss Democrat" are four white girls and Miss Taylor, who is a Negro.

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The list ended with a recommendation that a committee be set up to insure compliance with these demands.

New York CORE had previously met with Lever Brothers, resulting in a number of TV commercials, including *Wisk*, showing Negro and white performers.

McCalla Ave. Cafe
1905 McCall Ave.
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Breakfast & Dinner Served
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Home Cooked Meals
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Church School ..... 9:30 a.m.
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546 College Street, N.W.

Telephone 525-7517

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Morning Worship ..... 11:00 a.m.

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Telephone 523-1842

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Oct. 3, 1963

To: WB From: LWD

Subject:

Would you please try to remember -- or maybe ask Jean to help you remember -- to ask Jack Young whether he would be agreeable to having his name proposed for membership to the Council during the time of the Annual Meeting. Maybe some time when you are talking on the phone to Young?

LWD

I talked with Jack Young by phone on 10/9/63 and he agreed to serve if elected.

W.B.

October 14, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Janet Smith

From: VEP

A new Negro weekly, the Knoxville Crusader, has written us requesting to be put on the SRC New South mailing list. Their address is as follows:

Knoxville Crusader
1900 McCalla Avenue
Knoxville, Tennessee
Attn: Marion Barry, Jr.
Sheila Michaels

Would you please comply with this request?

Thanks,

Janet Shortt

October 14, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Bobbie Morgan

From: VEP

The Knoxville Crusader, a new Negro weekly, has requested to be put on the SRC mailing list for all news releases. The address is as follows:

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Would you please comply with this request?

Thanks,

Janet Shortt

note Alex put on Newsletter mailing list.

WB

October 18, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

Diane Bevel called this morning to ask for help. She says she had just received a call from a Mrs. Jessie Foster, 606 Chrisman Avenue, Cleveland, Mississippi. Mrs. Foster has been very active in the registration campaign over there. She runs a cafe at 606 Chrisman. Either the city or the county authorities have threatened to revoke her license. In an attempt to recoup her business which has been falling off due to the general economic conditions, Mrs. Foster arranged to open another cafe in Cleveland. She has tried several times to get either the city or the county authorities to inspect the premises and issue a license to operate. As yet, she has not succeeded in getting the inspection. Sheriff Jewell Pace, Bolivar County, recently told her husband that the authorities would see to it that the Fosters ran no more businesses in Bolivar County, because they had been hauling Negroes into the courthouse to register.

Diane says this harassment has been going on for about three months. This is as specific as Diane could be about details. She wanted to know what could be done. She said she felt that Burke Marshall had really given the registration workers a "snow job" when he told them some time ago that the Justice Department would leap to the defense of registration workers who were harassed. I told Diane that I could think of nothing she could do for Mrs. Foster other than to inform Marshall's office in as great and specific detail as possible about Mrs. Foster's trouble and hope he would elect to take some action.

Jack Minnis

JM:js

2-14-64

MEMORANDUM February 7, 1964

TO: BW
FROM: WAB
RE: Teacher Questionnaire

Several months ago VEP, in cooperation with the American Teachers Association, sent out questionnaires to school principals in several of the VEP states, seeking information regarding registration and voting by teachers. The questionnaires were mailed out from the Montgomery office of the ATA when George Jones was Executive Secretary, but the returns were to be sent here to Atlanta. Mr. Jones has been replaced as Executive Secretary by Dr. Joseph T. Brooks and the office has been moved to Atlanta.

Because of the continuing interest which we have in the problems reflected by the questionnaire, and the investment in time and money which we have already expended, I think it is important that we analyze the returns with the idea of making use of the information. Janet Shortt transferred some of the information to index cards and I would like for you to check on the status of the survey to determine what information it reveals, with as much geographic breakdown as possible. As soon as you have familiarized yourself with the information which is available (in advance of actually compiling it) I would like to discuss this survey with you.

WAB:jl

Inter-office memos

November 5, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Vernon E. Jordan

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Comments on the Gadsden, Alabama, Trip Report Memo

The matter of data collecting raised in your memo of October 30, 1963, has been for some time, and is, at present, very much with us. And yet, you are absolutely sound in your conclusion that much is being lost. However, I do not feel that the suggestion of making use of Mr. Watters would substantially improve the problem.

I have no doubt that Mr. Watters, with his reporting skills, would be able torreport what is communicated to him orally. However, much of this will depend on the questions asked. I rather think that questions to ask will depend largely on the interpretations that one gives on the spot to what is said.

Our experience tends to indicate that there is a very great problem of helping individuals discover and articulate what they do in fact think and feel. This, it appears, would require a keen knowledge of the historical, as well as social, role that Negro people have been compelled to play in American society.

It is precisely this kind of thing that makes the differences between studies done by Charles S. Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, and Olive W. Cox.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October30, 1963

To: WB, RTB, JM From: VEJ

Subject: GADSDEN, ALABAMA TRIP REPORT

My trip to Gadsden, Alabama, on Sunday -- where I talked at some length with the Mobile, Alabama VEP workers, occasioned this little thought.

I was very much impressed with the many narratives related to me by the various field workers from Mobile. They talked about the problems that confront them daily as they try to motivate Negroes to register, and what happens once this motivation is culminated into actually taking these persons to the polls, as well as the registration process itself. Upon inquiry, I found out these persons are not including these problem narratives in their reports to us. Consequently, I believe we are missing much of the meat that will ultimately be needed when the VEP story is told.

I suggested to the group that they write up the various narratives weekly, compile them, and send them to Jack for his use and information. My experience with the Mobile people leads me to believe that there are many untold stories and problems in our projects that we really need to know about.

Pursuant to this, I would like to know what your response would be to taking advantage of the availability of Pat Watters, on the SRC staff, to visit certain selected projects, talking to the people, and writing up the various problem narratives. Pat is a good reporter with real experience, and I am sure he could do a job.

I mentioned this briefly to Wiley coming back from Gadsden Sunday and he seemed to be amendable to the idea. Jack and Randolph may have similar ideas along this line.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

WB
RTB
JL

December 30, 1963

SB: cc: WB LED

The VEP should see regularly all clips and other materials related to suffrage and Southern politics. It seems to me that the best way to do this might be for your staff to deliver to VEP every Monday morning all items which were received and categorized the week before. Will you please give the necessary instructions to your staff, and make the necessary arrangements with Wiley for custody and return of the materials?

Eaglark
Glossopy Onion Skin
FLUORESCENT

SRC Inter-Office Memo

Inter-office Memo

M E M O R A N D U M February 10, 1964

TO: BW
RTB
VJ
JS
JL

FROM: WAB

RE: Compliance with procedures outlined in VEP Policy and Procedure Manual

I call your attention to those items in the Policy and Procedure Manual pertaining to the following areas in which we still seem to be having difficulty. Compliance with this manual has assumed even more importance now that we are in new quarters and communication is a little more difficult than before.

SUPPLIES:

All supplies are to be ordered through the Administrative Secretary in order that the Project Director can approve all expenditures of VEP funds. This includes supplies for all office equipment as well as portable equipment.

JOB DESCRIPTION - ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY:

"Requests for services of non-professional staff, except as outlined in their job descriptions, should be cleared through the Administrative Secretary." Specifically, the services of the Clerk-Typist should be requested through the Administrative Secretary in order that the office work load can be evenly distributed.

TELEPHONE PROCEDURE:

"The Project Director's calls will be referred directly and immediately to the Administrative Secretary for handling or transferring to him. This is the procedure to be followed by anyone answering the VEP telephone." The only exceptions to this procedure will be Mr. Branton's family who will identify themselves and Leslie Dunbar, who also always identifies himself. Otherwise, even if the caller asks if Mr. Branton is in, the call should be referred immediately to the Administrative Secretary who can answer the question in accordance with instructions Mr. Branton will have given her.

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There are a few other administrative "bugs" which need ironing out, especially now that we are in new quarters, which are not covered in the P&P Manual. These concern filing and supplies.

In approving the expenditures for VEP and in examining the monthly financial statements I have been aware for some time of the rather large amount of money we are spending for office supplies and I ask the entire staff to exercise care and discretion in the use of supplies. If an unusual project arises, either in the office, or in the field, which require the use of office supplies, advance notice to the Administrative Secretary would be helpful.

Cooperation by all members of the staff should be given and some thought is in order because of the difficulty we are all having in finding materials quickly. I have noticed that this has been due, quite often, to the fact that the filing is getting quite a bit behind. Could we all be thinking about this problem.

May I ask the cooperation, also, of the non-professional staff in making certain that file folders are put back at the end of each day and that all files are locked before the office closes at night.

Thank you.

WAB:jl

M E M O R A N D U M February 17, 1964

To: VEP and SRC staff
From: Wiley A. Branton
Re: Auto rental information for those who find it necessary.

Because of the increased competition in the auto rental field it is possible for one to get more favorable rates in certain cities by simply taking the time to compare costs. It has been my experience that if one is going to drive a long distance and can rent from one of the independent smaller companies under the economy plan where you agree to pay your own gas bill you will come out much cheaper then you would if you let the company pay for the gas at a higher rate per mile.

You also save money by using compacts, but in some instances, if you have heavy highway driving, it might be better to have a standard size car. An Air Travel card or a Hertz Car can be used for identification with most of the small companies and they will bill you personally.

In the case of Hertz, Avis or National you should always inform the agent that we are entitled to a 20% discount and make sure that she writes this on the bill. We are not entitled to get a discount from the smaller independent companies or "economy" companies as their rates are lower, but it is wise still to ask for it as some of them do give a discount, generally not as high as 20%.

WAB:jl

Inter office memo

M E M O R A N D U M February 18, 1964

TO: WAB
BW
RTB
JS

FROM: JL

Can any of you think of any routine method whereby it will automatically come to my attention when projects end, are cancelled, or are extended. This is the one area where I am having a great deal of difficulty in keeping the current projects list up-to-date. The reason it is difficulty is that these changes sometimes occur in a manner other than through letters which WAB dictates (where I would routinely get this information) and I can't think of any signaling method.

Randolph, I look to you for a great deal of creative thinking on this since I will be forever indebted to you for originally dreaming up the voucher-check system for financial reporting. Can you come up with another brain storm?

jl

Inter office memo

February 21, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

I had delayed submitting this memorandum for some time due to a number of factors which I hoped would be sufficiently ameliorated with the passage of time. However, this has not occurred, and I feel compelled to set forth my thinking at this time.

I. I am concerned that the VEP policy and Procedure Manual does not yet contain a job description for Research Assistant. I recognize this is a new position, but I am laboring under a disadvantage in not knowing exactly what is required. While I am quite willing to "play it by ear," I am confused when 1) ~~[illegible]~~ statements such as the one made recently to Mr. Patton that I was assuming most of Zack Minnis' duties; 2) When I see correspondence to participating projects indicating that all mail formerly addressed to him should now just be addressed to VEP. If at all possible, could I see the job description for Research Director and have spelled out for me where my responsibilities end? I find it awkward to be an Assistant when there is no Director and must frequently ask myself, "To whom am I Assistant?"

It becomes increasingly obvious that there are serious gaps in our research files. I feel we should expend ourselves to close these gaps, especially with the current projects. I do not profess to bring to this assignment any vast knowledge of political science (although I am studying and am willing to learn), but I do bring an understanding of behavior (of individuals and groups), which I feel will serve the Project. I am seriously concerned that some of the implications, other than political and economical, of registration and voting patterns in our project population are going to be dismissed as unimportant. After a recent consultation with the Research Consultant, I was left with the impression that the final product of this research undertaking will be political science oriented. I feel strongly that the materials which come to the Project have implications far beyond this scope. I hesitate to be too adamant in my expression of ideas since I am not really sure "who I am" in the VEP constellation.

II. In thinking about VEP and its contribution to the advancement of voter registration, and education, I cannot help but concern myself about the effects after the period of research is over. A project

which has spent as much as VEP should leave, I feel, a more lasting legacy than "X" number of new registrants in each state. I regard as extremely valuable the work which Randolph Blackwell is doing in South Carolina and question why a similar procedure cannot be followed in other selected states. Actual registration is not even half the task in the states in which we work. It would appear that motivating people to actually cast ballots is the crucial problem. In checking statistics, actual voting is lowest in the southern states. It would seem that a year in which a presidential election occurs would be the psychologically right moment to foster such organization.

III. I request clarification on the matter of overtime for the professional staff. I note neither the VEP nor SRC manuals cover this item. I do not object to the extra hours necessitated by field trips, meetings, conference, etc., but I would like to know the official position on this subject.

BIW

js

February 26, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

In the course of examining the SRC library holdings, I discovered very few publications relating to the work of VEP. I am suggesting the following texts to be considered for purchase by VEP for use in the concluding months of this project:

Kaufman, Herbert - Politics and Policies in State and Local Government Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey; $3.95.

Lipset, Seymour Martin - Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics Garden City, New York, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc.; $1.45.

Campbell, Angus - The American Voter- New York; John Wiley and Sons

Scammon, Richard - America Votes: A Handbook of Contemporary American Election Statistics, Washington, D. C.; Government Affairs Institute.

Jahoda, Marie, et al - Research Methods in Social Relations, New York, The Dryden Press, 1951 (Latest Edition).

Festinger, Leon and Katz, David - Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945.

Goode, William J. and Hatt, Paul K. - Methods in Social Research, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952.

Barbara I. Whitaker

BIW:js

March 2, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: MATTERS I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE DISCUSSED AT OUR STAFF MEETING

1. What will be our point of emphasis for the remainder of the project? Will we concentrate on stimulating activity or studying that which come in the normal course?

2. Should we be concerned about community organization for permanent operation?

3. What do we plan to do about voter education?

4. Can we have a projected budget for each of the states for the remainder of the life of the project.

5. Would it be possible and desirable to expand the staff during the summer months, field and research-wise?

6. How will Mr. Due fit into the present operation?

(A) What does VEP expect to get?
(B) What experiences does Mr. Due anticipate?
(C) Who will be responsible for the outline of his program.

6. Do we plan to expand or reduce our expenditures for field travel in the remainding time?

7. At what time do we plan to try to begin to organize our research data so that we can determine what we have and do not have?

8. Can we have contracts with specifics set out in them?

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

M E M O R A N D U M March 9, 1964

TO: WAB
BW
RTB
JD

FROM: JL and JS

We call your attention again to the"unwritten law" regarding office files. Please, will the professional staff feel entirely free to remove any files from the file drawers for which they have need.

BUT WOULD THEY RESTRAIN THEMSELVES FROM "HELPING" US BY PUTTING THEM BACK. In the long run it is definitely to our advantage if we retain the responsibility for refiling any materials removed from the file drawers, including entire file folders.

js:jl

Inter office memo

March 11, 1964

WB
RTB
BW
JD
JL

MEMORANDUM

Re: Conference Between Wiley A. Branton, Barbara I. Whitaker, Randolph T. Blackwell, and John Due on Field Trips

(This conference was called by WAB on 3-9-64 to discuss the most recent field trips made so that the highlights and most important aspects of these trips could be examined as soon as possible. This was done in order to keep everyone abreast of what is going on since the trips may not be put into written form immediately. At the time of this transcription, the only field trip reports completed are the ones by John Due to Macon, Georgia, and Orangeburg, South Carolina, dated 3-9-64.)

WAB went to Winston Salem, North Carolina, on Wednesday, March 4, and had a meeting with the leaders of the Voter Registration Project of Winston-Salem (NAACP-CORE), among them, Dr. Jackson and Mrs. Louise Wilson. WAB said that his visit there disclosed the fact to him that this project is an interracial one, and that after talking with the leaders, he is convinced that the work there promises to be even more successful with the coordination of the organized groups in the community.

WAB has extended this project to May 15, and a supplemental grant has already been sent in the amount of $500 on March 5, with two additional ones of $500 to follow on or about April 1 and May 1.

BW had asked WAB prior to his trip, to inquire about the reporting of the Winston-Salem group. In response to this, WAB was able to report that all reports through December 28 will be sent as requested. The reason for the gap in dates is because the books were closed during the first two weeks in January, and very little registering was done. Even though the office was closed, registration was permitted even though those registering at that time could not vote in the current election.

Also, some of the reports we have said are missing are supposed to be in our possession. We are to search our unfiled materials and if these reports are still missing, we are to request copies of the ones we do not have.

BW also brought up the question about the use of the word "apathy" in some reports, and she had wondered if a great deal of this seeming indifference on the part of the people was due instead to ignorance,

Inter-Office Memo

and this was not being understood by the registration workers.

We are also to receive a cut of the mobile unit they have in operation.

With this extended grant, WAB feels that a realistic estimate for a 10 week period is 2,000, however, the committee thinks 2,500 will be registered in that period of time. He inquired if there is any work being done in the counties at present, and he found that it is limited. Plans are being made to step up the pace in the near future.

WAB also mentioned that there are two Negroes running for office. One for county commissioner, and one for the state legislature. He mentioned that he met Dr. Williams, President of the Winston-Salem College and his son, who is very active in the registration and integration efforts in that city. He also met the Negro alderman, _____.

RTB's Trip to Orangeburg, South Carolina:

(JD accompanied RTB on this trip.)

RTB said that this statewide meeting was supposed to be with the leaders of the six congressional district leaders, mainly for the purpose of submitting budgets and a history of their respective organizations. He says that we now have in hand three budgets out of these six districts, and three are in the mail. There seems to be some difficulty with the 3rd and 4th districts (the Spartanburg and Greenville areas), and Rev. Newman is checking to find out what this difficulty is.

Representation came from the 4th district in the form of a letter from Dr. Beck, followed by a call. Dr. Thomas' 2nd congressional district budget is here in the office.

WAB asked about CORE's involvement in this program. He wanted to know if the people in the 5th district are agreeable to having Frank Robinson and Ed Brown serve as the coordinators for the district. RTB replied that the question was not raised. He stated frankly that he thought they would want someone else to serve in this capacity, but that they were mainly interested in getting the job done. RTB also stated that as he has mentioned before in previous field trip reports, Robinson and Brown spend too much time talking about what people won't do and try to do the whole job themselves, which is too much of a task. They have little confidence that the people can be pulled together to work effectively.

WAB said that the people feel that they are working under the banner of CORE if Robinson and Brown are involved, and introduced the idea of getting the people together and suggest to them the idea of giving

them money to assist them in their efforts, but say that we want a coordinator to work with them on a non-partisan, non-organizational program, and that we are willing to send help in the person of Robinson and Brown, and the salaries would be paid by us or by CORE. When asked if this could possibly be a palatable approach, RTB answered yes. WAB said that VEP needs to know, as soon as possible, what solution would be best, because it will affect the kind of grant given. Also, it was agreed that before a final decision is reached, a table should be prepared showing the amount spent on a quarterly basis to compare the results achieved.

RTB cited which districts are organized on the precinct level, and which ones needed strengthening. All of these points will be given in detail in his field report.

WAB wanted to know how long it would be before we have all the budgets, and RTB said it would be about the end of the week.

WAB mentioned that John McCray, political leader and newspaperman from South Carolina is going to join the staff of the Atlanta Daily World, and we should get together with him and compare notes.

WAB wanted to know how long the program needs to run. RTB said in the 3rd and 5th districts, from March though September, according to the request from the people in the field.

RTB's Trip to Texas:

RTB says he has brought back a new film on the Coalition from Texas that gives more consideration to the other organizations that the other film did not do.

WAB wanted to know the results of the free registration, and was disappointed when RTB reported that Larry Goodwyn announced the registration would only exceed 60,000. He says this is because of the way the announcement came out, and they only had 17 days to work. BW brought out the point that the term "free registration" made people feel as though they were accepting charity, and that people felt ashamed to want to vote in federal elections and not in the state elections. WAB said that a counter campaign should have been formed to rebut this attitude.

RTB cited the differences between the Texas Council of Voters and Larry Goodwyn. He said that the TCOV wanted to run the Council as it has always been run, while Larry Goodwyn wants to inject new ideas and new ways of doing things. Because of this difference of opinion, the Council feels that Larry wants to tell them what to do, and feels there are ulterior motives in his desires, when this is not so, RTB feels.

RTB discussed the Erma Leroy situation, and mentioned that Phil Weightman is unhappy because Mrs. Leroy is not getting the recognition she should get. He pointed out that all of Mrs. Leroy's contacts are elderly, when the leadership trend is now with the 35-and-under group.

WAB said that Phil is a very capable persons, but his loyalty is definitely with Labor, and strongly so. He said that Mrs. Leroy came up working with Labor, and her whole approach is going to be Labor-oriented. WAB also pointed out that Phil is not too much interested in working with Negro groups who are not pro-labor groups, and that he prefers a Labor group.

RTB says that he did not contact E. Bryce Cunningham because he was unavailable, and that the matter of taking Mrs. Leroy off the payroll came through him.

RTB did contact A. D. Thomas and Walker. They were very complimentary about the NAACP in Texas, but the people in Houston and Dallas had nothing to say about NAACP's operations.

BW Trip to Macon:

(BW was accompanied on this trip by JD.) His report on

The workshop was a departure from the previous workshops she has attended, BW said. The attendance, in general, was good. Young people were very much in evidence, with the average age being 21 and below. The youth in the group were very active, also. It seemed as though the older leaders were at a loss when it was time to work. Miss Hayes did not give instructions in regard to Georgia law, and his caused some confusion during the segment of the workshop that was called the "Demonstration Segment."

BW says she talked with Mrs. Lewis and workers. Horace Reed gave a report. So did a representative of the St. Augustine committee. The Jacksonville campaign workers did not attend.

John Edwards and John Brooks were absent from the meeting as far as BW could tell. Brooks or Alexander were supposed to come in the next day for a presentation.

In the course of discussion between WAB, RTB, BW, and JD, BW brought out the fact that it is very evident there is some dissention between Patton and Pearson. This led to a discussion about ways to handle the problems that arise from so many communities not realizing that their activities are actually supported by VEP and not solely NAACP. WAB asked the group if they thought a form-type letter congratulating the local people for working with the project would help. Something

to let those local people know that they are a part of something big. For programs that have expired, he suggested we could have another form letter of thanks. It was readily agreed by all that it is important to let people know VEP made available to NAACP money for voter registration work in their communities. WAB suggested that we should run a few surveys where we would go in communities and ask people what services did Mr. Patton provide. Jacksonville was cited as a choice example.

It was agreed by WAB, RTB, and BW that they are all disturbed by the abruptness Mr. Patton uses not only with VEP personnel, but with people in the field as well. WAB stressed the point that when conditions exist with any of the projects that need straightening out, it is necessary to do this in the best way possible, as soon as possible. In handling different difficulties with various individuals or agencies, WAB said that if a harsh letter has to be sent out, and a person in the field, such as RTB, has to come in contact with these individuals and representatives of the various agencies, it should be diplomatically stressed that WAB does not have time for personal and organizational jealousies, etc., and that the important thing was getting the registration work done.

RTB said that the week of the 15th through the 21st, his plans included working in North Carolina in a concentrated fashion, and that it was his hope that Mr. Due would be able to spend the same period of time in South Carolina pulling together some important loose ends.

WAB referred RTB to his letter to Morsell in regard to NAACP work in North Carolina, wherein he suggested that NAACP submit a proposal to VEP for prior approval for work in North Carolina before any money is expended there.

The meeting was then closed.

js

M E M O R A N D U M March 24, 1964

TO: RTB
BW
JS
BStewart
BSimon

FROM: WAB

A word of explanation is in order for the last three grants (or grant numbers) VEP 4-5, VEP 4-6, and VEP 4-7.

VEP 4-5 was inadvertenly assigned to the Alabama ASCARV program before the grant was made. It was easier to reserve this number for them until the grant is actually made than to rescind the number which would have entailed writing and perhaps confusing them. You will be notified when it is official.

VEP 4-6 is a grant made to the Education Film Associates for the filming of a documentary on voter registration. It is being administered only by VEP and, therefore, except for financial reporting to JL and occasional reporting to WAB the rest of the staff need not take any action on it.

VEP 4-7. SPECIAL NOTE TO JS AND BSimon.
This grant is one made to SCLC for work in Atlanta only. Since correspondence and reporting on this grant will contain the names of people ordinarily associated with the All Citizens Registration Committee, special care will have to be taken that it is not misfiled in that project folder.

All of the above grant numbers may be listed now on your chronological list of programs.

WAB:jl

Interoffice Memos

WB
BW
RTB
DC

April 1, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

Re: CONFERENCE BETWEEN WILEY A. BRANTON, RANDOLPH T. BLACKWELL, BARBARA I. WHITAKER, AND JOHN DUE

The conference was opened with a discussion between WAB and JD concerning his field trip report on Mississippi, submitted on March 23. WAB stressed to Due the importance of making it very clear in his reports whether what is being said is something that has been represented to him, or if it is the result of his own observations.

WAB also asked JD about the racial identity of Albert Jones. JD said that he understood that Jones was a Negro, but that he was not sure, and that he would check to make certain. WAB voiced the opinion that he doubted Jones was a Negro because to his knowledge, there has been no official Negro representation at the Democratic National Convention, as was stated in Due's trip report. Due is to check also on Jones' relationship with the Democratic National convention.

JD was asked to explain more fully the paragraph which contained the statement, "....they were now angry at VEP." JD said that after all the organizations had said what they were going to contribute to the COFO summer project, he was put on the spot as to what VEP was going to do. WAB reviewed what was said in the briefing session with JD before he left Atlanta for Mississippi. Due was told that he was to explain, if the question came up, that he was merely an observer, and that he had recently joined the VEP staff, and that would let him off the hook as far as having to commit VEP in any way to any promise of financial support. Due had been instructed to observe, and report back what had happened at the meeting.

WAB wanted to know who exactly was angry at VEP. JD said that it was not stated specifically by anyone, but the expressions of those present gave away their feelings. WAB reiterated that the background information was given to Due in the beginning so that VEP's position could be stated, if necessary, and that no commitment was to be made.

WAB brought out the fact to the entire group that JD's report was the first information we had received on the COFO summer project, although he had requested this same information from Moses back in December.

Inter office memo

RTB Trip Report on Albany:

(WAB received the report on this trip just prior to this conference.)

WAB, after having read this report, commented on the statistical results contained therein. He said that he feels the Albany Crusade for Voters campaign was good compared with the results for the same period of the SNCC program in the same area, and mentioned that the change in the attitudes of the officials and the fact that there has been night registration has evidently aided the program tremendously. RTB commented that the protests were all a part of the change in these attitudes. (The protests referred to a letter that Willie Bolden had written on March 9 to the Attorney General, and one written by WAB to Bolden with a copy to Robert Kennedy on March 12.)

WAB stated that Andy Young of SCLC had requested that the unused money from the Danville account be transferred to the Albany account for use for a program in Albany. WAB feels that since the only argument SCLC had used for continuing a program in Albany was simply because of a desire to aid some of the people who had been affected by the Justice Department action in that city. On the basis of this alone, WAB feels that he could not agree to such a program.

In a discussion between WAB and RTB on the budget proposed for the Albany project, RTB said that he stepped up to the amount of $600 monthly in his recommendations in lieu of the $500 monthly previously allocated so that there would be money available for an attempt at committee organization. WAB said that he would be willing to put the program on the same tentative basis, just as the Savannah program was initially started. That is, the grant would be dependent upon satisfactory progress and financial reporting.

RTB Report on Florida:

WAB asked RTB about his other reports that had not yet been written up, and RTB said that he would like to talk about the ones which seemed to be priorities. WAB commented that he would like to discuss the Tallahassee trip, mainly because W. C. Patton had telephoned, wanting to know what RTB's report reflected concerning NAACP in regard to that city.

Tallahassee: RTB said that NAACP had two offices in Tallahassee, and that the personnel moved freely between these two offices. He added that he found that Rev. Still is the example of the leadership in that city since he is involved in all of the functioning organizations.

He is an office holder in NAACP, SCLC, and the Community Awakening Committee.

In further discussion, it was brought out that the Phi Beta Sigma fraternity and the Negro superintendent of the public schools had done a tremendous job in voter registration. RTB had found, on the other hand, that the NAACP's attitude was that they were the only ones doing anything there (although there are several independent organizations working in registration), and that the Sigmas were only creating a lot of confusion. RTB feels, as a result of these observations, that if VEP spends any money there, it should be with one of the independent organizations.

WAB concluded that VEP will not spend any more money in Tallahassee. He feels that every organization should supply most of their own money, and VEP should assist by supplementing only.

BW asked WAB if it would be possible to know specifically who has the responsibility of the CORE Tallahassee office. WAB said that possibly JD could clarify this (since his wife, Patricia, is involved with the CORE project there.) JD answered that it was planned that Judy Benninger would take care of the Tallahassee office, but in the past two weeks, Patricia has had to spend some time there and assist her.

JD went on to say that the main problem in Tallahassee was due to the fact that the registrar would not divulge the number of people registered until the books were closed in April. (It is necessary then because the figures are released then to the Secretary of State.) BW commented that the reports we have received from Patricia reflect that she was primarily stimulating activities throughout both Leon and Gadsden counties, instead of concentrating on actual registration. RTB cleared this by reporting that he had found that while they are interested in actual registration, they are going about it in a more organized fashion. Right now, Patricia is busy organizing small meetings and trying to get someone to assume responsibility. The books will open again in late June, and he says that perhaps then we can expect more up-to-date reporting. He says they understand that VEP support of the CORE project in Tallahassee officially ends March 31.

<u>Jacksonville</u>: WAB asked RTB if he had talked with Rutledge Pearson and RTB answered that Pearson was caught up in a sit-in situation, and he was not able to ask him questions at that time.

RTB said that he had talked with one other gentleman, Mr. Torrence, (NAACP), and he had questions as to the way the funds had been handled. There was also some doubt as to how much money there was

available to spend.

RTB Report on Savannah:

RTB reported that Hosea's program is still going along at a good pace. He said that he has three fellows working with him. WAB asked about demonstrations. RTB said that he would rather not say what Hosea would do in regard to this. WAB brought out that he had written Hosea a letter warning him that his VEP funds would have to be discontinued if it was found that he was participating in demonstrations.

WAB said that Patton had told him that NAACP was going to run a program in Savannah. BW injected that we had already received two reports from NAACP on their project there. WAB wanted to know that even though VEP money is not being used, should we take any position on the expenditure of non-VEP funds and discourage the opening of a separate program, or would a separate program help stimulate things? RTB felt that it would create further disunity in the community.

BW raised the question concerning Helen Hayes salary as to whether it was paid by VEP, because she was the individual that went into Tallahassee and Savannah to stimulate those separate programs, and she was the one who made some disparaging remarks about Hosea, causing the alienation of people in Savannah. After discussing whether VEP should take an official stand in NAACP campaigns where we are supporting other campaigns, it was decided that there should be some clarification with Patton around the use of personnel pay with VEP funds to stimulate non-VEP supported activities.

RTB said that he felt that NAACP should not compete with Hosea for the Savannah area; that Hosea had undisputedly earned the right to this area, and NAACP should leave this particular section to him.

RTB Trip to North Carolina:

WAB wanted to know from RTB if he saw Mrs. Eva Clayton. RTB said, that he had. WAB said that he had received a letter from Ethel Johnson, and it only contained information on one county - Enfield. Because of this, WAB wanted to know if RTB had discussed the idea of a congressional district program with Mrs. Clayton.

RTB said that he had discussed this with Mrs. Clayton. RTB said that if there is some desire on the part of VEP to do something in Warrenton County, it should plan to include Vance and Franklin counties, also. He has found that Warrenton County has the only mature organization in the area. Mrs. Clayton quite frankly told RTB that the Multi-County Committee meets regularly, but hasn't

Civic Association

the maturity to go further than these three counties. RTB says that he did not urge upon her the idea of attempting anything further than the multi-county idea.

RTB has observed that the two counties that are organized and ready to move are the Enfield and Halifax counties. He recommended that we consider grants to them as separate organizations.

RTB says that he and Rev. Ward (whose group has received $3000 from NAACP in an effort to tie Halifax county to the organization), spent four hours talking about a statewide drive. RTB says that he asked him if he would consider concentrating in one area. He feels that it is impossible to do all the groundwork necessary at this late date to try and take on too much. RTB added that he hoped that Ward would concentrate on one definite area. Ward is anxious to get out in Eastern North Carolina, and the people in Warrenton and Halifax counties are more acceptable to the idea of Ward opening a program in these areas because these are areas of extreme brutality.

South Carolina Voter Registration Memo: After reviewing the budgets submitted by the various organizations in the First Congressional District via RTB's memorandum dated March 24, WAB stated that he felt the programs should run at the same time, after noticing that the dates submitted did not concur. RTB agreed that it would be convenient for the programs to begin and end at the same time. Brown and Robinson were included in the budgets as coordinators of the program in the Fifth and Sixth Districts.

This ended the discussion that centered around RTB and his field activities.

Georgia: BW discussed briefly the NAACP drive in Fort Valley. She brought out the fact that though this grant was to be for the tri-county area, in his reports, Patton had included Crawford and Taylor counties as well. She wanted to know that since the $1,000 that was allowed for the tri-county area had not been spent, would WAB consider letting Appling go ahead and work the tri-county area as well as Taylor and Crawford counties, with a common understanding between VEP, NAACP and Appling as to what NAACP's responsibility would be.

WAB answered: yes.

Atlanta: There was some discussion as to who Andy Young would leave in charge in his absence while he is overseas with the National Council of Churches. WAB telephoned Edwina Smith, his secretary, and learned that she will be held responsible while Andy

away. Edwina told WAB that Jesse Hill will make decisions on expenditures in Atlanta, and that he is working very cooperatively with her. The matter of VEP receiving delinquent reports was cleared up, and it is understood that we should not have a recurrence in the mix-ups of future reports.

Alabama:

WAB visited Tuskegee, Alabama, and talked with W. P. Mitchell, who heads the Tuskegee Civic Association. They spent considerable time discussing the organization and the progress being made in that city. WAB feels that they are proceeding in a very wise manner. The Negro voting strength now exceeds the white voting strength. They have decided not to put up anyone for office until they gain more experience. They want to make sure they know all the "ins" and "outs" before attempting such a venture. There is no economic intimidation there; no one has been intimidated for trying to vote.

The field trip reports on Virginia, including visits with Norvealte Downing, Moses Riddick, John Brooks, and Lester Banks will be dictated later by WAB.

With most of the trips brought up-to-date, and the grants decided upon, the conference was then closed.

js

MEMORANDUM

TO: SRC Staff April 3, 1964
FROM: Wiley A. Branton
RE: VEP Registration Report

The VEP registration report dated January 28, 1964 contained errors as to Florida registration and a few other minor errors. This report was corrected as of 3/10/64.

Will you please examine your files to see if you have any of the 1/28/64 reports and if so please destroy them and use the 3/10/64 corrected report in the future.

WAB:jl

April 17, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

In a visit to the office on 4/17/64, Vivian Henderson indicated that at least eight Negroes have announced their candidacy for public office in the eastern North Carolina counties where we are considering grants for voter registration campaigns.

Since these counties are of interest for a number of reasons, I am suggesting that we subscribe for a three-month period to the following newspapers:

The Enfield Progress
James A. Bateman, Editor

The Warren Record
Bignall Jones, Publisher

These papers are both published weekly on Friday.

Barbara I. Whitaker

BIW:js

Jobs after memo

M E M O R A N D U M May 4, 1964

TO: Ruth House Alexander
FROM: Jean Levine

Ruth, Wiley may have told you that I am going to continue to be responsible for the same financial routine I have been following for VEP agency reporting, follow-up correspondence, and monthly reports to WAB and LD.

I will report my hours and expenses to you bi-monthly prior to end of each pay period as I have been doing in the past.

The only change this method will require is that when you give the pink VEP check carbons to WAB monthly would you also staple a slip to them showing your current VEP book balance. The reason for this is that I will only be working on Saturdays and your lovely presence, unfortunately, will not be available to me.

Thanks for this extra cooperation.

jl

cc: WAB

Inter-Office Memo
SRC

WB
JS
BW
RTB
JD
BS
VJ

M E M O R A N D U M May 4, 1964

TO: VEP Staff
FROM: Wiley A. Branton
RE: Procedure for Processing Financial Data

I have reached an agreement with Jean Levine whereby she will continue to look after the financial aspects of the agency grants. Since Jean is now working elsewhere it will be necessary for her to do this work during hours convenient to her and I have asked her to work through a procedure which will guarantee prompt and accurate handling of financial data since this aspect of VEP is familiar to her. I am requesting all the staff to read through this procedure since it is conceivable that all of you may, at some time or another, have information to contribute to grant finances.

* * * * * * *

I. INCOMING MAIL.

A. Financial forms, vouchers, check carbons, etc., are to be returned to the envelope in which they were received and the envelope is to be date-stamped and given to WAB.

B. If letters are enclosed with above mailings which refer only to financial reporting they, too, are to be returned to original envelope, after date-stamping, and given to WAB.

C. If letters are received in VEP office which refer primarily to other activities (Research or Field) but contain any financial information whatsoever, a photocopy should be made, marked "Financial" in red pencil across top, and given to WAB.

II. NEW GRANTS AND SUPPLEMENTS.

When new grants and supplements to existing grants are made:

A. Three vouchers (an original and two carbons) are to be filled out with all specific information contained thereon. (Beginning and terminal dates; city and/or county (s) covered; amount, grant number and, of course, name of agency).

B. Distribution is as follows:

1. Original (signed by WAB) to RHA for check writing.
2. One carbon to proper project file folder.
3. One carbon to WAB.

Intra office memo

III. VERBAL INFORMATION RECEIVED.

It is extremely important that all staff members make written notations regarding any financial information given them in oral communication and this notation is to be given to WAB.

WAB:jl

May 20, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: Telephone Conversation with the Rev. James Bevel (A Local Call)

I talked to day with the Rev. James Bevel about the Montgomery program, expressing to him the fact that VEP has never been entirely satisfied with our problems in that area, and that we were considering an intense examination of the community in an effort to try to come up with something that would possibly be more effective. I told him that we had stayed our plans because we were favorably impressed by what his group had done last month. Rev. Bevel indicated that they had not considered their effort any ringing success. He indicated that they could have gotten many more people registered if they had had more transportation, a matter that was left in the hands of Mr. Lewis.

Rev. Bevel stated that the MIA had found it necessary to relieve Mr. Lewis of his responsibilities as its registration man because he seemed at this time not to be unable to get beyond the matter of who the MIA will support in elections.

Rev. Bevel expressed regret about this because he said that as they moved around, they have found the people very responsive.

Bevel said that MIA had chosen Mrs. Idessa Wlliams to conduct its voter registration program, and that he believed that Mr. Lewis would not fight her because they have worked together for a number of years.

He said that his plan included recruiting a large number of students to do registration work, indicating that they were having considerable success in this regard.

I am to talk with Rev. Bevel this afternoon in detail about these plans. I will then go over to Montgomery and make an onthe scene investigation.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

Inter Office Memo

June 19, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

Re: Telephone Conversation with Dr. T. Y. Rogers, Jr.

Dr. T. Y. Rogers, Jr., Executive Secretary, Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee, was contacted on this date. Dr. Rogers indicted that there was a biracial negotiating committee currently engaged in trying to solve the problems which precipitated the demonstrations. He felt that they would be successful and stated that demonstrations had been halted. He stated that the suit requesting an injunction to restrain city officials from interfering with demonstrations is scheduled to be heard next week. He felt that whether the injunction was granted or not, demonstrations were definitely not a part of the plans for the moment. He strongly indicated that in the event demonstrations are resumed, he definitely would not be a participant. He indicated that he will be in charge of the voter registration campaign, and recognized the need to keep the two activities, direct action and voter registration, separate and distinct. He expressed the feeling that the problems in Tuscaloosa had to be attacked from varied angles, and felt the demonstrations had served both to dramatize their plight and to motivate Negro citizens. His plan is to capitalize on the interest created during the direct action and use it in the voter registration campaign.

Regarding the effect of the recent demonstrations, Dr. Rogers felt they would have not adverse effect on the attitude of the Board of Registrars. He went on to say that during April when few people applied, they had no difficulty. In May, when Negroes stood in long lines waiting to be registered, various slowing tactics were employed by the registrars. The office was sometimes closed early and the vouchersystem was rigidly enforced. It was his feeling that the number of Negroes who apply for registration influences the Board more than any other factor.

I neglected to ask Dr. Rogers to send you a letter, per your request, confirming the information contained in this memo. However, I was impressed by the deliberate and seemingly sincere manner in which he expressed himself. He appreciates the concern about his being involved in direct action while conducting a voter registration campaign.

Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BW:js

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

June 15, 1964

To: Sam Cook

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

These look good. Two comments:

(1) My guess is you will have a hard enough time getting data on one back election and one 1964 election. These forms seem to be asking for data on every election during this period.

(2) I don't understand why form #2 asks for the same information as form #1.

In trying to evaluate the fruits of VEP, we are in great need of registration and voting figures. We are chiefly concerned with the impact of VEP on the outcome of primary and general elections. It is necessary to compare figures after* ~~1961~~ 1962 with those prior to 1962 in order to evaluate our progress. Therefore, we will need figures from 1962 to 1964. We need figures for all primaries and elections--state, local, congressional and presidential.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT REPORT

Name of Project: _____

Period covered by this report: From _____ to _____

Person reporting _____

_____

Street Address City County State

Date submitted: _____

Election District, County, Parish or Community to which this report applies: _____

_____

Ward, Beat, etc. Precinct, election district, etc.

Number contacted by door-to-door canvass _____

Number instructed at home _____

Number instructed at clinics _____

Number instructed other places _____ a. Specify places _____

_____

Number applying for registration as a result of this program this week _____

Number successfully registered by this project this week _____

Number denied registration in this project this week _____

a. Reason for denial _____

_____

Number contacted by other means _____

a. Specify means _____

Number refusing to participate _____

a. Reason for refusing to participate _____

_____

Number of persons successfully registered since the start _____

_____

Number of workers in the campaign _____

Remarks _____

_____

_____

_____

REGISTRATION, PRIMARY AND ELECTIONS DATA FORM, 1960-1964
Form IV: Presidential Election

Ward or Precinct Negro White Democratic Presidential Nominee Republican Presidential Nominee
(Note: Please give figures for both 1960 and 1964)

REGISTRATION, PRIMARY AND ELECTION DATA FORM, 1960-1964
Form III: General Election

Precinct or Ward Negro White Democratic Candidates Republican Candidates
(Note: Please give figures for each candidate as well as the dates of elections)

REGISTRATION, PRIMARY AND ELECTION DATA FORM, 1960-1964
Form I: Registration Figures

1960-1964

Precinct or Ward Negro White Negro Democrats White Democrats Negro Republicans White Republicans

(Note: If your city does not provide registration by party, please disregard columns dealing with Democrats and Republicans)

REGISTRATION, PRIMARY AND ELECTION DATA FORM, 1960-1964

Form II: Primary Returns

Precinct or Ward Negro White Negro Republicans White Republicans Negro Democrats White Democrats
(Note: Please supply dates and figures for each political race, for example, mayor, governor, council, etc.

June 26, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Summary Memo on Messrs. Brown and Robinson of CORE

The following events drawn from memos as dated will reflect our efforts to cause Brown and Robinson to organize local organizations in the 5th and 6th congressional districts. While there does exist organization in these areas, it cannot be said that they are responsible. I believe that both of these men know the desirability of such organization, which causes me to question their ability to this kind of organizing. I do feel that once the organization is put together, they can monitor it in the absence of any personality blocks.

RTB

RTB:js

August 8, 1963

August 3, in the city of Newberry, I met with Mr. Frank Robinson and Mr. E. Brown, the coordinators for the CORE program in South Carolina. CORE is assigned all of the 5th and 6th congressional districts, as well as Clarendon County in the 1st, Sumpter County in the 2nd, and Spartanburg in the 4th congressional districts.

I was told in great detail of the plans that these men have for these 18 counties assigned to them. Aside from Williamsburg County and Spartanburg County, I was not able to find information of any organized effort of the kind we need being made.

There is no question about the time that these men are putting into their work, but I do question that this assignment ought to be re-evaluated.

Mr. Robinson reported to me the breakthrough in Williamsburg County (Kingstree). July 5, 96 citizens applied for registration,-and 65 were successful as compared with May, in which 238 applied, and only 16 were successful.

It is now time to begin to pin this operation down.

I shall, unless advised otherwise, request of Mr. Robinson that he supply us with a list of the people that he is working with in each of the 18 counties assigned to CORE. This, I would like to have before I finish my county-by-county visits in South Carolina.

October 16, 1963

October 4, I went into Sumter, South Carolina, to argue with Frank Robinson and Edward Brown about the CORE program in the 5th and 6th congressional districts. This turned out to be a very reqarding visit. Somehow, it appars that in all of our previous conversations, Frank had not fully understood the basis of my great concern about this program. He had assumed that the reports that he had been sending to New York had been coming down to us in Atlanta. We had not gotten his reports, and thus I had assumed that very little was being done. We were both pleasantly shocked when we learned the source of our problem. Frank showed me some of the reports that he had sent to the national office. An abstract of his August report is attached here. Frank promised that he will, in the future, let us have copies of his reports direct.

I was particularly delighted to find that Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brown are taking seriously the insistance upon their developing local leadership. It will suffice for this report to say that we are pleased with t

the progress that has been made in this regard. The contact list, here attached, reflects to some extent, the nature of the work being done in the business of developing local leadership.

May 11, 1964

In Sumpter, I visited with Mr. Ed Brown and Mr. Frank Robinson. In this regard, we were interested in checking to see how these men viewed their relationship with the 5th congressional district leaders in light of the fact that Mr. Haile had indicated some displeasure with these individuals as district coordinatore.

Mr. Robinson was, as usual, emphasing what people will not do rather than what they will do. Robinson contended that Mr. Haile is a "Johnny-Come-Lately" to voter registration, seeking only an increase in his personal status and influence. He suggested that Mr.Haile is a very thin-skinned person who wants you to pay him a lot of personal attention.

Robinson said that he felt that successful work might have to be accomplished by by-passing the local leadership. It was interesting to note that he (Robinson) did not have an organized plan of by-pass. I continue to be impressed with the fact that Brown and Robinson always seem to dwell on the negatives rather than the positive aspect of everything. At one time, it may have been effective motivation to paint the ugliest possible picture; however, I am not sure about this technique for the present.

Robinson and I went from Sumpter to Florence to attend the 6th congressional district meeting.

WB
JS
BW
BS

M E M O R A N D U M June 29, 1964

TO: WAB
FROM: JL
Re: Future correspondence with Larry Goodwyn

In my conversations with Larry Goodwyn this morning he requested that I advise you and your staff that any future correspondence to him regarding the V.O.T.E. program be addressed to him at his home rather than at the V.O.T.E. office. His home address is:

1710 Rabb Rd.
Austin, Texas

jl

June 30, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM by WAB

Re: The Halifax Voter Project (VEP 4-14)

On Monday, June 29, 1964, WAB was visited by Rev. Dunlap and Mr. A. Reed Johnson of Enfield, North Carolina. Barbara Whitaker sat in on the conference.

WAB had expressed serious concern regarding the participating by John Salter and SCEF in the Halifax County area, and had held several discussions with the VEP staff regarding the problems which might arise over Salter. WAB had seen an article in the Baltimore Afro-American concerning voter registration in Halifax County, and it was apparently released to the press by Salter. The article implied that Salter and SCEF were actively involved in the registration program, and it made no mention of the local leadership of the Halifax voter movement. WAB sent a copy of the article to A. Reed Johnson, leader of the Halifax voter movement, to inquire as to his opinion regarding such publicity, and while Johnson replied to the letter, he did not really answer the question.

RTB subsequently made a visit to Enfield, and learned that Johnson would like to come to Atlanta and talk with WAB in person, and this was the purpose of the June 29 meeting. Although Johnson denied that either he or the Halifax voter movement was under the influence of John Salter, the following facts stand out:

1. John Salter appeared on the scene suddenly during the demonstrations in Enfield several months ago, and remained to help in organizing the local community.

2. Salter has worked very actively in the total program of the Halifax movement, and is highly regarded by the leadership and apparently has done a very good job.

3. When the registration books opened in May, and there was a slow-down in the registrar's office, it was John Salter who suggested that an injunction be sought, and his recommendation was followed.

4. When the question of legal counsel came up, Salter

suggested that he could get lawyers to come in, and Morton Stavis of New Jersey came down and obtained the injunction. There was no discussion or agreement regarding the payment of lawyer's fees or expenses by the Halifax voter movement. Johnson states that he wired the Justice Department and state officials and got no response regarding instructions to the law suit being filed. Stavis obtained results in his law suit, and the effect of the injunction was felt in other counties.

5. A. Reed Johnson's wife was fired from her school teaching job, and again he turned to John Salter for advice, and Salter obtained the services of Kunstler, Kunstler, and Kinoy of New York, and they filed a suit against the School Board.

From the above, it was apparent that John Salter strongly influences the activities of the Halifax voter movement, and it is quite possible that Johnson and the others are too closely involved to realize the influence theyaare under. Johnson wants VEP to support a summer project which will involve a number of citizenship schools. WAB felt that this is something that SCLC could support from their separate Field Foundation grant, but agreed to consider any proposal which the Halifax movement wanted to submit. The books will not reopen in Halifax County until October, and WAB said he would consider another grant during the actual period of registration in view of the tremendous results which were achieved in May.

Johnson inquired as to whether or not VEP would reimburse Dunlap and him for travel expenses to Atlanta, and WAB authorized Johnson to reimburse themselves from their VEP grant in the total amount of $148.98. It appears that they do not have this much money left in the grant, and upon receipt of an up-to-date financial report, WAB agreed to send a supplemental grant of approximately $100 to the Halifax movement so as to enable them to take care of the transportation bills.

WAB:js

June 30, 1964

STAFF MEETING MINUTES

(6/25/64)

Attended by: Wiley A. Branton, Randolph T. Blackwell, and Barbara J. Whitaker

WAB opened the meeting by stating that he had talked with Jesse Hill that morning, and he told him that there was going to be a program on the 30th honoring the people who had worked in the Atlanta registration campaign. Mr. Hill had called to find out if he could prepare and make a speech for the occasion. He said that he would have a number of speakers to get up and say something at the gathering. No commitment has been made as yet. (Hill)

WAB said that Mr. Hill mentioned that he was going to try to get some neighborhood registration started, and he feels that VEP should support this effort.

NAACP Convention: WAB brought the staff up-to-date on his attendance at the NAACP convention held in Washington June 21-26. He said that this trip was very profitable because he got a chance to talk with many people working in voter registration, among them Hugh Love, some people from Memphis, Brown and Newman from South Carolina, and others. He said that he attended two workshops, one of which included Ruby Hurley's district. He also said that he met privately with people from Virginia who are interested in voter registration in the Eighth Congressional District. RTB asked WAB who it was he talked with from the Eighth District, and he answered that the individual was Dr. Harris. WAB mentioned that he had talked with Lester Banks, and with Johnny Brooks. Banks contributed very little to the conversation, he added.

The South Carolina Voter Projects: A discussion of the various reports we have received from the South Carolina districts then followed.

WAB said that we had received a report from Florence, S. C., from Dr. Beck, Sixth Congressional District, and asked BW re her notation on the report which said, "Let's discuss it." BW said that this notation was made because of the fact that Dr. Beck's and Robinson and Brown's reports do not coincide. She says that she has written to Robinson and Brown asking them to clarify the matter, but to date, has received no reply.

A discussion of Mr. McCain's district, the Third, followed. WAB asked RTB to put into a memo the fact that the two McCain's are not related, so that there will be no question from the Treasury Department. RTB made a brief report on the area in question. In regard to the questions about the vouchers, he says he found nothing out of order. It was just that the people in charge used a different terminology than we are accustomed to, to explain their expenditures.

Bearden, of the Fourth District, has reported to WAB that no money has been spent by his project as yet.

Haile, Fifth District, asked if he could hire a full-time secretary, in a letter written to WAB. He says that the work load has increased so that this is a necessity. RTB commented that the work in his district did not require such additional employment.

In further discussion, it was agreed among WAB, RTB, and BW, that Haile wants to be in the position to supervise Brown and Robinson's activities. WAB asked RTB and BW their opinions as to whether it should be stated again what was to be expected in the way of reporting. BW brought out the fact that the requirements of the program they are running have already been set out in the initial letters to Haile, and this should be unnecessary. It was agreed, however, that we should inform them that we need a narrative report fiving information for the month, and that the statistical reporting should be left with one person, since it is obvious that Brown and Robinson have not been supplying us with reliable information, and we have instances to substantiate this. It was further decided that if we desire, these two are to stay on as field workers, but that we should be firm as to what w we expect of them from here on out. RTB was asked by WAB to relate in a separate memo the progress or lack of same, of Robinson and Brown, in terms of the Fifth and Sixth districts. (See RTB's memo dated 6/26/64 re this.) WAB says that in view of these events, there is apparently no communication between Haile, Robinson, and Brown. RTB interjetted that there is <u>some</u> communication between Beck, Robinson and Brown, however.

WAB said that he would call McCain concerning this problem tomorrow (6/26). WAB said that he feels the only solution to the problem is to give a supplemental grant to Haile's and Beck's programs to hire directors, and give CDRE a nominal grant to carry Robinson and Brown to the end of theyyear.

WAB mentioned that Dr. Thomas (Dr. C. H.), of Orangeburg, S. C., sent in a fiscal report which included an item of payment to a Mr. Zimmerman for advertisement and another for secretarial hell which included "honorarium." He says that he will take this matter up with Dr. Thomas himself.

WAB also brought up the matter of $1,688 being requested by the American Friends Service Committee for a program, which he rejected, and now Dr. Thomas has the Committee coming into that area. WAB said that he felt that after reviewing the matter

entirely, he would still have to stick to his original decision. RTB agreed. This group had asked for $6,000 for a three-month program, when $6,000 was previously asked for from June to December.

Other Reports: WAB said that we had received reports from Eastern North Carolina, one of which he thought was very good on SCLC, but he said he wondered who prepared it. He asked BW to check into this.

In discussing Q. D. Adams of the Citizens Improvement League, he feels that he should have put the project on a $100 a month budget, in view of the activities of that group. They only registered 33 persons in June.

WAB said that the film, "Right Now" was ready, and that he would get a letter off telling Newman to send our copies here. It was understood that if we want a trailer, we will have to do it ourselfes.

A discussion of the John Salter-A. Reed Johnson situation followed. The memo on RTB's reaction to this [illegible] entitled, "Field Trips to South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia." His comments re his visits to these areas are also contained herein.

BW asked what we plan to do about the Georgia situation. WAB said that we will let the agencies know we are willing to renew projects, especially where we have had successful operaions and coopeaation.

RTB asked if we had heard from Idessa Williams and Secozy Williams in Montgomery. WAB said that he had had a letter from Andy Young, and that he didn't know whether Andy was suggestin g that we give a direct grant to Tuscaloosa, or to SCLC, but that he(WAB) would rather give the money to SCLC so as to have financial reporting coming from Edwina, who keeps up with these matters pretty well.

Probable programs in Atlanta, Rome, Fort Valley, and surrounding [illegible] came up in the discussion in a spot-check manner, and it was agreed that programs in most of these communities would get favorable consideration if outlines were submitted.

With all of the current business completed, the meeting was ended.

js

July 20, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: REA

From: WAB

Re: Employment Termination

This is to inform you that Barbara I. Whitaker has resigned from the staff of VEP effective as of the close of the business day July 17, 1964. Will you please prepare a final check for her which includes all approved annual leave?

I am attaching a check made payable to the Voter Education Project in the amount of $63.47 and representing reimbursement for travel advance on hand by Barbara Whitaker.

WAB

js

Memo

from **WILEY A. BRANTON**

WB

July 15, 1964

TO: B. WHITAKER

Will you please read over the entire VEP Annual Report and check for errors. If you are satisfied with it then please give to B. Stewart to cut the stencils (letter size).

Jean Levine will bring the financial report which is to be included and which will also require a stencil.

The statistics(VEP Results) which I gave you to figure a percentage column will also be included. I would like for this to be a one page (the VEP results) deal if possible as we will probably send out many more copies of it than we will the annual report, although that page will form a part of the report. We will also make a cover page similiar to the one used last year and an index would be helpful.

TO: J. SHORTT

Please prepare the cover sheet and index page for the Annual Report. BS could start numbering the Report with page 1 where the "Background Statement" appears as any statistics or financial information can form an appendix. If you and BS could get the stencils cut and proof read this week then we could run it off Monday.

I noticed an error on the Arkansas Report which I am taking with me. The percent Negro of the total registration for Craighead County should read "1.9", not 19.0 . Make a note to change this (by hand) on your other copies. I will change the ones I have.

You can get me at FR 4-4521 or FR 2-4905 in L. Rock on Thursday and Pine Bluff Friday

August 6, 1964

WAB
JM
JT
JD
VJ

MEMORANDUM

To: VEP Staff

From: WAB

We have agreed that we should divide the geographic responsibility for keeping up with information pertaining to the various states, and following registration and political action trends. This responsibility will be in addition to the normal staff assignments.

We will be placing orders for additional newspapers between now and November 3, and each staff member is expected to read and mark all articles of VEP interest in all papers coming from the states assigned to him. These papers will also contain articles of interest to SRC, and they should also be marked.

Should you run across articles of VEP interest pertaining to states assigned to another staff member, you are requested to write the appropriate staff member's initials on the front of the paper, together with the page numbers you wish that person to see. The article should not be cut out until after the appropriate person has seen the paper. All staff members are expected to assist in cutting out articles and in the filing of same.

The respective geographic assignments are as follows:

Jane Moore - Alabama, Louisiana.

John Due - Florida, Georgia (excepting greater Atlanta).

Wiley Branton - Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Greater Atlanta.

Joe Tucker - Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Vernon Jordan - Texas

js

Inter office memo
Blue

August 6, 1964

WAB
JM
JT
JD
VJ

MEMORANDUM

To: VEP Staff

From: WAB

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Vernon Jordan - Texas

js

Inter office memos
VEP
Blue

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMORANDUM August 7, 1964

To: VJ, PA, PW, ML, RHA, LK, ES, BP, WB
MET

From: MMJ

As you all know, LWD will be away from the office on vacation for three (3) weeks, beginning Monday, August 10. He has expressed a desire not to talk with anyone unless it is ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY. Therefore, he has asked that the following procedure be adhered to during his absence:

LWD will call into the office about twice a week. He will call person-to-person to MJ who will talk with him only when a matter is so urgent that it cannot wait until his return, or only if the matter cannot be handled by another staff person. He has asked me to ask you to inform me in advance (each day) that you would like to talk with him, but only should you request to talk with him unless the matter about which you will talk is equally as urgent. If when he calls and MJ has been so informed, and if in her judgment the matter needs to be brought to LWD's attention, she will accept the call; otherwise the operator will be told that MJ is away from the office and the call will be ~~xxxx~~ canceled.

LWD is at home today, but will be leaving town tomorrow. Anyone who needs to be in touch with him before he gets out of town should call him at home today.

Inter-Office Memos
SRC
Green

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

WB
mm

M E M O R A N D U M

August 24, 1964

TO: Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Paul Anthony

The fall meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held in Atlanta September 24-25, beginning at 2:00 P.M. on the 24th and ending at noon on the 25th. The meeting will be held in the SRC conference room.

Please let us know on the enclosed card whether or not you plan to attend. Also, if you wish us to make hotel reservations please indicate that as well as your preference of hotels.

Information on the agenda will be sent as soon as we hear from the steering committee.

You will recall Don Slaiman was elected as president at the Spring meeting and the following were elected to the steering committee:

Charles Wittenstein
Ruby Hurley
Vincent Harding
Rosetta Gardner
Paul Anthony
Jean Fairfax
Henry Cabirac
Neil Tarplee
Ed Brown.

PA:mm

September 15, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Ruth House Alexander

From: Wiley A. Branton

RE: Special Bank Account

It appears that VEP will be getting a large number of requests for small amounts for crash registration and education programs prior to certain deadlines in the various states. It takes several days to get voucher checks printed, and it is difficult for many people to follow our financial instructions. I also note a tendency on the part of some projects to "spend up" their funds because of the feeling that VEP is going out of business.

I have therefore decided that VEP should open a special account to handle some of the grants which we are likely to make in the future to some of the independent agencies. I am therefore setting up a bank account at Citizens Trust Company under the following name: Southern Voter Project. Any two of the following persons will have to sign all checks written on this account: Ruth Alexander, Jean Levine, Vernon Jordon, and Wiley Branton. The procedure which we intend to pursue is as follows: When I have approved a grant to an individual agency and am of the opinion that it would be best to handle the grant through our special account described above, I will prepare a voucher request that a check be issued to "Southern Voter Project" in lieu of the normal procedure of making it to the recipient. The check will then be deposited in our special account. The participating agency will be given a special voucher form on which requests will be submitted for checks to be issued to certain designated payees. Upon receipt of the voucher from the participating agency, VEP will then write a check on our special account, and send it tothe payee or agency. Checks will only be written in payment of proper expenditures in accordance with an approved budget. A copy of each check written will be filed in a separate financial file for each agency, and a copy will be kept in a master file for the special account.

We probably will have to send a small petty cash fund to each agency, but VEP will retain control of most of the funds.

js

WB

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LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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January 5, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: Participants, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Paul Anthony

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held on Thursday and Friday, February 11 and 12, beginning at 10:00 A.M. on the 11th and ending in mid-afternoon on the 12th.

We will meet in Washington, D.C. We'll send you more details as soon as we have them. (A reply card will be sent to you later.)

WB

January 6, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

To: WAB

From: JBM

Re: Newspaper Clips Filing System

Each subject is divided into states. The colors of the labels indicate the time covered by the clips: White - general; pink - primary; blue - general election.

Typical state: Alabama (Example)

Voting and Registration (white label) - contains voting drives, instructions about registration, suits, etc.

Voting Statistics (white label) - statistics.

Politics (white label) - political analyses, importance of Negro vote, etc.

Negro Candidates - everything about Negro candidates. (White).
- during the general election. (Blue).

Election Returns and Polling Places (pink label) - everything about the primary (if we have it).

Election Returns (blue label) - contains election returns and polling places for general election.

Political Analysis (blue) - political analyses of general election.

Voting Irregularities (blue) - any peculiar things reported about the election.

Each state might have special files. (Yellow labels). Alabama has one - Tuskegee - which contains everything about Tuskegee.

General files are (white labels): Politics - South; Politics - Nationwide; Election Returns - South; Election Returns - Nationwide; Civil Rights Act; Miscellaneous; Voting and Registration - South; Voting and Registration - Nationwide.

JBM:js

March 10, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: Ruth House Alexander

From: Wiley A. Branton

The attached check from the American Friends Service Committee in the amount of $63.68 represents reimbursement to the Voter Education Project for travel incurred by John Due on behalf of American Friends. Please deposit to the VEP account.

WAB

js
cc: Financial

Ck Rec'd 3/10/65

February 19, 1965

Ms. Garnet Guild
American Friends Service Committee
4717 Crawford Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Garnet:

As of today, I am terminating my internship with the Voter Education Project. I will write you later telling you where I will be.

I find that a letter has been misplaced which I was going to send to you about the cost of my trip to Jackson, Mississippi, for the interview with Dr. Beittel on December 17. Please issue a check payable to VEP for $63.68, representing payment for the cost of the round trip ticket.

Very truly yours,

John D. Due, Jr.

JDD, Jr:js

(1) Statement to President - Congressional appointment.

(2) Harold Fleming's statement that we ought to announce projects in front. - Notify President.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: JM
RTB

FROM: WAB

RE: VEP Newsletter

I have previously discussed with you the necessity for extreme caution with which we must examine all VEP Newsletters and you are, therefore, requested to submit the final manuscript to me for final approval prior to its being delivered to the printer. If it should develop that some changes need be made after I have approved a manuscript and I happen not to be in town then you are requested to get final approval on those changes from Leslie W. Dunbar.

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

Inter-Office Memo

MEMORANDUM

TO: JM
FROM: WAB
RE: Plaquemine Louisiana Report

I have previously discussed with you in person some of the contents of your report of August 30, 1963, regarding your report concerning your visit to Plaquemine, Louisiana, on August 14.

I admire your candor in setting forth in detail your observations, participation or involvement in local situations where you have gone on VEP trips and without the honesty of your own reports I probably would not have reason to be so concerned about some of your actions.

I shudder at the thought of the "suggestions" which you made at the meeting as referred to on page 4. As a policy matter, VEP staff members simply should not make any suggestions regarding demonstrations of any kind, including those having to do with voter registration activities, particularly where arrests are likely to result.

I do not say that VEP staff members should not attend these meetings if they care to but where there is activity relating to demonstrations of any kind then VEP staff members should do nothing more than observe the proceedings and they should not become involved in the discussions pertaining to the demonstrations.

WAB:jl

Make file "L Reports"

Report L-30
December 28, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Southern Regional Council believes these two editorials, from centers of Deep South resistance to civil rights, are thoughtful and important expressions from states recently troubled by race violence and faced with desegregation court rulings. The STATE TIMES *editorial is one of a series on Mississippi race problems, inviting public discussion, which appeared also in the* MCCOMB ENTERPRISE JOURNAL.

The editorial from the BIRMINGHAM NEWS *appeared shortly after a court decision had been handed down. However, the city of Birmingham may respond to this decision, the editorial is still pertinent and deserves thoughtful study throughout the Deep South.*

State Times

Published Each Evening and Sunday at Jackson, Mississippi, by STATE TIMES PUBLISHING CORP.

O. A. ROBINSON, Publisher

J. OLIVER EMMERICH, Editor
ROBERT E. WEBB, Associate Editor
JIMMIE McDOWELL, Sports Editor
PAUL TIBLIER, Executive Editor
ROBERT BAEHLER, Advertising Director
JOHN HUDSON, Circulation Mgr.
JOHN W. GRAY, Mechanical Supt.

6A State Times, Jackson, Miss. Friday, Nov. 3, 1961, Vol. VII, No. 249

A Positive Plan To Help Solve Our Racial Dilemma

By OLIVER EMMERICH

The citizens of the State of Mississippi are confronted with this question: Do we want to be constructive in coping with our disturbing racial situation?

If the answer is in the affirmative then two conclusions appear to be reasonable. First, the racial dilemma in Mississippi will grow worse, not better, unless we meet it with a forthright sense of maturity. Second, positive action, not mere negation, is essential if our conflicts are to be met with mature judgment.

Twice within this decade the State of Mississippi applied positive action and reaped the benefits of success. Positive action was evinced in the legislative decision to equalize white and Negro teachers' salaries. Positive action was applied in the legislature's decision to spend 150 million dollars for needed class rooms—95 millions going to Negro schools and 55 millions to white schools.

★ ★ ★

Herewith we submit four additional positive steps—steps which if taken by the State of Mississippi can contribute much to the solution of our impending problems.

—I—

The sword of Damocles that dangles over Mississippi is the threat of what can happen as a result of the mass voting of illiterate and untutored individuals. Our people are as apprehensive over this threat as were the citizens of Galveston on the eve of hurricane Carla. This fear stems from earlier Mississippi history when Negroes, untutored in the responsibilities of citizenship, voted en masse and became easy prey of unscrupulous white men—politicians who used them for selfish designs and bankrupted our government.

★ ★ ★

The negative pattern applied generally in Mississippi today is stimulating rather than inhibiting this ominous threat. Anti-franchise efforts founded essentially in race serve only to stimulate bloc voting. The positive step is to remove the impediments to qualified Negroes who want to vote. Qualified voters, regardless of race, recognize the handicap to good government through the unrestricted voting of the unqualified. By removing the impediments to qualified Negroes we reduce the danger of mass voting of the unqualified.

★ ★ ★

Where shall we start with this emphasis on qualified voters? The answer: Our school boards of trustees at the local level, sanctioned by the State Department of Education at the state level, should at the time of employment make it clear to all teachers, white and colored, that they are free from impediments to franchise—and that if a teacher is not qualified to vote he or she is not qualified to teach.

—II—

The abundance of unskilled labor in Mississippi, white and colored, constitutes a tragedy. This is why our state has the lowest per capita income of any state in the Union.

The mechanization of Mississippi farms and the switch from row crops to pastures have thrown thousands of farm workers out of employment. This has been partially offset in this decade through Mississippi's acquisition of 927 new and expanded industries which has created 75,901 new industrial jobs.

The positive step in this area is for Mississippi to make an all-out, sympathetic effort to find gainful employment for our white and colored people.

Where shall we start? It is suggested that the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board appoint a committee of its membership to earnestly survey this situation. It is a problem of education, planning and dedication—but progress can be made in a state-wide effort, substantiated with research, and purposed to improve upon the job opportunities of our people, white and colored.

—III—

A third positive step should be made in the field of court justice. There are many excellent jurists in Mississippi, men who preside over our courts with dignity and justice. Never-

theless, there are recorded cases of injustice resulting from the pressure of racial feeling.

★ ★ ★

The positive approach to this problem demands that our courts abandon the double standard of justice—one standard for whites, another for Negroes. Admittedly, this double standard of justice has worked two ways. It has caused injustices to some Negro defendants. On the other hand many judges have been lenient with Negroes and after taking many factors into consideration, have given them lighter sentences as compared with similar offenses by white defendants.

How shall Mississippi initiate this positive step? The answer: The Mississippi State Bar Association is an ethical and respected professional organization. It is suggested that the Mississippi Bar Association name a special committee to survey this situation. If the field is properly explored an answer can be found by which court justice can be enlarged upon for Negro people.

—IV—

The emotional reaction to racial disturbances has caused many of our people to view one another with distrust and suspicion. Frustration is general—and we cannot solve our problems in an atmosphere of frustration.

Communications must be established between the white and Negro leaders of Mississippi. This positive step is necessary because our problem is not of short duration. Long after the courts have handed down their legal opinions in this field the problems will still be with us. As the years unfold Negro people will recognize that their future is tied closely to the white citizenry of our state and our white citizens will recognize that the Negro is an essential factor in our economy.

★ ★ ★

This fourth positive step will not be easy It will require a wealth of patience, courage and wisdom.

And where shall we start? It is suggested that Gov. Ross Barnett use the prestige of his office and cooperate with the mayors of our municipalities and other local leaders—and that unofficial bi-racial committees be named at the local level to work with these problems. Vital to the success of this step is that sound-thinking, level-headed people be appointed to these committees.

★ ★ ★

Time and understanding are the ingredients essential to the adjustment of negation. And so far negation has plunged our state deeper into misunderstanding and frustration.

The editorial below confronts a question before many cities of the South. Although Southern Regional Council does not agree with some of the opinions in it, we regard this as an honest, able statement which should be widely read.

COURT RULING MEANS—

Birmingham Faces A Hard Decision

Editorials

The Birmingham News

Victor H. Hanson, *Publisher, 1910-1945*
Clarence B. Hanson, Jr., *Publisher*
Victor H. Hanson, II,
Vice President, Assistant to Publisher
Vincent Townsend,
Vice President, Director of Sales
E. L. Holland, Jr.,
Editorial Page Editor
John W. Bloomer,
Managing Editor

Thursday, October 26, 1961

DESEGREGATING, PERMITTING "a little mixing" if Negroes insist on intruding, or closing public facilities is no longer Atlanta's or Nashville's or New Orleans' problem. It is now Birmingham's, too.

The ruling of Judge Hobart Grooms of federal district court here affecting parks, swimming pools and a number of other specifically defined facilities, was expectable.

Judge Grooms seemed to go out of his way to emphasize that his ruling was not something over which he had judicial latitude. He cited previous rulings of both the U. S. Supreme Court and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Ruled unconstitutional was section 859 of the Birmingham City Code. It embraces a number of facilities "to which both white and Negro persons are admitted."

The city has said it will appeal. If the appeal is carried through, it will go to the Fifth Circuit Court, decision of which Judge Grooms cited as a basis for his ruling. In short, the appeals court has already made a decision in a similar case.

IT WILL DO no good to try to find a rosy side to the issue. It is entirely likely that if the appeals court elected to review the case, judgment would uphold Judge Grooms. It is hardly conceivable otherwise when Judge Grooms himself cited the appeals court as basis for his own decision.

Some aspects of the case remain unclear in the public mind and may be unclear in the minds of legal authorities. These could involve the matter of such as Legion Field or the Municipal Auditorium, which are leased for specific games or presentations.

The legal question of leasing in connection with publicly-owned facilities is arguable. There have been previous cases elsewhere involving leasing. Outcome of further contest on the leasing aspect could be open to legal debate. In the last, courts have sought to assess relationship of use of the facility leased to its public ownership. Leasing to avoid race mixing has not stood up. But leasing over many years with such aim not even considered is something else. The right of private management has entered into debate in some such cases, and has been upheld in instances even though private leasing was of publicly-owned facilities. Here a great deal depends on the nature of the leasing.

IF IT IS assumed that Judge Grooms' ruling will stand, and that is a reasonable assumption in light of similar cases, no matter how much the ruling is regretted it has to be faced.

Birmingham citizens are up against a very real question in their own front yards. Anger at a small group of Negroes pushing for such a court order is more than understandable. It is undoubtedly true, in *The News'* opinion, that very few Negroes really want to mix in swimming pools or on playgrounds, or elsewhere, with whites.

But passion or logic in judging what most Negroes may or may not want does not alter the need for Birmingham citizens to look closely at the matter. Decisions they now make may be long-lasting. They could seriously, and adversely, affect this city for years to come.

It is a time for the coldest kind of thinking. We can't afford anger at a mix move by an out and out Negro propagandist. We should not let ourselves come up with hasty, poorly-thought-out answers to the problem.

THE PUBLIC FACILITIES involved for both Negroes and whites have been built up in our city over many years. Parks, playgrounds, pools, auditorium, art museum—all cost enormous sums. If closed, what a terrible waste they would be—silent wastelands, or mausoleums shuttered and barred. Negroes would suffer along with whites.

The recreational, the cultural, the *normal* life of this active city would be drastically, painfully altered.

This is what Birmingham citizenry must think about before it makes a decision.

There is talk of the city selling facilities now affected, or which could be affected. Such sale could be contested. There is a possibility courts might not allow such sale if the purpose was to avoid compliance with previous order. This has come up elsewhere and there is basis for concern as to whether such a maneuver would, in the end, work.

Citizens of Birmingham finally must face a simple enough question: Do they want their public parks, playgrounds, pools, the auditorium, possibly the art museum and a number of other facilities closed in order to prevent compliance with the court order?

CITY OFFICIALS in some utterances have seemed to assume that this is the wish of a majority of the people. This may be a correct assumption. It is obvious a vast majority of Birmingham residents want to preserve segregation. But they have not yet had to face the question whether they want to prevent *any* integration at cost of closing public facilities.

It is certain that absence in Birmingham of public parks, playgrounds, pools, an auditorium and other facilities for recreation and cultural development would enter consideration of business enterprises in the future which might be considering this city as a location. Birmingham citizens already are feeling the bitter lack of business growth and job dislocations.

It is certain that we would, possibly for years, have to live with the decision which now must be made—and it *must* be made, there is no longer any escaping it.

AT PRESENT the three elected city commissioners and the mayor-elect have this terrible burden solely on their backs. It would be helpful if in this time of trouble these officials could have the fullest expression of public opinion. They need to know how Birmingham citizens feel.

Some have suggested a referendum might be a desirable method of learning what is Birmingham public sentiment—both white and Negro—as to closing of parks, etc. Such action might help Birmingham officials in deciding issues before them.

The matter is no longer something for abstract thought. Opinions which do not specifically help come to wise decisions are a luxury we cannot afford. Passion is no good. Anger leads nowhere.

Birmingham has to think as coldly and as precisely as does the surgeon at the operating table. A life may be at stake. It could be Birmingham's.

WB

Report No. L-36
September 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Reprinted from *The Washington Post*, Sunday, July 29, 1962, with permission)

Sunday, July 29,1962 The Washington Post

Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

RICHMOND—In 1957, Editor Virginius Dabney of the Richmond Times-Dispatch wrote with accuracy and a heavy heart: "The tragic fact is today that hardly any liaison remains between the white leadership and the Negro leadership."

A year later, Editor James Jackson Kilpatrick of the Richmond News Leader wrote with his typical fiery zeal: "Speaking for those of like mind, let us say this: We do not yield. We do not expect to yield ever."

Dabney's lament and Kilpatrick's proclamation were voiced in the troubled days of "massive resistance" in Virginia and general defiance in the South of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. Their views reflected the situation then in Richmond, where traditional moderation, understanding and well-mannered discussion in race relations had been shelved.

Yet today, the progress that has been made in desegregation and non-discrimination in Richmond is one of the exciting racial stories in the South. Its pace astonishes many Richmonders, white and Negro.

Key to the Council

THE NEGRO VOTE, once the kiss of death, now is an asset; no candidate for City Council can afford to offend it and expect to win. The City has adopted a fair employment policy in municipal jobs, unique in the South, and Negro Richmonders have better job opportunities than ever before.

Negroes may stop at several formerly white-only hotels and dine at several formerly white-only restaurants. Some 130 Negro children, probably more, will be attending formerly white-only classes when the public schools reopen this fall.

Perhaps nowhere else in the country, certainly nowhere else in the South, do Negroes use their vote with more sophistication than in Richmond. It wasn't always so.

Not many years ago, the Negro vote in Richmond was a commodity to be purchased on the sly by white politicians from Negro salesmen who claimed they could deliver the goods. Public endorsement of a candidate by Negroes meant disaster, a fact used cleverly by more

than one politician who would circulate a spurious Negro endorsement of his opponent.

During the days of massive resistance and accompanying racial rancor, Negroes tried "single-shot" voting for Negro candidates in City Council campaigns. But these candidates got only that vote and went down to defeat.

The Heberle Case

BUT THINGS changed in 1960 with the emergence of the Crusade for Voters, headed by intellectual Negro leaders. Abandoned was the single-shot technique. Instead, the Crusade examined each candidate for City Council and endorsed a full slate of nine candidates. The change was dramatic, as the case of Councilman Robert J. Heberle shows.

In 1957, Councilman Heberle urged Richmond to withdraw its financial aid to the Virginia National Guard in retaliation for the federalization of the Arkansas National Guard during the Little Rock crisis. In 1958, when President Eisenhower requested public officials to comply with the Supreme Court's school decision, Heberle, as Vice Mayor at that time, fired back a letter of refusal. In 1959, Councilman Heberle advocated that Richmond cut off local funds to any school that became desegregated.

By 1960, therefore, the Crusade for Voters viewed Heberle as an ardent segregationist and he was not among the slate of candidates it endorsed in the City Council elections that year. The 37 per cent of the vote that Heberle got wasn't enough for his re-election.

A Shrewd Demonstration

AFTER TWO YEARS out of office Heberle announced his candidacy for City Council in the June elections this year. He promised to serve and work for all the citizens. He gave his wholehearted support to the City Council's fair employment resolution, which had been approved unanimously shortly before the election.

With a touch of political genius, the Crusade for Voters endorsed Heberle and he led the field of 25 candidates with 51 per cent of the vote. The lesson was clear. The Negroes had bounced a segregationist from the Council, then returned him when he repented.

Lack of the Crusade's support in 1960 also knocked veteran Councilman Phil J. Bagley, Jr. from office. He was returned to the Council this June, however, without the Crusade's endorsement. Yet he still was to feel the influence of the Negro vote.

In Richmond, a new City Council elects the mayor from among its members, and the new Council in June was deadlocked: four votes for Bagley, four votes for Heberle and one vote for Eleanor P. Sheppard. The Crusade leadership said the Negroes would be displeased if Bagley were elected mayor.

On the 25th ballot, Mrs. Sheppard became the first woman mayor in the city's history. She had been endorsed by the Crusade.

Some Clever Timing

LED AND EDUCATED by the Crusade's leadership of Negro professional and businessmen and faculty members of Virginia Union College, about 8000 Negro voters went to the polls in June, two-thirds of the qualified Negro voters in the city. Some 14,000 white Richmonders voted, perhaps one-third of the qualified white voters.

The Crusade didn't announce its endorsements until just before election day, so the candidates worked to win the Negro vote right up to the deadline. The Crusade's selections included members of the two rival tickets, so one ticket wasn't tempted to use Negro support as an issue against the other.

Seven of the nine Council winners had received the Crusade's endorsement. The two losing endorsees came in 10th and 11th. No. 10 was a Negro. Another Negro candidate without the Crusade's endorsement came in 20th.

Negro Richmonders have matured as a political force. They also have matured in the use of their economic power.

The Richmond Citizens Advisory Council was formed by representatives of 36 primarily Negro organizations 18 months ago to help Virginia Union students who had participated in sit-in demonstrations in Richmond department stores and restaurants. Even before the RCAC asked for funds, the Negro community raised $14,000 for that purpose.

The responsibility of the RCAC leadership was shown early when some Negro pickets at a department store carried signs offensive to Jews. RCAC leaders told the Negroes to remove such signs at once or the RCAC would withdraw its support of the picketing. Down came the signs.

Boycotting of the Miller & Rhoads and Thalhimer's department stores undoubtedly was effective. Shopping excursions to Washington stores were organized by the Negroes.

One of the RCAC leaders is J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association (Negro). He advised a Richmond hotel that teachers attending a VTA meeting would try to register at the hotel. The hotel management said it would prefer that the registrants be integrated rather than all-Negro —so some white teachers from northern Virginia came to Richmond and registered at the hotel, too.

Last year, the RCAC went into negotiations with the Virginia Transit Co., a private company with a municipal franchise that operates Richmond's buses, over the hiring of the first Negro bus drivers. Progress was slow. Finally, the Negroes indicated that a bus boycott might be called.

The transit firm then agreed to hire Negro drivers if the RCAC would postpone any action until after the company took up a new rate schedule with the City Council. The RCAC waited.

On March 5, four Negro applicants supplied by the Richmond Urban League began their training with the VTC. They began driving buses April 1.

Negotiations also have gained Negroes jobs as food checkers in chain supermarkets. The RCAC was surprised to learn that meat cutters in the back rooms, jobs sometimes available to Negroes, paid more than the food checkers, but they wanted Negroes as checkers because they are visible to the buying public, a symbol of progress that can be seen.

One of the remaining uncracked fields of segregation in Richmond is the motion picture theaters. Here the Negroes have no ready economic weapon because they haven't been admitted to the white-only theaters in the past and thus can't withhold their patronage now.

Negotiations are under way. It is felt that the theater owners are awaiting the outcome of a pending suit by Negroes against the Mosque and Parker Field.

The colorful Mosque is the city-owned auditorium which is leased to sponsoring organizations. The lease calls for adherence to the state law requiring segregated seating.

In fact, segregation at the Mosque is spottily enforced. Some "Twist Nights" in the Mosque ballroom have been integrated; operatic and symphonic presentations are generally segregated. In any event, Negroes are contesting the state segregated seating law.

Also segregated is Parker Field, the city-owned baseball park leased to the Richmond Virginians, the International League farm club of the New York Yankees. Negro baseball fans must sit in Section 16.

Negroes are testing the state law to force desegregation at Parker Field and it is likely that the baseball management hopes privately that they win. It would nourish the boxoffice if the fans now easily accommodated in Section 16 swelled to such numbers as to overflow several sections.

Negro leaders good-humoredly tell the story of an injured Negro player on the Virginians' team who didn't suit up for a recent game and sat in a white section to watch it. The player refused to move at the request of an attendant who then called a policeman. Recognizing the player, the policeman said he would have to move to the Negro section unless he put on his uniform.

THE PROGRESS of the Negro in Richmond must be credited in part to the rise of firm, responsible and sophisticated Negro leadership which speaks softly and carries a big stick of political and economic power by commanding the support of the Negro community. But white Richmond and its leadership must also be credited for its good will and understanding.

The top academic senior this year at the Medical College of Virginia was Charles Fletcher Christian, 37, a Negro. But neither he nor the five other Negroes in the graduating class of 88 were sent invitations to the social functions of graduation week-end.

MCV President R. Blackwell Smith Jr. said the exclusion policy was designed "to conform

to the social customs of the community." When MCV professors heard about it they voted 70 to 14 against such exclusion. The senior class petitioned the college administration to change the policy.

THE RICHMOND Times-Dispatch said editorially that it was only right for the Negroes to be invited. It also asked understanding of the MCV officials involved. "Like most other Virginians, they have had to adjust their thinking to the changing times," it said.

The Richmond News Leader, while noting that it wasn't yielding in its opposition to school desegregation, said that the Negroes should be invited. "Any other policy is indefensible," it declared.

The MCV executive committee ruled that the Negroes wouldn't be denied admission if they appeared. The policy now is under study and it's unlikely that Negroes will be excluded in the future.

COMPARISON OF the Negro Richmonder's lot today with that in the period of "massive resistance" causes astonishment in observers and participants alike. Yet the progress is not surprising in the light of Richmond's history of race relations before massive resistance.

The city led the South in bus desegregation and the employment of Negro policemen. A Negro won election to the City Council in 1948 with the help of white voters. City officials kept their offices open on Saturdays in 1947 to cooperate with a voter registration drive by the NAACP.

In 1951, the Virginia NAACP held an integrated convention at the Mosque and the city said, well, it's a private organization, and looked the other way. Back in 1925, the city suspended segregation ordinances and Jim Crow regulations when the Negro Elks held their national convention in Richmond.

SOME OBSERVERS see an end to the new political status of the Negro Richmonder if the city succeeds in annexing huge chunks of neighboring Henrico and Chesterfield Counties, reasoning that the white suburbanites would dilute the influence of the Negro vote. The annexation proceedings now are in court.

But others believe that the racial relations progress and the present era of increased racial understanding now have too solid a foundation to crumble. The 225-year-old city, a symbol of Virginia and the South, has turned a historic corner in race relations after a five-year detour.

It was in August, 1958, that the Richmond News Leader urged stubborn resistance to school desegregation as the zero hour neared in "massive resistance."

"Virginians," said the editorial, "are about to have an opportunity to demonstrate to the whole country—indeed, to the whole world—what it means to be a Virginian."

Today, Richmond is demonstrating what it means.

WAB ✓ JM ✓ JL VEP Staff

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

September, 1962

VEP SHOWS RESULTS AFTER FIRST NINETY DAYS

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director of SRC's Voter Education Project, states that the ninety day crash programs conducted by cooperating organizations in anticipation of fall elections have been concluded and the results are now being studied. The VEP will be shortly making long term grants to a number of organizations in the light of the experience gained this summer.

Among the more successful ninety day campaigns this summer were the Atlanta effort under the All Citizens Registration Committee, which netted 7,600 new voters; Durham, N.C., where 3,700 were added to the roles through the efforts of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs and the Durham branch NAACP; Raleigh, N.C., where an NSA effort increased the number of registered voters by 1,600; and Sumter, S.C., where a CORE effort resulted in the registration of over 1,100 new voters.

The VEP initiated in August a special registration effort in Albany, Georgia, through assistance to the Albany Movement. As a result of this effort, 305 new voters were added to the roles in Albany during the last two weeks of August.

SRC EMPLOYS NEW RESEARCH DIRECTOR

Mr. Staige Blackford is on the job as new Research Director of SRC as of September 4. Most recently Assistant Director of the Louisiana State University Press, Mr. Blackford is a writer, an editor and contributor to various encyclopedias, and a former employee of Time, Inc.. A native of Virginia and a graduate of the University of Virginia, Mr. Blackford was a Rhodes Scholar.

THREE COUNCILS CLAIM MATCHING FUNDS

State Councils in Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia have claimed all matching funds including supplemental funds, as of August. Other state Councils have until October 1 to meet requirements for matching funds.

During the first two quarters of the current fiscal year the state Councils on Human Relations raised from membership and contributions a total of $37,919. This compares with $30,554 during the similar period a year ago.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations was the top fund raiser during the first two quarters of this year with a total of $8,300. The Georgia Council was second with $6,200. The new Houston Council on Human Relations raised a total of $3,900, a commendable record for a fairly new organization operating in only one community.

OZELL SUTTON HONORED

Mr. Ozell Sutton, Associate Director of the Arkansas Council, was given the distinguished service award of the Arkansas Teachers Association by the District 7 Association. The award was in recognition of Mr. Sutton's work in connection with voter registration and other activities.

ATLANTA COUNCIL FETES DR. BUNCHE

Some 300 members and friends of the Atlanta Council on Human Relations honored Dr. Ralph Bunche at a special luncheon in Atlanta in July. Dr. Bunche spoke to the Council on "The Role of the Individual and the United Nations."

ALBANY STILL SIZZLES

Albany, Georgia, has been the major crisis area during the summer months. The Georgia Council has worked tirelessly in Albany trying to encourage negotiation, attempting to interpret the Albany Movement to the white community, helping to brief news media and other organizations on the situation.

In July, the GCHR sent an occupancy mailing to white residential areas in Albany. The letter brought considerable response from local citizens. Frances Pauley was harassed by nocturnal telephone calls for several weeks, the calls coming from Atlanta. A copy of the letter is appended to the Newsletter.

A local Council on Human Relations has recently been organized in Albany, pulling together concerned white persons and representatives of various Negro groups.

HOUSTON COUNCIL CIRCULATES READING LIST

The Houston Council on Human Relations has recently circulated a list of books for children, which are helpful to an understanding of good human relations. The reading list includes books designated for all age groups. It has been made available to educators and organizations and has been circulated through the Houston Library.

ACHR HOLDS BOARD WORKSHOP

Members of the Board of Directors of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations held a one day workshop June 23. The purpose of the workshop was to consider the role of the board member, to provide orientation for new board members, to provide an opportunity for board members to consider the procedure of "policy making."

NEW COUNCILS ORGANIZED

New local Councils on Human Relations have been formed in Brunswick, Georgia, and in Danville, Virginia.

The Chattanooga Community Relations Council has affiliated with the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

A Community Relations Council is in organization in New Orleans.

WILLIAMS JOINS MIGRATION TO NORTH

Bill Williams has resigned as Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations and has accepted a position with the Illinois Commission on Human Relations, as of last month.

Bill's new address is in care of the Illinois Commission, 160 North LaSalle Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.

The FCHR is looking for a successor to Bill. Anyone knowing of a good candidate should contact SRC.

FILM ON MIGRATORY LABOR AVAILABLE

A one hour 16 mm. sound film, "Seeds of Progress," available at no charge other than mailing costs, has been recommended by the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor and may be of interest to you. "Seeds of Progress," according to the Subcommittee release, "tells the story of the migrant who works in the fields of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, a story similar to that of the migrant anywhere in the United States. Expertly photographed and narrated, 'Seeds of Progress' is well suited to be shown either at a large conference or before a small group."

Inquiries should be directed to: Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, G-237 New Senate Office Building, Washington, 25.

NEW GAINS IN THE CLASSROOM

This fall brought significant new gains in classroom desegregation in a number of states. Thirty-three new public school districts desegregated or will desegregate this fall. School opening has been generally peaceful, although there were demonstrations at several parochial schools in Louisiana.

Perhaps the most significant developments of this new school year were:

1. The desegregation of parochial schools. An estimated 150 Negro children are attending formerly white Catholic schools in Louisiana for the first time. 17 Negro children are now enrolled in 6 previously all white Catholic schools in Georgia. The progress in Georgia involved the Atlanta area, Marietta, and Athens.

2. The defense of tokenism as a means of containing desegregation has been abandoned or struck down in several important Southern communities. In Chapel Hill, N.C., students are being assigned to schools on a strictly geographical basis through the first six grades. In Charlotte, N.C., 413 Negro pupils were assigned to seven predominantly white schools. There were only 27 Negro students in formerly white schools in Charlotte last year. In New Orleans the number of Negro children in such schools is up from 12 to over 100.

3. As a result of federal court decisions in Memphis and New Orleans, the use of pupil placement plans as a means of limiting desegregation is in jeopardy. In New Orleans, the District Judge specifically ruled that the state pupil placement law could not be applied to pupil assignments until and unless dual school districts were abolished.

Community preparation to assist with peaceful desegregation of schools is becoming respectable and almost commonplace. In Chattanooga this fall, virtually every move that has been tried in any other city by way of avoiding difficulty was applied by the police, the mayor, the school board, business leaders, etc.. The community was fully, if quietly, conditioned to accept the inevitable with calm and dignity. In Pensacola, Fla., a School Assistance Committee brought together business, religious, civic and political leadership and planned carefully for the smooth and effective initiation of desegregation which occurred recently. Significantly, in both communities local officials accepted and solicited the help of human relations agencies in making preparations.

MAILING FROM GEORGIA COUNCIL TO ALBANY CITIZENS

July 30, 1962

Dear Friend:

Now in the extremity of misunderstanding and danger in Albany, when racial unrest disturbs the streets, threatens the prosperity and embarrasses Georgia before the country and the world, let us consider what Albany citizens of good will can do to permanently resolve the troubles.

The experience of other Georgia cities--Savannah, Macon, and Columbus, to name a few where white and colored neighbors have come to some agreement on Negro demands for their public rights--suggests several fruitful and reconciling steps which can be taken to help the city out of the impasse.

First, it seems clear that no Georgia community has come to any racial agreement without meetings, sympathetic talk and new understanding between whites and Negroes. Mistakes have been made by the Negro citizens--mistakes have been made by various interracial organizations yet the underlying principles are still there. Truth can be found through knowledge and understanding. Albanians can as individuals and as groups seek this truth.

Second, it is equally clear that Albany's present crisis hinges on the refusal of City Commissioners to meet with and discuss grievances of Negro citizens. These, the elected officials are responsible for the just conduct of public affairs--Mayor Asa D. Kelley, Jr., Buford Collins, L.W. Mott, C.B. Pritchett, Allen Davis, W.C. Holman, Jr., and T.H. McCollum, members of the city commission, who seem to have delegated delicate and vital policy decisions to salaried officials whom they control--need to know their constituents feelings about this disastrous situation. Elected officials are notably responsive to the pressure of such expressions, a salutary change of mind can be brought about at city hall.

Third, it is also clear that the fastest growing town in Georgia is in grave danger of economic loss and stagnation which afflicted Little Rock. Business and political leaders in Albany who value their prosperity can save it by opposing the recalcitrance of city hall and by demanding reasonable agreements to restore peace, healthy business and continued economic advances.

Ask yourself this question: "What can I do?"

a. Talk to or write your city commissioners, asking them to settle this disorder now.
b. Write your Chamber of Commerce--they want it settled. Tell them they have your endorsement.
c. Call or see your minister, discuss the situation with him; pledge your support.

Let us open our minds, let us listen to reason and seek the truth. And let us act for a just and happy end to this dangerous, damaging and senseless struggle.

Sincerely,

(signed)

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations

VEP WB JM JL

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

November, 1962

LOCAL FUNDS, PLEDGES COUNT TOWARD MATCHING TOTALS

There has been some confusion concerning the funds that can be counted in the totaling of self-support figures to qualify for matching assistance from SRC. It should be noted that: (1) funds raised and used by local Councils can count toward state matching funds if the locals are related to or affiliated with the state Council; (2) state Councils may receive up to two-thirds credit for outstanding pledges if the pledges are payable by January 1, 1963.

MUSE WINS AWARD

Colonel Benjamin Muse, board member of the Virginia Council and Director of SRC's Leadership Project, received the 1962 Hoey Award from the Catholic Interracial Council. The Hoey Award is annually given to a Catholic layman who has made an outstanding contribution to bettering human relations.

NEW ORLEANS COUNCIL ORGANIZED

The New Orleans Community Relations Council was formally launched in September. The group has some 75 members and is moving ahead with several program activities. President of the New Orleans Council is Mr. Ted Baptist, a local businessman. Assisting in the organization of the Council were representatives of the Anti-Defamation League, the Urban League, the Southern Field Service of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, and SRC.

Communication to the New Orleans Community Relations Council should be addressed to Mr. Baptist at 101 S. Wren Street.

SELF SUPPORT TOTALS UP

Funds raised by state and local Councils on Human Relations continue to edge upward from year to year. During the first three quarters of 1962, the Councils raised funds totaling $46,594. This compares with $43,156 during the same period a year before.

Five of the state Councils raised more during the first three quarters of this year than a year ago.

ON THE AFTER DINNER CIRCUIT

Harold Fleming recently addressed the annual meeting of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, James Dabbs likewise with the Houston Council.

Others scheduled to address forthcoming meetings of Council units include Ralph McGill to Houston, Dr. Ralph Bunche to Richmond and Alabama, and Andrew Hatcher, Assistant Press Secretary to President Kennedy, to the Atlanta Council.

ACTING DIRECTOR ON JOB IN FLORIDA

Dr. Ralph Dreger, Professor of Psychology at the University of Jacksonville and Chairman of the Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations, has agreed to serve the Florida Council as Acting Director, without pay, until a full-time professional director can be secured to replace Bill Williams.

State newsletters and other materials normally going to the Florida Council should be sent to Dr. Dreger, 2867 Justina Rd., Jacksonville 11.

ROWLAND HEADS SCCHR LEADERSHIP PROJECT

Mr. Gil Rowland, formerly on the staff of the Greenville, S.C., News, is now working full time as director of a special leadership project for the South Carolina Council. Mr. Rowland is travelling about the state, a la Ben Muse, contacting and interviewing economic, civic, and political leadership throughout the state. He has already visited 18 South Carolina communities with others scheduled for the near future.

NAIRO CONFERENCE SCHEDULED THIS MONTH

The annual conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials will be held from November 28 to December 1 at the Park Sheraton Hotel in Washington. Those attending may still save a little by advance registration but registration in advance is not necessary to participate.

Fred Routh, new Executive Director of NAIRO, states that: "NAIRO needs more southern representation. This year's conference in Washington should make it possible for most of our southern professionals to make the meeting who have not been able to attend conferences further North and West."

Wiley Branton of SRC's Voter Education Project will give one of the major addresses.

NEW BOOK AVAILABLE AT SPECIAL RATES

Sarah Patton Boyle, nationally known author, fighter for civil rights, and a member of the Virginia Council, has recently written a new book, The Desegregated Heart, published by Morrow. The book is a warm and human story of Mrs. Boyle's own experiences during the days of massive resistance in Virginia and her emotional and mental transition during that time.

The book is available through the Virginia Council at special rates. Any of the state Councils may purchase or promote the book on the basis of $3.00 each, 40% under the standard purchase price. We will be happy to make arrangements for any of the other state Councils. As of December 1, SRC will be ordering some of the books for promotional purposes. Let us know if you would like a supply and how many.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL COMPLETES VOTER DRIVE

With some assistance from the Voter Education Project, the Arkansas Council and the Urban League of Little Rock conducted a voter registration effort in the Greater Little Rock area during the month of September. Ozell Sutton of ACHR and George Henry of the Urban League were co-directors.

The report of the Arkansas Council notes that "some 3,742 poll tax receipts were sold through the efforts of nearly 800 workers who made more than 14,000 contacts. Seven PTA units, three political organizations, five civic clubs, and numerous religious, fraternal, and social groups took an active part. This was probably the greatest united effort in the Negro community in many years."

STATE PARKS OPEN IN TENNESSEE

As a result of negotiations last summer between a committee of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations and public park authorities, the public park facilities of the state of Tennessee are now open to all citizens. Negro and bi-racial groups have used picnic, restaurant, and lodging facilities at several of the parks.

LEE DOES TELETHON

VCHR's Heslip Lee, star of pulpit and banquet circuit, has now emerged as a video celebrity. Lee recently appeared for an hour on a television station in Bluefield, West Virginia, fielding questions telephoned in by viewers. According to Lee, his performance was "well received."

Demonstrating a lack of concern for superficial matters of territorial integrity, VCHR claims a local Council in Bluefield, West Virginia. It is further rumored that the Virginia and Tennessee Councils are engaged in a vendetta for the loyalties of a local Council that is organizing in Bristol, a city which straddles the Tennessee-Virginia line, but is really closer to Charlotte, North Carolina.

CHRs EMPHASIZE WORK WITH YOUTH

A number of the state and local councils have been working with college and high school youth. Several have made special efforts to assist in the preparation and orientation of Negro children going into newly desegregated situations.

In South Carolina there is a Junior Council on Human Relations which brings together college young people of both races from around the state. In Virginia there is a campus chapter of VCHR at the University of Virginia, and high school chapters in Charlottesville and Fairfax County. There is a youth Council on Human Relations in Atlanta.

The University of Virginia chapter of VCHR is sponsoring during the current academic year a series of outstanding monthly forums involving prominent speakers from across the South.

In New Orleans last summer, Mrs. Mary Sand, former president of SOS and presently a board member of the New Orleans Community Relations Council, conducted a series of discussions and field trips for first and second grade children who were going into new desegregation experiences. The group was interracial and visited together most points of interest in the city. Perhaps more important than the actual learning experience was the opportunity for the children to know each other prior to the opening of schools.

In Nashville, Tennessee, a crafts workshop was conducted by the Tennessee Council for a number of elementary school children. About 15 children were involved in this interracial experience.

The Atlanta Council held several meetings of transfer students going into formerly all white high schools in Atlanta. The group plans other occasional meetings during the school year.

In Little Rock, the Negro children involved and their parents have created their own organization which is growing in size and influence as desegregation moves to the Junior High School level. The group meets monthly to share experiences and meet with resource persons in the community.

MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE

CONDUCTED BY THE
INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 East 60 Street, Chicago 37, Illinois

THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND MINORITY GROUPS*

What are the major areas of concern to municipal government in the provision of equal opportunity for all citizens? What examples of good practice are available in employment, education, housing, and other areas?

The principal purpose of this report is to show the work being done by selected city governments in working toward the goal of equal opportunity for all citizens. The principal obstacle in the way of achieving this goal is race relations. Much publicity has been given in the past decade to racial problems both in the North and the South. But the steady progress being made by hundreds of communities in all parts of the country toward the achievement of equal opportunity is a less well-known story. This report shows the scope of progressive practices together with suggestions and guidelines for city government officials.

Growth of Equal Opportunity

Four developments in the past decade have heightened the expectations of Negroes and other minority groups in securing full civil rights.

Court Decisions

The school desegregation decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1954-55 culminated the legal trend of 50 years of litigation by declaring that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Although the decision applied initially only to public education, it has since been extended to most facets of civil rights in succeeding court cases. Subsequent decisions in both state and federal courts have broadened civil rights in housing, public accommodations, and other areas. This growing body of court decisions has been supplemented by acts of Congress, Presidential orders, federal administrative rulings, state statutes, and county and municipal ordinances. In earlier years this body of law applied only to direct state actions (and, by extension, to actions of local jurisdictions), but recent rulings have enjoined private discrimination whenever "to some significant extent the state in any of its manifestations has been found to have become involved" in private acts of discrimination.[1]

Population Mobility

Approximately 1.5 million Negroes left the South between 1950 and 1960. "Although the largest cities have generally registered the largest numerical gains, the largest proportional gains have been experienced by medium-sized cities in the 100,000 to 500,000 range. Syracuse, Rochester, New Haven, San Diego and Fort Wayne all saw Negro populations . . . double in the past decade."[2]

During the 1950-60 decade, for example, the Negro population doubled in the state of Connecticut and tripled in the city of Milwaukee. The 1960 Census of Population shows that one out of every

*Programs and policies discussed in this report are not policy positions of the International City Managers' Association. The purpose is to set forth problems, even in some controversial areas, and to indicate possible solutions.

[1] *Burton* v. *Wilmington Parking Authority*, 365 U.S. 715, 722.

[2] Eunice and George Grier, *The Impact of Race on Neighborhood in the Metropolitan Setting*, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1961.

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WBU VEP

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

March, 1963

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION AND APOLOGY.....

My distinguished predecessors, Frederick B. Routh and Paul Rilling, each established a uniquely sporadic schedule for the Newsletter. Perhaps partially as an awareness of this and from an appreciation of their work, I have, consciously or unconsciously, set out to beat their record. Whatever the reason, this questionable distinction has been achieved.

At our meeting of state staff on March 5-7, we noted your criticisms of this policy and your suggestions for the content of the Newsletter. We will therefore try to include the following changes:

The Newsletter will be issued monthly on or about the 15th.

It will be directed exclusively to state staff with copies going to a few other interested persons. (It will be mailed to the SRC board so you can omit those persons from your mailing.) Each state office will receive 25 copies to be distributed to their Executive Committee members and others. If you wish more than 25 copies please let us know before the next newsletter is mimeographed.

Included will be information on developments in the region, techniques employed by local and state councils, comments from SRC staff, analysis of trends, etc.. A section will be set aside for announcements from the state councils. Material for this section--as well as for all the newsletter--is welcomed and encouraged.

UPCOMING SRC PUBLICATIONS, MARCH-APRIL, 1963

L-41 - Excerpts from Speeches Delivered Respectively by Governor Burt T. Combs of Kentucky and Secretary of Commerce Luther T. Hodges.

These speeches, delivered on February 24 and February 25 respectively, were both concerned with essentially the same theme--the opportunity of the South "to demonstrate to the nation and to the world both its capacity for orderly change and the extent of its faith in the future."

A Study of Tokenism by Kenneth Morland, Professor of Sociology, Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

This pamphlet examines the various plans devised by southern politicians and school boards to keep integration at token levels. It discusses the rulings made by federal courts in cases involving token integration plans, and it describes the heavy price the South is paying in trying to uphold a segregated school system long since declared to be unconstitutional.

Federal Programs to Promote Employment and Development in Rural Communities.

A report prepared following a conference in South Carolina sponsored by Penn Community Services and the South Carolina Council. Included are descriptions of the federal programs and a detailed bibliography of publications dealing with this subject. Copies in quantity will be available to councils without cost.

4-SRC Publications

FROM THE MEETING OF STATE STAFF

SRC will plan to arrange, if at all feasible, a yearly meeting of state council presidents.

A second state staff meeting will be held during 1963, probably in early June. Harry Jones is investigating the possibility of facilities in North Carolina for this meeting. More on this soon.

At our second meeting special attention will be given to establishing a closer working relationship among the councils and to developing resources to be used by all of the councils. A policy statement and the machinery for the joint announcement of programs and policies will also be considered.

A memo will be prepared on minimum and desirable staff benefits for the guidance of councils.

All are urged to send to Margaret Long ideas for New South and to help her in developing these articles.

RECENT ARTICLES, PAMPHLETS

"The Fifteenth Amendment Comes to Mississippi," by Barbara Carter, The Reporter, January 17, 1963, pp. 20-24.

Recap of government cases and private action--and resistance--in the struggle of Negroes to register to vote in Mississippi.

"The Housing Order and Its Limits," by Charles Abrams, Commentary, January, 1963, pp. 10-14.

Background, some analysis of omissions in and gains represented by Executive Order banning discrimination in federally assisted housing.

"In the South These Children Prophesy," by Robert Coles, M.D., The Atlantic Monthly, March, 1963, pp. 111-116.

Child psychiatrist's observations following two years of study of Negro and white children during initial school desegregation in several areas of the Deep South, sponsored by SRC.

The Progressive's Emancipation Proclamation issue, "A Century of Struggle," December, 1962.

Includes "Civil Rights in American History" by John Hope Franklin; "The South in Perspective," C. Vann Woodward; "The Unfinished Revolution," A. Philip Randolph; "A Letter to My Nephew," James Baldwin; "The Black Muslims," Eric Lincoln; and many others. Quantity prices: 10 for $2.50; 25 for $5.00; reduced rates for larger quantities.

"Reflections on the Negro and Labor," by Daniel Bell, The New Leader, January 21, 1963, pp. 18-20.

Concerned with a basic issue: "the implicit demand of the Negro community today...for special efforts and even special treatment in order to win basic social rights," and with labor's relation to such a proposition.

Information from the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity is a regularly published newsletter from that agency which contains information which might prove useful. If you're not already on their mailing list and want to receive it, write the President's Committee, Washington 25.

NEW STAFF

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr., Associate Pastor of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Mountain Brook, Alabama, will become Executive Director of the Florida Council, effective July 1. At that time the FCHR office will be moved to Daytona Beach. Welcome to Lou, Betsy, and the five Mitchell children.

noted on mailing list.

The present office of the FCHR is at 2867 Justina Road, Jacksonville 11, Florida, home of Dr. and Mrs. Ralph Dreger. For the past year the Dregers have conducted the affairs ot the Council and, as volunteers, have done a magnificent job of reorganizing FCHR.

NEW PROGRAM FILM AVAILABLE

On October 24, 1962, CBS Reports presented a one hour television program entitled "The Other Face of Dixie." The program told the story of school desegregation in four cities--emphasizing the positive aspects: Clinton, Norfolk, Atlanta, and Little Rock. It was shown on a nationwide basis but a number of local stations exercised their option not to show this item.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has been presented with a copy of this film. It will be made available from the Commission wihtout cost to any civic, religious, or educational group. Inquiries should be directed to Peter M. Sussman, Assistant Staff Director for State Advisory Committees, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington 25, D.C.

PREDOMINANTLY WHITE HOTELS ACCOMMODATING NEGRO GUESTS

The predominantly white hotels listed below are reported (either by newsclips or by individual informants) to accept overnight guests without regard to race. Most of them were desegregated during roughly the last three years; some, however, have never been segregated. Hotels largely for Negro guests are not listed here; many also accept whites.

If you have positive information regarding non-segregated predominantly white hotels not listed below, we would be grateful if you would report their names to us, with documentation (either a reliable news report or information from a reliable individual). Be sure, if possible, that all facilities in those hotels you report to us are open to Negro guests--coffee shops, swimming pools, etc., managed by the hotel.

ARKANSAS
Little Rock: Marion Hotel, Grady Manning Hotel, Lafayette Hotel(there is still some question about the Albert Pike).
FLORIDA
Miami Beach: Most hotels. Hollywood: At least one major hotel (probably the Hollywood Beach, but this is not confirmed). West Palm Beach: Town House.
GEORGIA
Atlanta: Peachtree Manor Hotel, Hilton Inn.
LOUISIANA
New Orleans: Airport Hotel.
KENTUCKY
Louisville: All hotels. Berea: Major hotels. Mammoth Cave: All hotels.
NORTH CAROLINA
Greensboro: Holiday Inn. Durham: Jack Tar Hotel, Holiday Inn, Washington Duke Hotel. Chapel Hill: Carolina Inn. Asheville: Battery Park Hotel, George Vanderbilt Hotel.
OKLAHOMA
Oklahoma City: All. Tulsa: All.
TENNESSEE
Gatlinburg: Some, depending on season. Johnson City: Inns of America. Memphis: Peabody Hotel. Oak Ridge: Holiday Inn. Townsend: At least one hotel (near Gatlinburg).
TEXAS
San Antonio: All. Houston: Rice, Shamrock-Hilton, Lamar, Texas State, Ben Milam.
VIRGINIA
Richmond: Jefferson, John Marshall, Richmond. Roanoke: Roanoke Hotel. Norfolk: Golden Triangle. Williamsburg: All.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

VEP
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April, 1963

ARKANSAS FUND RAISING, MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGNS

ACHR has launched a state-wide fund raising and membership campaign. Two capable members of the board have agreed to serve as chairmen of the drive and other board members have pledged active support. Among other plans, a special appeal will be made to businessmen and other community leaders who have reason to know of the unique and valuable services of the Council.

MISSISSIPPI

With the guidance of Mississippi Council on Human Relations president Dan Beittel, President of Tougaloo Southern Christian College, and under the most severe circumstances, the Mississippi Council continues its program of reorganization. An outstanding Executive Committee has been selected and the Council periodically mails material to several hundred friends. No general membership is sought at this time. A second state-wide meeting has been held without the harassment experienced during the first organizational meeting.

STAFF ADDITIONS IN VIRGINIA, FLORIDA

VCHR announces the addition to the staff of Gregory Shinert, to direct the Virginia Equal Job Opportunity Bureau. Gregory was formerly Executive Director of the Missouri State Commission on Human Rights. Inquiries concerning this program should be directed to the VCHR office in Richmond.

This brings to three the number of state Councils with three professional workers: Virginia, South Carolina, and Arkansas. SCCHR's third staff member, Mr. L. S. James, is co-sponsored by the National Sharecroppers' Fund. Also, in Georgia the Greater Atlanta Council has two professional staff persons and in Florida Ernest Lent began service as Director of the Greater Jacksonville Council earlier this year. Both Atlanta and Jacksonville's staff people are provided by the Unitarian Service Committee, and Ernie Lent also serves as the Southern Field worker for USC.

With the employment of Lent, the Jacksonville affiliate of FCHR, formerly called the Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations, announced a change in name: it is now called the Greater Jacksonville Council on Human Relations, with offices at 129 E. Forsyth Street, Jacksonville.

NCCHR HONORS MCNEILL SMITH

On May 1, The North Carolina Council will honor McNeill Smith, former chairman of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,at a dinner at the Carolina Inn, Chapel Hill. The N.C. Advisory Committee has done an outstanding job and has been the pacesetter among the state advisory committees.

GEORGIA HOLDS "CAMP MEETING"

The Georgia Council's coming annual meeting (April 26-28) will be held in a camp setting, the new Episcopal Camp Reese near Brunswick, Georgia--an atmosphere in which members can relax and get to know one another during the three day program. This is the first time a state Council meeting has been held in Georgia in which participants were able to all stay under the same roof, except for meetings in Negro colleges. Over 50 people have already registered to attend. The conference theme is "Can Man Get Along With Man?--The Personal Side of Human Relations."

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES WORKSHOPS

The Chattanooga Community Relations Conference, the Houston Council on Human Relations, and the Huntsville (Alabama) Council on Human Relations have, within the past few months, held workshops on Equal Employment Opportunity. In Chattanooga, informal talks discussing various factors affecting employment and a panel discussion featuring persons familiar with Chattanooga employment problems were main workshop features; Dr. Vivian Henderson directed.

Huntsville's workshop was held in the minicipal public utilities building, by permission of the City Council. As follow-up, committees were organized to contact Federal contractors, and a research committee was organized to study the employment patterns in Huntsville and gather facts upon which to base future actions.

In Houston, the conference (titled "Present Employment Picture in the Houston Area") was moderated by Mr. Frederick Wiener, Executive Director of Houston's Vocational Guidance Service. Program topics were: Status of Employment at NASA-Houston; A Look at Manpower Patterns Through 1966; Educational Implications Relevant to the Employment Picture; and Observations Germane to New Job Opportunities for Minorities. Presentations were made by the Director of Personnel at NASA, the District Director of the Texas Employment Commission, the principal of a Houston high school, and the director of the local AFSC Merit Employment Committee.

"PROGRESS" DISTRIBUTED BY SCCHR

Gil Rowland, who worked on a special leadership project for the South Carolina Council last summer and fall, is continuing to assist in its program by developing occasional reports titled PROGRESS. The February issue of PROGRESS reprinted editorials and excerpts from magazine and newspaper articles emphasizing how the peaceful admission of Harvey Gantt to Clemson has helped to create a "new image" of South Carolina. Five thousand copies have been given wide distribution in the state by SCCHR.

FAIR PRACTICE CODE IN KENTUCKY

Kentucky recently became the first Southern state to adopt a Governor's Code of Fair Practices. The Code, signed by Governor Bert Combs in mid-March, prohibits discrimination in all state government agencies and functions: specifically, employment and job opportunity in state agencies, state financial assistance, licensing by state agencies, the appointment and assignment of state personnel, all state services and facilities, state educational and vocational guidance programs, and services by the state employment agencies. It also includes antibias provisions for contractors doing business with the state.

According to a news report, a spokesman for the Governor said the principal provision in the Code covered contractors, since most of the other facets were covered earlier. Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania have similar codes.

The text of the code may be obtained from Galen Martin, Director of the Commission on Human Rights, Frankfort, Kentucky.

RECENT ARTICLES, PAMPHLETS

"Albany, Georgia," by Vincent Harding and Staughton Lynd, Crisis, February, 1963, pp. 69-78.

A view of the meaning of the Albany protest for the larger civil rights movement.

"A Better Life for Farm Families," National Sharecroppers Fund, 1963. Pamphlet, available from NSF, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

Summary of speeches and discussions that took place at a recent NSF rural conference at Bricks, N.C..

"Federal, State and Local Action Affecting Race and Housing," Princeton Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing. Pamphlet, distributed by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 426 West 58th Street, New York 19.

Background on federal government action, court action, and state and city legislation proscribing housing discrimination.

"State Executive Authority to Promote Civil Rights," The Potomac Institute, 1963. Pamphlet. Single copy: .50¢, from the Institute, 1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C..

A review of mechanisms for promoting civil rights through existing state executive authority.

"Civil Rights and Civil Duties," by Leslie Dunbar, Interracial Review, April, 1963, pp. 78-81.

Reflections on several facets of the civil rights movement: "pridefulness," "civility," and a "peace" new to the South.

DESEGREGATED MOVIE THEATRES

Previously all white movies (or those with a Jim Crow balcony) in the following cities are now desegregated, according to newsclips and other sources. If you have reliable information on additional non-segregated movies, please send it to us, along with documentation.

GEORGIA

Atlanta: All downtown movies, neighborhood art movies.

KENTUCKY

At least five Kentucky cities, including Lexington and Louisville, have desegregated indoor movies. A 1961 survey determined that 70% of the state's outdoor movie theatres are open to all on a non-segregated basis.

NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh: One movie.
Chapel Hill: All movies.

TENNESSEE

Knoxville: Two downtown movies.
Oak Ridge: All movies.
Nashville: Some downtown movies.

VEP ✓

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

May, 1963

RALEIGH SPEAKS

We believe the following resolution, approved by the Directors of the Raleigh Merchants' Bureau on May 13, is of tremendous significance:

"God-fearing people, as responsible citizens, and all people of good will, must face the fact that peace in human relations is essential.

"Being charged with the responsibility of offering leadership to business in the community of Raleigh, we are convinced we should, without further delay, remove all policies in both government and business which deny rights and services because of race.

"The overriding challenge now confronting every Raleigh business person is to do these things that would further human relations and the continued economic growth of Raleigh."

-Directors of The Merchants' Bureau of Raleigh, N.C.

THE BENCHMARK

During June one member of the Tennessee Council in each community in the state will receive a questionnaire requesting information on desegregation in each public facility and service. The questionnaire will bear a specific date--probably July 1--and all information is to reflect the condition as of that date. Thus for schools, parks, theatres, etc., there will be a "benchmark" from which future programs can be measured. Sounds like a good idea.

ATLANTA WORKSHOP FOR SOUTHERN STUDENTS

The Southern Office of the United States National Student Association has an urgent request for the state and local Councils: your assistance in recruiting students (high school seniors and college students) to attend a USNSA sponsored mid-summer Civil Rights Leadership Institute is needed. The availability of funds has only recently become certain, thus recruitment began late and time is short. All state Councils will receive application blanks and fuller information within a week or so; in the meantime, here are some of the pertinent facts:

The Institute will be held on a college campus in Atlanta from July 15 through August 12. Forty Southern high school seniors and college students will be selected to participate, with the National Student Association paying all of their expenses including travel. The purpose of the Institute is to provide students who are interested in participating in the Civil Rights Movement with an intensive study of historical, political, economic, and other factors as they relate to Civil Rights in the South. Its last week will be devoted to discussing the goals of the Civil Rights movement, methods of organization and ways of developing political awareness, responsibility and effectiveness within a Negro community. USNSA hopes students who participate will subsequently provide more effective leadership in Civil Rights activities on their campuses and in their communities.

THE QUIET REVOLUTION

The Jack Paar Show will be preempted Friday, May 24, in order to present the NBC Special called "The Quiet Revolution" at 9 P.M. Eastern Standard Time. The program includes excerpts from the January National Conference on Religion and Race and reports on the new concern of American religion with social matters.

SKIT CONTEST IN HOUSTON

It's old hat in intergroup relations circles to recognize the arts as an excellent tool for human relations education (as it is to mention the dramatic arts as one of the most effective of educational medias--old "straw hat" in this case). But answers to the question of how community groups and agencies can, without great expense, utilize the art forms in community education are scarce. For this reason, a summer program project of the Houston Council on Human Relations is of more than passing interest. HCHR is sponsoring a playlet contest, open to elementary pupils enrolled in summer religious programs of any church or synagogue, with prizes to be awarded for the most significant and original dramatic skit on the subject of Brotherhood and Freedom. The playlets must be written and staged by elementary pupils (although their teachers may help). All entries will be presented in a day-long program at the local Town Hall and judged by top personnel from Houston's professional and community theatres.

Three prizes will be offered, totaling $50.00; however, this appears to be the only expense other than minimal publicity costs HCHR will incur. (And, in some communities at least, TV stations would be willing to telecast winning productions from similar local contests as a public service feature--a possibility for further educational "mileage" from such projects.)

CONSULTANTS FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

SRC is developing a special panel of consultants to work with community groups in preparation for school desegregation. Some communities will need consultants to work with "Save Our Schools" groups where closing the schools is threatened. Others will need consultants to advise on how best to mobilize community resources to insure orderly change.

A wealth of information and experience in these areas has been developed during the past several years. SRC has worked with a number of the people involved and has helped in detail in some of the communities where the "pioneer programs" were developed. Now we hope to develop means of sharing this information, especially where time is short. As you spot communities where this kind of help is needed, let's explore the available resources.

DECLENSION OF A SHIBBOLETH

Interesting data from an address by the Honorable Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, (to Wakefield High School in Arlington, Virginia) titled "Slogans, Semantics, and Shibboleths":

"You've heard that the District's crime rate is the highest in the Nation and that this rate continues to soar. Here we have two untrue assumptions that have been taken as gospel by people who don't bother to question the source of their information. Instead of being first, Washington actually ranks thirteenth among America's 25 largest cities in the number of crimes per population thousand, according to FBI Uniform Crime Reporting statistics. Further, compared to a national crime increase of 7 percent for the calendar year 1962 over the year 1961, the crime rate in Washington increased only 4.9 percent.

"These statistics are taken from a March 4, 1963 report of the FBI. This report also shows that in murder, non-negligent manslaughter, Atlanta is first with a 13.5% increase over 1961, and Washington is fourth, with an increase of 3.4%; forcible rape, Chicago is first, and Washington eighteenth, with an 18% decrease; robbery, Chicago is first again, and Washington sixth with a 16.6% increase; burglary-breaking or entering, Los Angeles is first with a 6.4% increase, and Washington is sixteenth, with a 2.4% increase; larceny $50 and over, Los Angeles is first with a 6.5% increase, and Washington is eighteenth with a 8.2% increase; and auto theft, Chicago is first, and Washington is fourteenth, with a 5% increase. Only in aggravated assault is Washington first, with an increase of 1.7%. However, aggravated assaults increased in Los Angeles 2.6%, in Houston 12.9%, and in St. Louis 99.9%."

BIRACIAL FACULTIES

The following state-by-state listing of known desegregation of faculties in predominantly white schools--both public schools (elementary and/or secondary levels) and public and private colleges--was compiled from newsclips and the SERS Statistical Summary (Fall, 1962). (Those states having segregated school systems prior to 1954 are covered.) Additions or corrections are welcomed.

DELAWARE:
Public schools: Wilmington and Newark.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:
Public schools: all faculties desegregated; no racial distinctions made in hiring or assigning teachers to schools.
Colleges: faculty of Teachers College desegregated.

FLORIDA:
Public schools: segregated; however, federal court desegregation orders for Volusia and Duval Counties included instructions to begin teacher desegregation.
Colleges: Miami-Dade Junior College - 6 Negroes;
University of Miami - 1 Negro.

Kentucky:
Public schools: an estimated 20 districts of 206 in the state employed some 137 Negroes on biracial faculties at 50 schools in the 1962 fall term (some of these schools may be predominantly Negro).
Colleges: University of Louisville - 1 Negro (Department Head);
Bellarmine College - 1 Negro.

MARYLAND:
Public schools: about 1,458 Negro teachers on predominantly white staffs in some 8 districts.
Colleges: University of Maryland;
Baltimore, Essex, and Harford Colleges (2 yr. colleges).

MISSOURI:
No data available.

OKLAHOMA:
Public schools: about 28 Negro teachers are said to be on desegregated faculties in four districts: Fay, Ponce City, Arcadia, and Tulsa.
Colleges: University of Oklahoma - 1 Negro on regular faculty.

TENNESSEE:
Public schools: Oak Ridge High School - 1 Negro.

VIRGINIA:
Public schools: none at present; however, the Arlington School Board announced earlier this year that summer teaching positions will be open to Negro teachers, "opening the way for the first Negro to teach a white or mixed class," according to news reports.

WEST VIRGINIA:
Public schools: some faculties desegregated.

"JOBS AND COLOR"

You've probably received a copy of "Jobs and Color: Negro Employment in Tennessee State Government"; if not, you'll want to order one. Prepared by Dr. Herman Long and Dr. Vivian Henderson for the Nashville Community Conference on Employment Opportunity and published by the Tennessee Council (also available from TCHR), this concise study could provide useful guidelines for organizations wishing to investigate the employment of Negroes in their own state government.

RECENT ARTICLES, PAMPHLETS

"The South's War Against Negro Votes," by John Poppy, Look, May 21, 1963, pp. 38-43.
On-the-scene coverage of SNCC activities in the voter registration movement: "an endless, nerve-racking series of guerrilla battles in dark corners of the Black Belt."

"Books for Friendship." Pamphlet. Copies available from AFSC, 160 North 15th St., Philadelphia 2, and the ADL, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22. .50¢.
Annotated listing of current and classical children's books which are outstanding for their treatment of human relations subjects.

STAFF REPORTS

January - May 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

RESEARCH

General:

Albany - Howard Zinn - January 8, 1962
The Unequal Badge - Elliott Rudwick - January, 1962
Executive Support of Civil Rights - March 13, 1962

Employment Studies:

Chattanooga: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South. The second of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities. - February, 1962.
Atlanta: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South. The third of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities. - May, 1962.

L-Reports:

L-31 - A reprint from the Wall St. Journal - "Slipping Segregation: Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in South." - February, 1962
L-32 - A refutation of Carleton Putnam's book, "Race and Reason: A Yankee View." - March 9, 1962
L-33 - A Statement of Recommended Police Policy Resulting from the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration Conference on: "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive." - March 9, 1962

Miscellaneous:

An employment study of opportunities for the Negro in Miami. Mimeographed without SRC imprint for the Florida Council. Revision of same material also to appear in New South, May, 1962.

Reprint from Fortune - "The City and the Negro" - March, 1962.

Surveys have been made of desegregation of
Hospitals
Hotels
Cultural Facilities
For the hospital survey, questionnaires were sent to every hospital with an intern program connected with medical training centers in the South - 64 hospitals.

For the hotel survey, questionnaires were sent to 11

hotel chains, 30 hotel associations, and contacts (either a Council on Human Relations, Urban League chapter, or NAACP chapter) in the same cities.

For the survey of cultural facilities, questionnaires were sent to the mayors and contacts in 20 southern cities - these cities selected because they represent the major population centers.

A tabulation of the results of the hospital survey was given the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations to assist it in its efforts to desegregate Grady Hospital.

The survey on cultural facilities is scheduled for publication in a forthcoming issue of New South.

Publications and/or Reports in Progress:

The Negro and Crime
State Commissions on Human Relations (Ben Muse)
Desegregation of Schools: Atlanta, Memphis, and Dallas (Newsom)
Desegregation of Catholic parochial schools (L-Report - B. Patterson)

Studies Committed:

Economic Status of Negroes in South (V. Henderson)
Agricultural Aid Programs and Voting Participation in South Carolina (Ira Kaye)

Other Activities Completed:

A conference on voting research was held in the SRC offices on May 1 and 2, 1962, attended by 14 academic men prominent in the field of voting research in the South.

James Moss

FIELD ACTIVITIES

The state Councils on Human Relations continue to show growth and increased vitality and effectiveness. These factors are due both to improving climates in many of the states and to sound and dedicated leadership. As of May 15 the total membership of the state Councils stood at 6,338. This compares with a total of 6,171 in July, 1961. During the last 12 months six of the state Councils have shown substantial improvement.

The largest is Virginia, with a membership of 2,100. The second largest is now Tennessee, which has grown from 581 to 781 during the last year, followed by Florida with a membership of 700.

During the first quarter of the current fiscal year, the state Councils have raised $19,541.00. This compares with $14,224.00 raised during the comparable period a year ago.

In addition, three of the state Councils have received special foundation grants this year. Last fall the Georgia Council received a grant from the Field Foundation to make

possible the employment of a second staff member. The Rev. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., formerly president of the Savannah Council, is currently serving ably in this capacity and giving the Georgia Council benefit of biracial professional staff. The Tennessee Council also received a small grant from the Field Foundation to strengthen its work for the next two years. In May, the Virginia Council was notified that the William C. Whitney Foundation had determined to grant $3,500 for each of the three years beginning with 1962. The VCHR plans to employ a Negro professional staff member as associate director for the coming year and hopes that sufficient funds will be found to continue the position into the future.

On May 3 some 55 persons from throughout Mississippi gathered on the Tougaloo College campus in Jackson to organize a new Mississippi Council on Human Relations. Although the group was harassed by adverse press and TV publicity and by agents of the State Sovereignty Commission and White Citizens Council, it determined to move ahead and raise a standard of constructive progress in Mississippi. Selected as chairman was Dr. Dan Beittel, President of Tougaloo College and SRC board member. Elected as vice-chairmen were Rabbi Charles Mantinband of Hattiesburg, SRC board member, and Dr. D. I. Horn, Jr., President of Mary Holmes Junior College at West Point, Mississippi. The group authorized the appointment of a constitutional committee and plans to move ahead with local activity in all parts of the state, looking toward another and larger meeting in the fall.

New local interracial groups have been organized in recent months, particularly in Georgia and Virginia. Since last fall the Virginia Council has organized local affiliated groups in Fredericksburg, Williamsburg, and in Bluefield, West Virginia, right across the border from Virginia. The Georgia Council has recently organized in Rome, Brunswick, and Albany.

Other notable activities of the state Councils include:

1. The involvement of both Georgia staff members in the critical Albany situation. At two points during the crisis the director of the Georgia Council was able to arrange new negotiations.

2. The presentation of able and prominent speakers. Carl Rowan, Assistant to the Secretary of State for Public Affairs, has spoken to the Georgia and Arkansas Councils. Berl Bernhard, Staff Director of the Commission on Civil Rights, has spoken to the Tennessee and Virginia Councils. Secretary of Labor Goldberg has agreed to speak to the Tennessee Council in the near future. Ralph McGill spoke recently to the North Carolina Council. Dr. Ralph Bunche is scheduled to address the Richmond Council and Dean Rusk has tentatively agreed to speak to the Richmond group in the near future.

3. The North Carolina Council has met several times recently with the Governor to press for progress beyond tokenism and for the employment of more Negroes in state departments. The NCCHR also made a public statement in behalf of broader school desegregation which received wide publicity.

4. The Virginia Council has organized a state inter-agency meeting involving some 75 organizations and agencies with some human relations concern. The group will meet periodically. John Feild, Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, will address the meeting in late May.

5. The Houston Council sponsored a seminar for 50 selected high school students representing various ethnic, racial, and religious groups.

6. The Florida Council was able to play a helpful role in advising and negotiating in Cocoa, Fla., where a tense situation concerning recreational facilities was solved with the appointment of a Mayor's biracial committee, which recommended the complete desegregation of the facilities.

7. The Atlanta Council published a survey of the first year of school desegregation in Atlanta. The document received widespread notice and was recently quoted in the New York Times.

8. The director of the Alabama Council has been extremely active in the current crisis situation in Birmingham and is one of the few persons in the city with access to Negro leadership and white persons in the business and civic leadership of the city.

Activities of SRC Field staff since January have included:

1. Several trips to Albany, Georgia, at the request of the Georgia Council to assist and supplement activities of the Georgia Council there.

2. A trip to Pensacola, Florida, to advise a citizens group there concerning preparation for peaceful desegregation. This trip involved also meetings with the school superintendent and school principals, white and Negro.

3. Several trips to New Orleans to offer suggestions to groups there preparing for desegregation next fall and to explore the flickerings of interest in the organization of an interracial council in the city.

4. A trip to Charleston to consult with white and Negro leaders concerning the boycott situation and to explore ways of strengthening interracial cooperation there. This trip was at the request of the SCCHR, which does not have a local organization in Charleston.

5. The planning and direction of the annual State Staff Meeting, which was held at SRC February 15 and 16.

6. Several trips to Birmingham to advise with the director of the Alabama Council concerning the constructive steps that might be made in that situation.

7. Supervision of a pilot project to attempt to reach Black Belt areas through radio in conjunction with the Friendly World Broadcasting Company and Mr. Edwin Randall.

8. Participation for SRC in the regional meeting of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Atlanta April 27 and 28.

9. Assistance to the organizing committee of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and participation in the organizing meeting on May 3.

10. A series of speeches to six political science and sociology classes at Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss., May 2.

Paul Rilling

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

While awaiting approval of Internal Revenue on our request for tax exemption, contact was established with various federal agencies, private foundations, organizations, and others interested in voter registration in the South. In a letter dated March 22, 1962, SRC was informed by Internal Revenue Service that if we "operate the project strictly in accordance with the representations made . . . the activity will not adversely affect your present exemption from Federal income tax . . ." News of the tax ruling came while Leslie Dunbar and Wiley Branton were in New York for conferences with participating agencies, and the group agreed to a March 29 news release.

Grants have been received from Taconic Foundation of $250,000 for a two year period; $75,000 from Field Foundation for one year; and $124,000 total for a two year period from the Edgar Stern Family Fund. This gives VEP $262,000 for the first year's operation.

Proposals for a two year campaign have been submitted by NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, and NUL, and representatives from each met with VEP in Atlanta on April 17. SRC Research and VEP held a conference in Atlanta on May 1 and 2 to discuss research problems involving the voter project, which was attended by a dozen or so political scientists and other scholars from over the South. All in attendance promised continuing cooperation to the Project research.

VEP decided to launch Ninety Day Programs in states where registration deadlines could still be met for summer primaries and made the following grants: CORE - $8,625.00; SCLC - $11,500.00; SNCC - $5,750.00; NAACP - $17,250.00; and NUL - $5,750.00. CORE will be working in Baton Rouge, La., Jackson, Miss., and in the 6th Congressional District and in Clarendon, Sumter, and York Counties, South Carolina.

NAACP will work in Jackson, Miss.; Shreveport, Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, and Monroe, La.; High Point, Fayetteville, Charlotte, Rocky Mount, Wilmington and Edenton, North Carolina; Beaufort, Columbia, Greenville, and Charleston, South Carolina; and Memphis, Fayette County, Haywood County, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Clarksville, Tennessee.

National Urban League will be working in Winston-Salem and Richmond.

SCLC will work in Shreveport, La.; Chowan County and Elizabeth City, North Carolina; Charleston, South Carolina;

Knoxville and Chattanooga, Tennessee; and in the 4th Congressional District of Virginia.

SNCC will work in Orangeburg County, South Carolina and in Jackson, Hattiesburg, Marshall County and the old 3rd and 4th Congressional Districts of Mississippi.

The first VEP grant was made to the Atlanta All Citizens Registration Committee on April 12 in the amount of $2,000.00, with a supplemental grant on May 15 in the amount of $1,600.00. A grant was also made to the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs on April 27 in the sum of $2,500.00

VEP requires participating agencies to deposit the proceeds of our grants in a separate bank account and to make disbursements from same only when supported by vouchers. Agencies are required to coordinate their registration efforts where more than one agency is working in the same area. Plans are now being formulated for a long range program in 11 Deep South states. Immediate attention is being given to "crash programs" in New Orleans and Nashville.

Wiley A. Branton

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

Short Statement of SLP Activities since January 1, 1962

The activities of the Southern Leadership Project followed a somewhat more selective pattern of travel but continued in the main along the lines of previous efforts. I have personally concentrated on South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia; Mr. Brewbaker has visited school authorities in the more critical situations.

Mr. Brewbaker took part in a workshop on desegregation problems in Chattanooga January 16 and attended the annual meeting of Virginia school superintendents April 16. He was invited to the latter by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He has conferred with school authorities in Spartanburg and Greenville, S.C.; Atlanta and Savannah, Ga.; Mobile, Ala.; New Orleans and Baton Rouge, La.; Tallahassee and Pensacola, Fla.; and Raleigh, N.C.

I have given somewhat more time to desk work and counseling with my colleagues in Atlanta on general SRC problems. I have collaborated with the newly active Catholic human relations movement, visiting three Catholic bishops and conferring with a group of advisers to Archbishop Rummel in New Orleans. I have also cooperated increasingly with the Department of Justice and the Commission on Civil Rights.

I have been especially concerned in recent months with the need for emboldening the Southern clergy to witness

forthrightly for the Christian attitude in race relations. After much discussion of the problem with Dr. Dunbar and Rev. Will Campbell, of the National Council of Churches, it has been decided to engage a minister consultant who would be identified as a representative of the National Council of Churches, but who would be financed from this project. Such a minister would be expected to travel in the South visiting and talking with Protestant ministers, especially in the rural districts.

Benjamin Muse

INFORMATION ACTIVITIES

We've had 36 foreign visitors since Jan. 1, for stays ranging from two to seven days and have arranged about 44 full days' programs for them, including an increasing number of home dinners with the help of the Atlanta Council on Human Relations. The 36 do not include drop-in visitors we talk to, show around the office and mail or give publications to, nor 24 Ohio students with whom we conferred and for whom we arranged appointments.

I've made nine speeches (or will have by May 22) - at Oberlin College, Daytona Beach, the Indiana Civil Liberties Union and two womens clubs and the Senior Citizens Club in Atlanta.

New South promotions have been mailed to five lists of possible subscribers, with little return.

We are rather pleased with our New South book section, when we have room for it. Jan wrote to a lot of publishers asking for review copies and we've had books from Random House, Norton, Dial, Harcourt Brace, Simon and Schuster, University of North Carolina Press, Charles C. Thomas, Houghton-Mifflin, Louisiana State University Press and maybe some others.

We've cast about for some distinguished and authoritative writing for New South and wangled some good pieces from names like Lillian Smith, Louis Lomax and Nedra Tyre. We don't count Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Wright, because they have to do for us, anyway. New South lately seems to take more editing and letter-writing as we're getting in manuscripts and even poetry to be considered and usually rejected.

I did a little literary consultation and editing for fellow laborers in the vineyard, SNCC and SCLC, which may have been more offensive than helpful, because I haven't heard thanks or you're crazy or pea turkey from them since.

I spend about every fifth day cleaning up my well-ordered mess in search of some mysterious document you seem to think I'm sitting on, a highly constructive activity which is,

however, perhaps not too susceptible to appraisal and value judgement.

We had a great literary tea for Lillian Smith March 31 at the Biltmore Hotel, a gladsome mingling attended by some 600 of all colors. We sold 110 books and Miss Lil figured she autographed over 200. The Ku Klux Klan came and picketed. We think this was good for the town, us, the Georgia and Atlanta Councils, and Miss Lil.

Margaret Long

DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK

The 'rolling chair' has traveled many miles to doctors' offices, clinics, and meetings.

February:

The Atlanta Fellowship of the Concerned had a program at the Atlanta Library during Brotherhood Week, with about 200 present.

March:

Attended the Annual Meeting of North Georgia Women's Society of Christian Service, Augusta, Georgia.

April:

Attended the Spring Student Conference at Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, which lasted three days, and spoke to the student body.

Spoke to the Augusta Council on Human Relations.

May:

Spent the week of May 14, as a Special Guest of the Woman's Division of Christian Service, in its 6th Assembly of Methodist Women, in Atlantic City. Over 10,000 women were in attendance.

I have been to Washington, D.C. twice - once for the Board Meeting of the ADA, and later to attend the annual meeting. The biggest job I have had is to make a comparative study of the social action program of the Methodist Church and the present civil rights action of the Federal Government.

In addition to the above, I taught a district-wide class - Atlanta West District Woman's Society of Christian Service, Fair Oaks, Marietta, Community Bible Study each month, a Forum class of young people.

I have met four times with executive committees of

the United Church Women as we planned a day on "The Family," held at a private home in Lithonia, Georgia, and planning for the fall meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which is to be held on October 30-31.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

WBV JMV RTB VEP

June, 1963

DAYLIGHT IN HUNTSVILLE

The following is the lead editorial from the Huntsville Times of June 11, 1963, the day Vivian Malone and James Hood entered the University of Alabama:

THE DAY

Certainly there must have been few citizens of the state who did not awake this morning aware this was to be the day that the Little Judge was going to write a new chapter in Alabama histrionics.

NEW STAFFERS AT SRC, HOUSTON COUNCIL

Vernon Jordan has joined the SRC staff as Assistant to the Director, a position which will entail some administrative duties but which will emphasize program assistance. A graduate of DePauw University with a law degree from Howard, Jordan was Georgia State Director of the NAACP before coming to SRC.

The Houston Council announced a giant step this month: Charles Kelly has been appointed to a newly created professional staff position, Executive Director. Ethel Dumbauld will, of course, continue as Executive Secretary. Kelly has served as HCHR president since fall of 1962.

PERIPATETIC HUGHESES SETTLE

In a recent letter, former ACHR director Bob Hughes sends "warm greetings from the heart of Africa." After seven months in language school and a several-months' assignment as pastor of the church at a mission station located in a remote mountainous area on the Mozambique border, Bob has now been assigned to the work which called him to Africa--race relations. He and his family are located in Southern Rhodesia, at what appears to be a stable address: 62 Galway Road, Avondale, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

He writes: "Week before last the first item in every BBC and Rhodesian Federal Broadcasting Corporation newscast was on Birmingham, as were the headlines of every newspaper in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The impact here has even been greater than that of the Ole Miss riots because of the drama involved. Without reference to the tarnishing of the image of America as the land of freedom and equality, the damage done to American missions in this part of the world is very real...."

Also, "When we moved into a new neighborhood recently I took a stroll around the back fence and met our new neighbor. We introduced ourselves and when I told her I was from Birmingham, Alabama, she reached across the fence, grabbed my hand and vigorously shook it, saying, "Keep the niggers down!"

MCHR URGES JACKSON BIRACIAL COMMITTEE

The Mississippi Council recently made public, via a news-release, an appeal for the appointment of a responsible bi-racial committee to consider the grievances of Jackson Negro citizens. The Council called upon "the people of Jackson, on those who carry political responsibility, on leaders of business and industry, on the clergy, and on all other thinking people to see that a responsible bi-racial committee is set up now, and to pledge themselves to make changes in our way of living which will bring human dignity and respect to our citizens regardless of race or color."

PRIVATE FACILITY DESEGREGATION

"Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality." Thus spoke President Kennedy of dampening the "fires of frustration and discord burning in every city" since the significant events in Birmingham last month. And bold action, the kind of action which demonstrates what progressive community elements can accomplish when moved and, perhaps more importantly, what seemingly inflexible community elements will accept without murmer, has been taken in many cities in the South during the last few weeks.

The expanding total of facilities "open to the public" which have been, since late May, opened to all of the public includes, in part:

First class restaurants in Nashville and Clarksville, Tennessee; Richmond and Lynchburg, Virginia; Charlotte, Asheville, Greensboro, Concord, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, Durham, Statesville and Wadesboro, N. C.; Atlanta, Georgia; Austin, Texas; Fayetteville, Arkansas (test period underway in Fayetteville);

Hotels and motels in Nashville, Knoxville, Clarksville, and Memphis, Tennessee; Charlotte, Winston-Salem, and Durham, North Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; Tampa, Florida; Houston, Texas;

Movies in Little Rock, Arkansas; Memphis, Tennessee; Norfolk, Richmond, Lynchburg, and the Fairfax-Arlington-Alexandria area, Virginia; Raleigh and Charlotte, North Carolina.

(Listing above does not necessarily mean that within a named city all of the indicated facilities have desegregated, but that a significant number--and in some cases all--of them have. This listing is also far from complete, for the Department of Justice recently announced that, of 244 cities in Southern and border states on which it is "keeping close tab," 143 have taken "some positive visible step" toward removal of racial barriers. The Department's breakdown was: theatres in 61 cities, restaurants in 67 cities, hotels in 22 cities, lunch counters in 61 cities. SRC is currently preparing for publication as complete as possible a listing of newly desegregated facilities; it is scheduled for release in the very near future.)

During May and June, demonstrations, the threat of demonstrations, or in some instances the unpressured desire for progress has resulted in the formation of official biracial committees in: Anniston, Alabama; Pine Bluff, Arkansas; Daytona Beach, Gainesville, Melbourne, and St. Petersburg, Florida; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Durham, High Point, Lenoir, Raleigh, Roxboro, Winston-Salem, Fayetteville, Concord, Sanford, Hickory, and Greensboro, North Carolina; Chattanooga and Nashville, Tennessee; Arlington, Hampton, and Roanoke, Virginia. The committees in Winston-Salem, Nashville, and Arlington are to be permanent bodies.

(Previously existing official biracial committees continue to function in Monroe and Charlotte, North Carolina; Athens and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Tampa, Florida. Similar committees are reportedly in operation in Asheville and Lumberton, North Carolina and in Fredericksburg and Newport News, Virginia; whether they are newly formed is unknown.)

RECENT ARTICLES, PAMPHLETS

"Who's Blocking Desegregation?" by Robert Coles, MD. The New Republic, June 22, 1963. pp. 17-20.
An especially excellent article, which treats of the reasons why Dixie segregationists are "protected" by others in the country (and the unfairness of such protection to Southerners).

"A Beginning in Birmingham," by Vincent Harding. The Reporter, June 6, 1963. pp. 13-19.
An account of steps in the negotiated settlement in Birmingham, with thoughts on the possibilities presented by the current situation.

"The Civil Rights Story; A Year's Review." Pamphlet. Theodore Leskes, American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 56th St., N.Y. 22. May, 1963.
The AJC's annual overview of national developments.

HOUSEKEEPING

Four state Councils have earned full SRC matching funds for amounts raised locally this year: Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia.

Quarterly reports for the March, April, and May quarter are currently due.

OUTLINE FOR QUARTERLY REPORTS

We have promised to provide the state Councils with a guide to the preparation of quarterly reports. No simple outline can fit all situations but the following may help. This is only a guide, not a requirement.

General comments:

1. Two things are needed, a program and a financial report. Each is generally outlined below.
2. It is helpful to SRC to have two copies of the report and all attachments. One copy can then be immediately circulated and is available for special filing, such as in research.
3. The program report need not be long nor should an undue amount of time be devoted to its preparation.
4. Frequently a brief report can be supplemented by material prepared for other purposes.
5. Several Councils effectively use the quarterly report as a report to the board. Such a report, prepared for the board or for members, meets all our needs if it includes financial information. We won't feel slighted if we receive a mimeographed copy of a report prepared for others.

Outline:

I. Program.
   A. Significant developments in the state.
   B. Factual report of specific instances of change.
   C. Council, board, and staff involvement.
   D. Specifics of local Council program.
   E. Staff analysis of events.
   F. Council plans and needs.
   G. Administrative. (This is optional but very helpful to SRC. An occasional report of this kind would be highly desirable.)
      1. Membership as of end of quarter (total paid to date, not number carried).
      2. Distribution of membership by city and local Councils.
      3. Total funds contributed to date by members and individuals.
      4. Results of any special membership and/or fund raising dinners.

II. Financial.
   A. Statement of income and expenses for quarter in detail, especially as to income. Income should state, specifically:
      1. Local contributions.
      2. Out of state contributions (foundations, SRC, etc.)
      3. Membership fees.
      4. New South subscriptions.
      5. Other.
   B. Indication of total operating funds available at end of quarter.
   C. Indication of all outstanding bills and obligations.
   D. Separate listing of all special funds in savings, investments, etc..

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

WABL JML RB JL JS VEP

July, 1963

LAPSE IN COMMUNICATION

On July 5, the Wall Street Journal reported that "Congress gets surprisingly little civil rights mail. Many Southerners report few white protests other than organized segregationist letters...."

BASEBALL YET

There seems to be no end to the imagination--or the audacity--of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. On August 9, at Parker Field Baseball Park in Richmond, there will be a double header between the Richmond Virginians and the Atlanta Crackers.

That occasion will be designated as "Human Relations Night." Everybody who is anybody will have a box seat. Everything in sight, including the band, will--of course--be representative of all of the people of Richmond. VCHR Director Happy Lee will make a "brief" speech between games.

Baseball yet!

STAFF CONFERENCE

On June 20-22, the professional staff of the state Councils met at the Blue Ridge YMCA Conference center near Black Mountain, N.C.. Despite constant rain, the meeting was pleasant and successful. The group agreed that we should spend more time together, share more information, and give more attention to discussions of mutual concerns.

Next year we hope a number of people can be invited to parts of these sessions. Perhaps one meeting of Council presidents, another of local Council leaders, etc.. Some of our grandiose plans will be realized, others will have to be discarded. But it was agreed to meet for a full week in 1964 at the same place. For those who know what a talented, unorthodox, cantankerous group this is, the decision is a good and satisfying one!

JUSTICE--NOT JUST RACE

The following are excerpts from a statement made by Bishop Paul Hardin, Jr., of the South Carolina Conference (S.E.J.) of the Methodist Church on June 13.

"...It is a source of personal concern and grief to me to see my beloved Southland and the Methodist Church torn by the race issue.

"My anguish is all the more acute when I realize that basically the main issue is not race but simple justice and personal dignity. It is as natural for a colored person to seek his place under the sun as it is for a white man to do so.

"In Christian calmness and dignity, let us work together in an effort to grant justice and opportunity to all people--not because of economic and political pressure, but because we believe that justice is the common property of all free men."

SEPTEMBER SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

School districts expected (as of mid-July) to initiate desegregation with the opening of school this fall are listed below, together with districts in which September desegregation is quite possible. Kentucky and the border states are not included. CO=court ordered; V=voluntary.

	Definitely Expected:	Possible or likely:
ALA.:	Mobile (CO); Birmingham (CO)	Huntsville (CO)
ARK.:	Pine Bluff (V)	
FLA.:	Leon Co. (Tallahassee) (CO); Duval Co. (Jacksonville) (CO); Orange Co. (Orlando) (CO)	
GA.:	Chatham Co.-Savannah (CO)	Brunswick (V); Columbus (V); Macon (V)
LA.:	East Baton Rouge (CO)	
MISS.:		Jackson (CO)
N.C.:	Burlington (V); Durham Co. (V); Rocky Mount (V); Guilford Co. (V): Wake County (V)	Statesville; Thomasville
S.C.:		Charleston (CO)
TENN.:	Madison Co. (CO); Sevier Co. (V); Shelby Co. (One school V; ct. case pending); White Co. (Sparta) (V)	Roane Co. (V)
VA.:	Albemarle Co. (V); Charles City Co. (V); Culpeper Co. (V); Dinwirdie Co. (V); Fauquier Co. (V); Frederick Co. (V); Greene Co. (V); Hanover Co. (V); Henrico Co. (V); King and Queen Co. (V); Middlesex Co. (V); Powhatan Co. (CO); Spotsylvania Co. (V); Danville (V); Surry Co. (V); Martinsville (V); Staunton (V)	Radford (V)
TEX.:	Arlington (V); Birdville (V); Denton (V); Waco (V-ct. case pending); Boerne (V); Irving (V); Grand Prairie (V); Sherman (V); Martindale (V): Hale Center (V); Kemper City (V)	

Action in Brunswick, Columbus, and Macon, Georgia, illustrates the significant fact that for the first time communities in Deep South states are exploring the possibility of voluntarily desegregating public schools (below the college level--a number of Deep South colleges earlier opened their doors to Negroes in the absence of court orders). Deep South states will also experience some acceleration in the pace of desegregation: only two Deep South cities desegregated public, sub-college level schools in the nine years since 1954; four will--and five others may--this fall. (Mobile, Birmingham, Chatham Co.-Savannah, and East Baton Rouge are in the former category; Huntsville, Brunswick, Columbus, Macon, Jackson, and Charleston are in the latter.) Alabama--and possibly Mississippi--will have initial public school desegregation below the college level.

Those districts in which some resistance appears likely include Danville and Powhatan County, Virginia (in the latter community a strong move toward boycott and possible closing of public schools is evidenced), Birmingham, Alabama, and East Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Resistance might also be expected in Jackson, Mississippi, and Charleston, S.C., in the event schools desegregate this fall. Community preparation groups have been active in Mobile, Huntsville, and Birmingham, Alabama; Jacksonville, Florida; Savannah, Georgia; and Jackson, Mississippi. A group is working for preservation of public schools in Powhatan County, Virginia.

NEW SRC PUBLICATIONS

"Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond," by J. Kenneth Morland. Published by ADL and SRC. .50¢ per single copy; quantity discourt on request.

"Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study," by Dr. Robert Coles. Published by ADL and SRC. .50¢ per single copy. To be released first week in August.

BURIAL AT ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

Some thousands--probably millions--of words have been written about the assassination of Medgar Evers. Nothing, in our opinion, expresses that tragedy as well as the story by Charles W. Bailey, correspondent for the Minneapolis Tribune, which appeared in the Tribune of June 20. Subsequently the story was inserted in the Congressional Record.

Here follows the full text of that story, because of its quality and because we tend to forget so quickly.

"AT BURIAL IN ARLINGTON-'HE WAS CUT DOWN LIKE A FLOWER' EULOGIZER SAYS

"ARLINGTON, VA.--The humid haze of early summer lay hot and heavy on Washington, D. C., but here across the river, under the oak trees, the air was fresh and cool.

"The little girl sat on a folding chair, her mother on one side and her older brother on the other. The child's face was blank and bemused, almost dazed. Around her stood a thousand others. Closer in, a score of men with cameras crept and scuttled and snapped their shutters at her.

"In the center of the crowd, just in front of the girl and her brother and her mother, stood six soldiers. They held an American flag stiffly over the casket in which the little girl's father was to be buried.

"All around stood the small white headstones. Closest to the new grave, they marked men from New Mexico, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Minnesota, North Carolina.

"'In the midst of life,' the preacher said, 'we are in death... he cometh up and is cut down like a flower.' A big airliner, just airborne from the nearby field, drowned out the rest of the prayer, and the little girl twisted her feet and looked up, trying to see the plane.

"Something touched the girl's hand and she looked down. It was her mother's hand, seeking hers and enfolding it.

"The words went on, but the little girl seemed not to be listening. She sat still in her wide-skirted white dress, its color seeming brighter in contrast to the black clothes of all around her.

"A man's voice snapped out a muted command, higher up on the hill, and there was the rattle of rifle bolts, a warning in the quiet. But neither the child nor her mother seemed to have heard this, for the crash of the three volleys shattered their composure.

"Then, from above, came the long sad sweet notes of taps, just 24 notes in all. The bugler stood over the crest of the hill, out of sight of graveside, and it was probably just as well. Surely no man could play those notes every day, as this one must, if he had also to look at those who have to listen.

"The little girl wept for the first time now, as did her mother. The boy gave his sister a clean handkerchief. She twisted it in her hands as other men spoke at the graveside.

"There were two men from the American Veterans Committee, which had long known the girl's father as a worker and a companion, and which only a fortnight ago had elected him to its national board. Their words seem not to touch the girl or her family, despite the sorrow in them and in the speakers.

"Then another man, the director of the organization for which her father worked, began to speak, and the little girl began to listen.

"This man did not pray or read from scriptures, as others had earlier. Instead, he spoke the words of the Declaration of Independence:

"'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.'

"He said that the man being buried 'believed in those principles' and that when the time came, he had put on his uniform and gone 'far from Decatur, Mississippi...to help a strange people who, like those he left behind, were threatened by racism.'

"He told how the little girl's father came home to Mississippi--to 'the land he refused to disown'--and how he turned down opportunities to move elsewhere.

"The speaker referred again to the Declaration of Independence, this time to its closing sentence. 'Every time he left his family,' he said, 'he too was offering his life, his fortune, his sacred honor. That offering was finally accepted. He believed in his country. It now remains to be seen whether his country believes in him.'

"When the speaker finished, another man stepped forward and led the crowd in a hymn--the only one sung. It was a song the little girl's father had often led at home:

"'We shall all be free;
We shall all be free;
We shall all be free--someday;
Oh, deep in my heart
I do believe
We shall all be free--someday.'

"Now the little girl wept again, and then, looking at her mother and seeing her weeping too, sobbed aloud and clung to her uncle's arm. He lifted her into his lap.

"The six soldiers at the grave, moving for the first time in a half hour, silently and in intricate pattern folded the flag. Silently they passed it to a chaplain; silently he took it to the widow. She hugged it to her, seeing nothing as the chaplain saluted her and turned away.

"Then the little girl and her brother and her mother were taken away, leaving their father and husband under the oak trees with the others who, like him, earned in war their right to lie there.

"In a few weeks, he too will have a little headstone, with an inscription like all the thousands of others on the hills and in the hollows under the trees. His will say: Medgar Evers, Mississippi."

WB RTB BW JL LG JS

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

January, 1964

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS

SRC ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY 29-30

The 1963 SRC Annual Meeting (cancelled because of the assassination of President Kennedy) will now be held in Atlanta January 29-30. Council presidents have been invited to attend. SRC pays all Atlanta expenses, state Councils are responsible for travel. Please do everything possible to encourage Council presidents to be present. We think the opportunity to see SRC at work and to have presidents meet each other well worth the effort and cost.

PLANS FOR 1964 MEETING OF STAFF

Tentatively, the 1964 meeting of Councils on Human Relations staff will be held at Black Mountain, N.C., at the Blue Ridge Assembly June 15-19. Please reserve these dates now. We hope to have a week-long meeting with plenty of opportunity for work and relaxation. Finances permitting, we also hope to have meetings of state presidents, local Council leaders, etc.. Your ideas on this meeting are welcomed, and needed.

PROGRAM IDEAS FOR 1964

FLORIDA COUNCIL TRIES NEW APPROACH TO ORGANIZATION

On October 5 the Executive Committee of the Florida Council voted to emphasize the establishment and growth of local Councils and to have the Executive Director and state office concentrate on servicing the needs and requests of local groups. This new emphasis was interpreted to the Council on November 2 at a meeting of delegates and presidents of all local Councils.

As a part of the new emphasis membership fees were abolished. An individual may now join FCHR simply by signing a statement indicating support of the objectives of the organization. Voluntary pledging will replace dues as a basis of financial support. The potential success of this approach was demonstrated in Palm Beach when that chapter held its annual dinner in late November. Over 300 persons attended the dinner held at the Palm Beach Towers Hotel; 178 persons joined FCHR and pledged over $5,000 for support of the 1964 program. On a statewide basis, FCHR now has approximately 1,200 members (from 501 in July) who have pledged $12,253 in support.

The Florida Council experiment will be watched closely and the results will be shared with all.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ANNOUNCES STATEWIDE MEETING OF LAWYERS AS FIRST IN A SERIES OF MEETINGS OF PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

The following is a news release issued by VCHR on this new program:

"Lawyers who are concerned about constructive approaches to current tensions in race relations in Virginia are being invited to a one-day consultation at the Executive Motor Hotel in Richmond on Saturday, January 11.

"Principal speaker of the day will be Assistant U.S. Attor-

ney General Burke Marshall, who will discuss current aspects of civil rights litigation and legislation.

"Invitations which are being issued say that a large number of lawyers have expressed concern about future developments in the field of race relations throughout the nation and, particularly, in Virginia. The letter to lawyers is signed by a 'Special Invitation Committee' composed of former deans F. D. G. Ribble of the University of Virginia Law School and Dudley Woodbridge of the William & Mary School of Law, and by former Senator Armistead L. Boothe of Alexandria.

"Panel discussions will focus on 'Respect for Law and Order and for Our Judicial System'; 'Bi-Racial Committees'; and 'The Bar and the Community.' Among the panelists will be two Greensboro, N.C. attorneys, W. O. Conrad, General Superintendent of the North Carolina Western Electric Company, and Percy L. Wall.

"Chairmen of the panel discussions will be Robert Millman, Harry L. Cohn, S.W. Tucker, Richard Ballard, and Lewis T. Booker, all Richmond attorneys.

"Although the consultation is planned and will be conducted by lawyers, the January 11 meeting is announced as 'the first of a series of such consultations sponsored by the Virginia Council on Human Relations, seeking to bring together leaders in the professions who exert unusual influence in their respective communities.'"

ALABAMA COUNCIL SPONSORS ESSAY CONTEST

The Alabama Council published the following advertisement in Alabama newspapers, announcing a state-wide essay contest in observance of Human Rights week:

In Observance of
Human Rights Week
proclaimed by President Lyndon B. Johnson
December 10-17

ESSAY CONTEST
FOR
HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
IN ALABAMA

'HUMAN RIGHTS...
THE AMERICAN DREAM'

* $100 First Prize
* $50 Second Prize
* $25 Third, Fourth and Fifth Prizes

Write 500 words or less on any subject dealing with individual rights as guaranteed in the Constitution of the State of Alabama and the Constitution of the United States.

Essays will be judged on originality, grasp of subject, neatness, grammar. Entries must be postmarked on or before January 10, 1964. Winners to be announced at 10th Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, February 1, 1964.

Mail Entries to:
ALABAMA COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2121 Building
Birmingham, Alabama (35203)

PROGRAM FOR YOUTH

Several Councils sponsor work with children and young people. In Northern Virginia a successful kindergarten and day camp is conducted for underprivileged children. In Dade County (Miami), Florida, a group of concerned persons have organized a program, Wider Horizons. Here follows their description of this important program:

"Wider Horizons is a community effort to broaden the cultural and educational experiences of Dade County's culturally deprived children.

"It is composed of thoughtful citizens, willing to give their time and talents in order that these children have greater opportunities to enlarge and understand their own capabilities. The volunteers participate in activities ranging from driving a car full of students to the Lowe Art Gallery, to teaching kindergarten two mornings a week.

"The following programs form the nucleus of Wider Horizons:

"1) Tutoring - Housewives, college students, chemists, all sit side by side in the Community Schools, helping with reading, multiplication tables or other problems.

"2) Field trips - Groups are driven to places of interest in the community to better acquaint them with their environment and widen their interests.

"3) Lyceum classes - Small groups of students meet with a leader in the Community Schools, to discuss problems that interest or concern them in their education, relations with society, or the arts. New concepts are introduced to stimulate creative thinking.

"4) Kindergartens - Non-profit pre-schools, taught by experienced volunteers, give youngsters a pleasant introduction to formal education, and ready them for first grade."

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL HAS FIELD REPRESENTATIVE SPECIALIZING IN RURAL PROGRAMS

The South Carolina Council, in cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund, employs Mr. L. S. James as a specialist in rural work. Recently, 245 persons attended a conference on Farmer Cooperatives and Job Training, jointly sponsored by the two agencies. NSF is interested in exploring the possibility of assisting other State Councils in establishing programs of this nature. SCCHR recently issued the following guide for local Councils concerned with economics and employment, especially in the rural and small town areas.

PURPOSE: To improve economic status, especially of low-income families.

To promote vocational and technical training and job placement based on merit.

PROPOSED PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS: Suggestions to groups and to individuals:

1. Become informed about available job training opportunities.
   a. Technical Education Centers in S.C.
   b. High School and Area Trade School vocational educational courses
   c. Courses under the Area Redevelopment Act (ARA)
   d. Courses under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA)
   e. Educational provisions of the National Defense Act, Title VIII Courses

2. See that all unemployed and underemployed persons (those with families and annual incomes of $1,200 or less) register at nearest local employment service office for both training and work.

3. Work closely with schools, especially with guidance and vocational education teachers.
   a. Help to inform and raise aspiration levels of youth and of parents
   b. Assist with "Career Day," chapel programs, field trips, "Big Brother" assignments, etc.

4. Request feasibility studies
   a. For training classes
   b. For "cooperatives" where they seem to be needed.

5. Recruit trainees and employees for jobs and training in non-traditional areas.

6. Seek new job openings for disadvantaged youth and adults.
   a. In government at all levels
   b. In voluntary agencies and institutions
   c. In private business and industry.

7. Encourage and assist cooperating employers and employees.

8. Make and carry out plans for local economic development.
   a. By serving on local ARA committees and making Overall Economic Development Plans (OEDP)
   b. By initiating new business and industrial ventures--to provide new jobs and raise the per capita and total income level.

ON 1964...

From this "comfortable Atlanta office" we would like to report that we strode confidently into 1964, modestly pleased with our accomplishments of 1963 and with an absolute determination of what we could and should accomplish in the new year. But we cannot. 1963 ended abruptly without any consideration of our convenience. 1964 simply happened while we were brooding over what had not been done. Such as...

In Virginia, we didn't do enough to help Happy Lee get off to a running start on his ambitious and wise program to raise an additional $50,000 within the state and increase his membership to 5,000...

In North Carolina, we haven't found an ideal replacement to continue the work of our beloved colleague, Harry S. Jones...

In South Carolina, we haven't been much help to Alice Spearman in her determination to strengthen the SCCHR structure and expand membership beyond the present (and commendable) 900 plus...

In Georgia, we haven't given Frances Pauley a magic formula, or enough assistance, in her efforts to have meaningful programs in South Georgia...

In Florida (where some think we've spent a lot of time!) we haven't given enough assistance to helping Lou Mitchell get started with his bold new experiment...

In Alabama, we haven't done well in trying to insulate Norman Jimerson against the intolerable atmosphere of that state...

In Tennessee, we did very little to see that Kay Jones was successful in getting a stronger base of local support...

In Arkansas, we encouraged Nat Griswold in what was to become a very successful year, but we failed to follow-up what we started...

In Kentucky, we didn't give enough attention to the efforts of a good group of people who are trying to re-organize the KCHR...

In Mississippi, we did precious little to help that courageous group...

In Texas, we never did get back to Houston...

In Louisiana, we never did....

Be that as it may, we honestly feel that you had a good year.

Where are we--all of us--at the beginning of 1964? The concept of helping to achieve the decent society through Councils on Human Relations is a sound and workable one, perhaps the soundest and most workable of all the commendable programs being conducted. And there is now some real momentum toward decency. In even the most difficult situations there is some inkling that some of the people can respond to the best rather than the worst of society. This is our hope and our opportunity for 1964. A realistic consideration of what was not done in 1963 may indicate some of the specifics which should be done in 1964. But in its most basic terms we simply must try to be a part of and increase the momentum toward decency which is the reality of 1964. Perhaps we can even muse that, while being aware we are not indispensable to it, we helped to create that momentum. The important thing is that we choose to be a part of it in 1964.

Our sincere good wishes to all of you.

THE CHANGING MIND OF THE SOUTH: THE EXPOSED NERVE

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Southern Regional Council

I

I PREMISE THAT THERE has been such a thing as a southern folk, clearly if not definably more a single people than any other Americans, composed of two grades of persons, both of whom have been truly part of the same folk, and yet one of whom, the Negro Southerners, because they were ruled by the other did not sense and hallow as did the whites their folk integrity and their distinctness from the rest of the nation. And because white Southerners have consciously known that they were set apart, they have struggled to define themselves, have striven for self-identity, and with every Cash or Percy—or Faulkner—asking "Who am I?" have moved nearer the point which comes in every self-examination, where discovery means either release or reunion.

Who is there who is not tired of this search, who would not rather give it up before he has to choose between release, and rejection, or recoil into the mind of the South, who would rather not stop short in self-discovery and become what history makes of him? And indeed, there has been a re-directing of the South's self-study. The intellectual and artistic concern is changing, has changed, from a deep, self-combative hoeing and chopping of souls and history and eternity, and toward commitment to the active issues of the day. The dark, Faulknerian, problems recede.

The classic interpreters of the South began with the conviction that there was a "South" and a "Southerner," and they hunted for definitions. Because the interpreters were themselves Southerners, dredging their prey up through their memories and revealing it as a Protean substance, their definitions were never abstract, and they never tired of examining countless aspects. Nor did they, however, ever yield the belief that something constant and essential lay under the aspects. The Southerner was to be known as a being, and not an active one at that. Only the public figures of the South defined

themselves in activity, and the interpreters tended to be less interested in them than in regarding the South's election of them as another aspect of the essential being which needed to be pondered. The essential Southerner acted occasionally, savagely and without premeditation, and this proclivity of his was another aspect to be explained. But except for this, the Southerner "was"; he did not, since the Civil War, "do."

Our preoccupation today is with how Southerners do and will act. For this is a time of testing. We are re-learning an old truth, which historians have nearly always known and social scientists have frequently forgotten, that men reveal themselves more accurately through their action than through their established feelings, opinions, and beliefs.

Another change has occurred as well. Cash, writing as late as 1941, was not really much attentive to Negro Southerners, and Percy, writing also in 1941, could say that he was "usually in a condition of amazed exultation over the excellent state of race relations in the South." James Agee, almost the quintessential New Dealer, took only an occasional and not seriously interested glance at the Negro neighbors of his white Alabama sharecroppers. Of the classic writers, only Lillian Smith had the greatness to wrestle with what the others saw, but passed by, and that was the centrality of race to the southern self-consciousness[1]

In fact, not until the sit-in movement began in Greensboro in 1960 did the "mind" of Negroes become of conscious interest to white Southerners, in the sense that an active awareness began that the southern consensus had to include Negro values and desires. Even in the titanic controversies after 1954, the actors—those who were conspicuously making history—were almost always white: Senator Byrd, Governor Faubus, and the other captains of massive resistance. Negroes appeared only as a shadowy mass, from whom now and then emerged an impersonal lawyer or a poker-faced schoolchild walking through white faces lit with expression. The state of North Carolina might well put one of its historical markers at that

[1]W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South.* N. Y., 1941. W. A. Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee.* N. Y., 1941; the quotation is from p. 286 of the 1959 reprinting. James Agee, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.* N. Y., 1960; the book was written in the late 1930's. Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream.* N. Y., 1949 (revised edition 1961).

dime store in Greensboro: here is where, after more than three centuries, the white and the Negro South were finally met.

In result, they have learned to know each other better. One Negro civil rights leader remarked to me that southern racial relations in the past had been like an unfaithful marriage, which could be preserved only by the two parties not speaking the truth to each other. Negro Southerners are today speaking the truth to their white neighbors. If white Southerners can learn to live with this truth, the marriage can be continued, and may even become a fruitful one. Still today, no Southerners are more bred to the essence of the region's distinctive history, manners, and outlook than are the Negroes. If Dixie is not yet ready for its epitaph, it will be only because Negroes, freed of illegitimacy, may give it new life.

For earlier white Southerners, even for those as late as Cash, a decision about racial policies was not socially crucial. Men had different opinions and beliefs, but these were like other personal preferences, or even convictions, that were tolerable by the folk. Southern racial relations were like Hinduism, able to absorb and contain many changes and interests and ideas. The advent of industrialization, the steady immigration of non-Southerners, the growth of learning, the magnification of cities—all had come and had modified the old patterns and would surely in time overthrow them. But the endurance—what a Southerner might call the "cussedness"—of the old ways was remarkable.

But now this changes, and I know no better way to illustrate the change at its profoundest — though infrequently perceived — level than by contrasting Faulkner with that present-day southern writer who, in surface aspects, is most like him. The genius of Faulkner was such that he was able to suffuse his characters in life and individuality even though, in fact, they were little more than marionette's. They were held in the hand of God, but that hand which controlled them kept them in ceaseless confrontation with their home, i.e., with southern history, and in it they defined themselves. Miss Flannery O'Connor's characters are also marionettes and also in the grasp of God. They are Southerners too, but this is only an artist's detail. They could be anyone, they are caught directly, as simple individuals, in the human predicament, and they act diretcly to meet it, not, as Faulkner's characters always did, as Southerners, but as mere people.

Fundamentally, this is where Southerners find themselves today, forced to act directly without validating their acts against their history, much of which is sinking fast underneath them. Another southern writer, Allen Tate, in his novel *The Fathers*, depicts the deep psychological hurt felt by conservative Virginians in 1860-1861 when pressures from the cotton states and from the North were mysteriously pushing Virginia into severance from the government in Washington, of which over the years since 1787 they had come to feel as proprietors. Something similar is happening today over the South, as men see institutions which they had thought were theirs (e.g., the churches, the town school), relationships which they had thought secure (e.g., mistress and maid), begin to take on new shape and purpose.

All this has meant that, for today's white Southerner, an explicit rationalizing of his views about race has become the most urgent of his intellectual and spiritual tasks, and that he has had to achieve it on his own, or with new referents. He has had to attune himself, harmoniously or discordantly, to the authoritative words and practices of institutions from outside his region, such as the federal government, national church bodies, national media, and even-in fact-Wall Street. Perhaps still a man living in a remote Black Belt county untouched as yet by racial controversy may be as unengaged as nearly all of us were but a few years past. But I suspect that no white man living now in a Danville or an Albany or a Birmingham can support himself either by mores or by Faulknerian brooding. For the strong segregationist, the mores will appear too mild when the protest comes; for nearly all men, the brooding will seem irrelevant.

It is astonishing how often a southern white liberal can date his acceptance of racial equality at some specific episode in his life, much as did the ex-Communists in *The God That Failed*[2] tend to date their break with Communism with a decisive, illuminating event. It is even more notable that almost every liberal can (and often does) recount the history of his changing attitudes. This sort of keen self-awareness occurs only with those life problems deeply and genuinely felt. Nevertheless, in accepting racial equality, the southern liberal does not typically reject the South. In Turgenev's

[2]Edited by R. H. S. Crossman, N. Y., 1949.

Fathers and Sons, when Bazarov's tolerance of an older conservative is asked—"you must take into account his upbringing as well as the times in which he lived the best part of his life"—, Barzarov exclaims: "His upbringing: Every man should educate himself. . . . As to the times, why should I depend upon them: Much better they should depend on me. No, brother, all that is just loose thinking, there's nothing solid behind it!" To a Southerner, if to no one else, this is questionable doctrine, because inadequate tolerance; and rightly or wrongly, the key word of southern liberalism has been "tolerance."

Southern liberalism deserves more serious study than it has had. What, in this context, is worth remarking is the long sustained refusal of southern liberals to repudiate the South, and this is one side of the tolerance which they have elevated above all other social virtues. Few liberals have acted out their beliefs. They do not try to enter their children in Negro schools, do not usually refuse to eat in segregated restaurants or worship in segregated churches, do not spontaneously and widely mingle socially with their Negro peers. This is not well described as either hypocrisy or timidity. It is something a good bit more basic. The general conformity of the liberal to social practices which he opposes is a mark of his dogged refusal to alienate himself from southern society. He has counted himself a Southerner, with an obligation to respect the community and, so far as possible, to keep it whole. He often will, in fact, contend (and not only from polemical motives) that he—and not the defenders of segregation—represents the core of southern traditions, and he will sometimes appeal to other values acknowledged to be "southern," such as "courage" or "manners" or "individuality, against the less venerable practice of segregation. The tenacity with which liberals hold to southern culture, while endeavoring to reform it, is a quality which cannot be measured, but it would seem at least as intense as the somewhat comparable spirit of the Benthamites and later Labourites in England; they too insisted on behaving as Englishmen as they went about changing the country.

On the whole, this attitude of respect toward the community is not alien to a great many of the Negro leaders. And on the whole, this shared attitude presents the only real possibility, for those of us who want one, of preserving the South as a cultural organism, and not merely as a cultivated, but mummified, memory, analogous to

New England. It is not a very strong possibility, though the relative poverty of the region may help along its chances: poverty is a strong folk-tie. I may be wrong and shortly proved so, but I see the white South today, outside the Black Belt but even there in some measure, as disposed, though often reluctantly, to accept more and more racial integration, but wanting also to keep the community much as it has been. I see Negro Southerners wanting equality desperately and angrily, but disposed to keep the community much as it has been, if they are admitted to it.

The South that Cash sought to track down was the white South, and, assuming that Cash found what he sought, it was unprepared for 1954. That South is still here. But because, being what it was and is, it stayed distant from the black South, called itself and itself only "the South," it has become an inert thing, a mere environment. Within this environment and against it, the southern leaders of today —the Negroes—act. It is the antithesis of motion against matter, and unless it can be cured there is not even a meager chance that the South will persevere. The white South is become an object, and only subjects can, even in a Faulknerian sense, endure.

II

Myrdal remarked that, "The intellectual energy spent on the Negro problem in America should, if concentrated in a single direction, have moved mountains."[3] In truth, almost the profoundest thing one can say about southern race relations is that it *is* an old problem, toughened and complicated and made wondrously intricate by age, which has confused its diagnosis, rendered uncertain its treatment, and obscures its prognosis. Ancient as it is, it has had changing definitions, and these have, in the past, been determined by the interests and policies of white people. As Myrdal put it,

> It is thus the white majority group that naturally determines the Negro's 'place.' All our attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the race line. In the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic. The Negro's entire life, and, consequently, also his opinions on the Negro problem,

[3]Gunnar Myrdal, et al., *An American Dilemma,* N. Y., 1944. p. 27.

are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority.[4]

This analysis was undeniably correct as an interpretation of the pre-1945 period; it is no longer so. Beginning about the close of World War II, the power to determine the Negro's "place" began to shade off from white control. Today, the Negro grip on the levers of social change is secure, and much more firm than the remnants of white direction.

The race relations policy of the southern white leadership from 1619 until Reconstruction, and from about 1890 until the 1940's, was governed by the objective, *How to get the maximum satisfaction from the Negro population.* The policy was pursued in economic, political, and social relationships, frequently with unsuccess. This fairly unanimously held single policy has, in the years since the 40's, been both losing adherents and singleness of application; the growth of Negro votes combined with pressures from Washington are forcing on our public life policies markedly more progressive than those which still dominate our churches and other more or less privately determined activities. Perhaps only in Mississippi today is there near unanimity about racial policy. But it is not the old policy of maximum satisfaction. Instead, it is, *How to maintain white control of the institutions of society.* At least, Negroes are not regarded as instruments and tools, but as antagonists. That, in itself, is a higher status.

If initiative has passed from the white majority to the Negro minority, the principal cause has been the success of Negroes in achieving a new and more stable self-knowledge. The dilemma—intellectual, emotional, political—of the Negro, especially the Negro male, has always been the problem of identity.[5] A man's valuation

[4]Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. li.

[5]There has been a lot of recent writing on this subject, mostly by non-southern interpreters. See the three books of essays by James Baldwin: *Notes of a Native Son.* Boston, 1955; *Nobody Knows My Name.* N. Y., 1961; *The Fire Next Time.* N. Y., 1963. Essays in the first book are of uneven quality and interest, but some of them and all of the two later books are superb and required reading for insight into the Negro revolt. For the latter reason only, so too is Louis Lomax, *The Negro Revolt.* N. Y., 1962. See also the excellent book by Harold I. Isaacs, *The New World of Negro Americans.* N. Y., 1963. Isaacs has an especially interesting essay in *Encounter,* August, 1963: "Blackness and Whiteness." One scientific inquiry is B. P. Karon, *The Negro Personality.*

of himself is derived and sustained by his reading of other people's assessment of him, and at all times in a person's life there are some "other people" whom he regards as the most authoritative assessors. Because of history and color, Negroes for centuries got maddeningly confusing reports whenever they inquired of their society, "Who am I?"

With some notable variations, they adopted the social values and standards of the dominant white society. For generations, Negro Southerners had no sustained insight into white society beyond their own neighborhood, and they consequently shaped their self-portrait through the terms of local opinion. The past three or four decades have been a time, even for rural Negroes, of awareness of a larger universe of values and authoritative opinions, and increasingly they have tended to disregard local definitions in preference for more favorable nation-wide and world-wide judgments of their worth. But even in the old days, the answer to their question, "Who am I?", was far from clear. The Christianity they had been taught affirmed some things so surely that not even the utmost ingenuity of white pastoral apologists could altogether obscure them. The grand generalities of American democracy seeped into their consciousness. Their white neighbors behaved toward them with contradictory manners, producing what was (and, to a large extent, still is) surely one of the most weirdly implausible patterns of human relations ever observed. And always, Negroes were accompanied by a few stereotypes which sprang easily into the minds of white persons, even those a Negro might regard as friends, and displaced the actual Negro person they knew—or thought they knew.

The stereotypes were and are the damning judgments of white society on Negro identity. What is happening today is that Negroes are disowning the stereotypes, the white man's creations, are refusing any longer to acknowledge themselves to *be* what the white man said

N. Y., 1958; its findings and methods aroused some dispute. As a stranger to psychology I hesitate to cite writings in this field but from a dilletantish reading I might mention three pieces which were suggestive to me: Robert Coles, "Serpents and Doves: Non-Violent Youth in the South" (in Erik H. Erikson, ed., *Youth: Change and Challenge.* N. Y., 1963). Lewis W. Jones, "Negro Youth in the South" (in Eli Ginzberg, ed., *The Nation's Children,* Vol. 3, N. Y., 1960); D. C. Wilson and E. M. Lantz, "The Effect of Culture Change on the Negro in Virginia, as Indicated by a Study of State Hospital Admissions," *American Journal of Psychiatry,* July, 1957.

they were. White Southerners are confronted with a blunt demand from the Negro that he be accepted on his terms: *and this is the crucial problem of race relations today*. For years, whites have decreed that Negroes must think of themselves as the whites thought of them. Negroes now are insisting that the white majority revise its opinion of them in accord with their own, newly fashioned self-conception.

Negroes found that in the same European-American culture which had relegated them to inferiority, white supremacy had become a strand of that culture which "tends to wear away protective strata, to break down its own defenses, to disperse the garrisons of its entrenchment." The words are Schumpeter's,[6] and taken from a context which, though not analogous, is suggestive. Some other words of his are exactly applicable to contemporary Negro agitation: "Secular improvement that is taken for granted and coupled with individual insecurity that is acutely resented is of course the best recipe for breeding social unrest."[7] A concatenation of economic and educational factors, supported haphazardly and minimally by politics, produced the secular improvement; another array of political, emotional, and social circumstances caused and kept strong the individual insecurity. The social unrest is a direct outcome of the combination, and is given its specific form and intensity through the re-infusion of ideas and values into American culture by a constantly growing number of educated Negroes who have derived these ideas and values from the cultural property of western white peoples, the terms of whose inheritance require them to admit non-whites with whom they come into regular communication to equal shares in the property.

III

Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address by recalling that "four-score and seven years ago" there had been brought forth "a new na-

[6]A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, 3rd edition. N. Y., 1950, p. 143. Schumpeter's brilliant analysis (pp. 121-164) around the theme of capitalism's "crumbling walls" illuminates racial unrest throughout the world. As capitalism sponsored its own intellectual and emotional opposition, so European-American culture has sown the denials of its own privileges.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 145.

tion conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." If, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, we look back four score and seven years, we confront a less happy and auspicious event: 1876, the year when Hayes defeated Tilden, or Tilden defeated Hayes, whichever it was. Hayes became President through the Compromise of 1877, and for the next 70 years or so the white South was left alone by the nation in its policies and in its relationships toward Negro citizens.

The Civil War had freed the slaves and preserved the union. It had, besides, put on two Amendments to the Constitution—the 14th and 15th—which in the years after 1876 would be, as to Negroes, well nigh meaningless: four generations of Negro and white Southerners would come and go and live without acknowledging that Negroes could and should vote, or that laws should give them equal protection. The Civil War, moreover, left all these people in a ravished region, where men would get used to desperate poverty. The War and its aftermath made the South feel its spiritual and cultural separation from the rest of the nation more keenly even than before.

Then, earlier, and now, we have defined "the South" by its differences from the rest.

Southerners and non-Southerners have been, in fact, much alike. White men everywhere ruled, and Negroes were subservient, and treated as inferiors. Society belonged—and still largely does—to the white man. Protestants ruled, dominating the economic and cultural and political life of the nation. Society placed a high sentimental value on farm or small-town culture and people, and long after the bulk of our population moved into cities the rural districts kept political power. And North and South, East and West, we all believed that *any* man who worked hard could get ahead.

These common qualities of American life, native both to the South and the non-South, are dissolving. And the present crisis in the South, which became acute in 1954, does not result from traditional differences from the nation; it results instead from the dissolution of things which have in the past united us.

Six landmark dates conveniently illustrate the changes. Although they affect the whole nation they are a special challenge to the South. Somebody—Arthur Koestler, I think—once spoke of the Jews as

humanity's exposed nerve, feeling first and most sharply all the troubles and pains. Sometimes one feels that the South is America's exposed nerve, and that issues which are national in scope are most intense, or at least most apparent, here.

There was 1944, and *Smith v. Allwright,* and the ensuing erosion of the white monopoly of power to make political decisions. There was 1954, and *Brown v. Topeka,* which in its deeper import signified that the civic institutions of American society could no longer be operated as if they were the property of one race, and which, in its application since the New Rochelle case,[8] has upset the North as well as the South. There was 1960, and confirmation that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the country's highest decisions. There was 1962, and *Baker v. Carr,* and the consequent remarkably fast crumbling of the rural fortress of political power.

There was 1940, the last year before our entry into World War II, the last year of a peace-time economy. After seven years of prodigious effort by the New Deal, unemployment in the United States was 14.6% of the working force. We went into the war and unemployment virtually ceased. We came out of the war and unemployment stayed low while the country was busily engaged in converting to peace-time needs. We had a recession in 1948, and the next year unemployment shot up to 5.9%. We went into the Korean fighting, and again unemployment declined. We had another recession in 1954, and unemployment was up again. We had yet another recession in 1958, and this time unemployment really rose—to 6.8% of the working force of this country. After each recession, recovery was slower. There has been little improvement since, and President Kennedy in March 1963, called unemployment our "number 1 economic problem," and reported that it was still about 6%; the rate for August 1963 was a seasonal 5.5%. Many economists believe that the government's way of computing unemployment seriously minimizes its extent.[9]

Neither the policies of Republican nor Democratic administra-

[8]*Taylor v. New Rochelle,* 195 F. Supp. 231, 294 F. 2d. 36 (1961).

[9]See chapter 4 of the *Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training,* U. S. Department of Labor, 1963. The statistics above are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1962, p. 215, except for the 1963 ones, which come from news reports.

tions have, as yet, been able to lick this problem. Unemployment is high despite the boosting of the economy with huge expenditures for armaments and for space exploration; without those would we be back to the 14.6% unemployed of 1940?

Here we meet a tragic irony; as has happened in the past Negroes seem to be the victims not only of discrimination, but of impersonal history. After the first World War the country severely restricted the flow of immigrants from abroad. Up to then, American industry had grown by drawing on a boundless labor supply of European immigrants. With immigration drastically cut, industry met its need for new labor by drawing from the farms of America, including those of the South. Beyond this last large supply of white manpower, waited in economic succession the Negro. The tragic irony is that when his turn is come, the job market is declining. This is occurring in manufacturing and mining, chiefly, and these are fields which have been a gateway for new entrants into the free competition for economic advancement. No one seriously can continue to believe that America is for everyone now a land of opportunity where *any* man, unaided, can get ahead by dint of his own hard work. Some five to seven per cent or more of those people who want to work, find that there are no jobs, even though there is general prosperity in the country, and for the Negro the unemployment rate is about double that for whites.[10]

And, finally, there was 1947, when Mr. Truman appointed the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and later espoused its recommendations, even at the cost of a party split at the Democratic convention of 1948. No political act since the Compromise of 1877 has so profoundly influenced race relations; in a sense, it was the repeal of 1877. Among the consequences were (a) a shift of emphasis from Negro "uplift"—essentially a paternalistic approach—to civil rights, i.e., the achievement of more than nominal citizenship; (b) a renewal of the fateful rupture between South and non-South; and (c) the ensuing complications for economic and social reform by statute, so that, since 1948, law-making for domestic problems has fallen into desuetude.[11]

[10]See Charles E. Silberman, "The Businessman and the Negro," *Fortune*, September, 1963.

[11]The ability of southern Congressmen to act through concepts of the national interest, so long as they felt presently secure in race relations, made pos-

These six landmarks suggest, if I am not mistaken, that we shall have much more democracy in the United States. The price of that will be the ending of certain old ways and traditions. Groups who have led and controlled the country from its earliest days will have to accept a lessening of their influence. And if the South had trouble joining the old union—which, like it, was white, Protestant, and rural in its outlook and leadership—can it join this new union? The South was separated from the basically similar non-South of yesterday by a sharp enough cleavage; the new division would be a gulf.

To put it differently, the policies which Mississippi represents would not merely perpetuate North-South differences. The longer these policies are pursued, the greater becomes the alienation of Mississippi and the Black Belt generally from the American consensus. Just by standing pat, residents of these places will become strangers in their own land, because the nation as a whole is moving farther and farther from them.

IV

Over the years, Negro Southerners tried various methods of effecting change. They occasionally resorted to violence in the slave revolts of the ante-bellum period. During Reconstruction they sought the power of office. In Populist days they experimented—to their sorrow—with an electoral alliance with small farmers and mechanics. They tried the Booker T. Washington regimen of self-improvement, in the expectation that they would be accepted when their uplift was completed. They left the South, for the uncertain and often unrewarding North and West.

Finally—and with really their only success—they converted the political issue of equality into the Constitutional issue of equal rights. The "direct-action" movement has been a new force, and one of tremendous effect. It has produced results and it has unleashed and directed energies. Yet even its appeal has been to values thought to be in or implied by the Constitution, and the safety and success of the movement have been protected throughout by the procedural guarantees of the Constitution. The reform of the Negro question

sible the reforms of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. For an interesting case study, see I. A. Newby, "States' Rights and Southern Congressmen During World War I," *Phylon,* Spring 1963.

in the United States has been a striking instance of the effect of a constitution upon the life and events of a society. The constitution, created by the society, becomes a force which changes society.[12]

The Constitution becomes a revolutionary instrument, for Negroes, being political outcasts, have had to combat the government, and not merely the government of the day. Nowhere yet in the old Confederacy does a politically representative body debate and settle on policy, except in two circumstances: to shore up the legal defences of segregation; or to circumscribe as closely as possible the scope of a judicial decree when defiance is considered inexpedient. Nowhere has a deliberative body accepted the premise that social change is necessary or inevitable, and that action to guide that change is its responsibility.

None has done so, because southern political theory has been incapacitating. Although formal democracy has been in short supply in the South, the tone and practice of southern politics has been democratic almost to an extreme—among the whites. Probably no where else in the country have there been closer personal relationships between voters and representatives, at all levels of government. But a democracy which is short on formal controls and efficient methods of obtaining popular consensus, and which puts a high value on informal means of effecting accountability, is going to be a conservative society. And when not all the inhabitants are constituents, the conservatism will be, in fact, defensiveness. Thus both the democratic and the conservative spirits of the South combined to defend the folk, its monopoly of power and its cultural integrity. There is nothing to deliberate about, and to do so is betrayal. There is no relief from this paralysis except through an enlarged Negro vote, and a few municipalities of the South are already tasting this emancipation.

We may well ask again whether, when a conflict runs deep, democratic politics and its institutions can solve it. If the southern conflict is being resolved, it is because it was possible to appeal it to a constitution, whose first principle is that it itself is enforceable law. There is still some life left in the old maxim that democracy

[12]cf. the interesting analysis by Gerhard Loewenberg, "The British Constitution and the Structure of the Labour Party," *American Political Science Review*, September, 1958.

requires agreement on fundamentals, although it may more accurately be this: that democratic politics cannot be counted on to bridge deep chasms of opinions and values unless undergirded by a fundamental authority (e.g., a self-enforcing constitution) which is independent of parties and legislatures.

Impersonal causes—the boll weevil, farm technology and chemicals, faster-paced industrialization, communications media, and still others—re-arranged the roots of southern life after World War I. But human action did not, until the last decade.

Now Southerners are not only being moved by their environment, but are revising themselves and their manners of living with and getting along with each other. Events and change are pell-mell, and unpredictable. Whatever we say, we must say most tentatively. I note, therefore, that the case has often, even usually, been that white Southerners can and do change their racial mores when inescapably confronted by a community-wracking situation to which they must respond in one way or another. But I note further that this has not been invariably so; witness, e.g., Albany (Ga.). Those places, however, which have refused to yield to the Negro demands, modest as they often have been in the South, have been able to do so only through techniques of suppression which tear at precepts of the Constitution. They have maltreated the right of assembly, denigrated the supremacy of federal law, whored the police powers of the states.

The Negro demands have been within the Constitution. The Negro methods have been within the liberties and privileges of the Constitution; only occasionally have they violated the rules of the game. Southern communities have been tested, therefore, not only in their customs and morality, but in their understanding of and affection for the Constitution. Those many which have accommodated, and have stepped into the currents of change, have shown to us that the feelings men have do not necessarily determine their actions or reactions; that when confronted with practical choices, men discover themselves more accurately than they had before. I have to leave to others the scientific analysis,[13] but I believe we

[13]Which is, of course, being supplied. The point of view I have here expressed is consistent with that of Allport and his supporters. See, e.g., Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Personality and Sociocultural Factors in Intergroup Attitudes: a Cross-National Comparison," *Conflict Resolution*, March 1958; and "Regional

can see the mind of the white South changing through the action of the black South and the accommodating reaction of the white South, and that a new South is shaping itself through history-making, and not through history-consciousness.

Success breeds hard problems, and it seems to me that the Negro movement is courting two very serious ones. There is disquieting evidence that a great many Negroes, naturally imbued with the excitement and the power of having led America's first sustained experiment in government by the street, are oblivious to the fact that their guiding rule and their indispensable ally has been the Constitution. Secondly, the availability of the political process has been so long withheld from them that they may not learn soon to value it.

I see little or no prospect for rational answers to America's or the South's racial woes unless the channels of politics are opened up for their resolution, by Congress and by the states. This means a steady transference of issues from court to legislature. The Constitution has done its work, and the way is cleared to reach decisions through consensus. For the long run, *Baker v. Carr* may be the avenue through which Negroes, under the leadership and representation of new, political types, may bring racial issues finally into political settlement. In the nature of things, the South's practical alternative to government by the street may include the price of a half dozen or more Adam Clayton Powells, but that is democracy's age-old exaction.

In the meantime, we can note that any government has but three possible postures toward the question of racial equality: in favor, opposed, or neutral. The political theory of the South has for more than three centuries been grounded on the principle of white supremacy. It has been the cardinal doctrine. If, then, southern state governments were to follow the lead already given by some municipalities, and move from opposition to neutrality, this would be a truly historic change.

Differences in Anti-Negro Préjudice," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* July 1959, From the former: "The success of the movement in the South does not depend—this hypothesis would contend—on changing the deeply ingrained orientations of prejudice-prone personalities; rather, it rests on the effectiveness with which racial integration now going on in the South can restructure the mores to which so many culturally intolerant southerners conform."

In fact, the border states have already moved beyond neutrality,[14] and have begun incorporating into their public policy commitments favoring equality. And of even greater historic moment, some of the old Confederacy states have begun the withdrawal of state power from the defense of segregation and inequality.

This seems to me the *sine qua non* for the preservation of the South, as a community of persons acknowledging a common heritage. There must be an end to governmental hostility toward Negro advance, and acceptance of a political theory which sees government as neutral toward the competing aspirations of all economic and social elements. Such theory has been a commonplace in American national politics since at least Theodore Roosevelt. It will have to be established in the South and will have to be founded on the conditional truth that neutrality of the governmental power has to exist if there is to be order. Hobbes may not have said the last word in political philosophy, but he did say the first: power should be independent of the competition of private interests, and, because of its recognition of the equal potential threat of every person to public order, must acknowledge the equality of rights.

V

Let us say only that as long as a large number of people sense an identity among themselves, the South as a specific, self-conscious culture will endure. As was said at the start of this essay, who is there who is not tired of struggles for more definitive answers?[15] Perhaps I could venture that a Southerner is a person who feels, as against all other people, that he is the more moral, using that word in its broadest meaning of being spiritually fit for life as it is. But this would say no more than that the Southerner shares a widespread conceit. Perhaps it would mean more if I said that the Southerner is someone who can recognize that he has lost every argument about good and evil he has ever had—and he's had a lot

[14]Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia have all legislated some minimal standards and mediation procedures for racial relations, and the governor of Kentucky has gone further with a sweeping executive order.

[15]I have been privileged to read a draft of the forthcoming book of James McBride Dabbs, whose *The Southern Heritage* (N. Y., 1958) is the likeliest candidate of recent years to stand beside the classic interpretations of Cash and Lillian Smith. Dabbs has *not* tired of the search.

—yet he *still* feels himself somehow more moral, again in the broadest meaning.

But it is safer to come back to the simple test of identification. The deepest wisdom in human relations is to accept a man as whatever he names himself. Ten years from now, or 20, will people living between the Potomac and the Rio Grande still identify themselves with each other, still feel worthwhileness in calling themselves Southerners?

I don't know. But I think we all do know some things that bear on the answer.

We know, most importantly, that politics is the way a people conducts its affairs, and that politics not only serves a group of people pragmatically but gives it unity, helps make of it a community. When the political processes cannot handle the affairs of the people, and when to settle grievances men have to act outside those processes, the polity is always hurt, sometimes to the point of death. Both Negroes and intense segregationists, including segregationist officials, have felt that they must take their causes outside the normal processes of politics.

The South is a little place. It cannot act greatly, and its survival means hardly anything to the world. Except that, as I have tried to argue, the only way it can, in fact, survive is to do something that *would* matter to the world, and that is to become a rarity, a bi-racial community at peace with itself. It can do so, I think, only by integrating Negroes into its political processes.

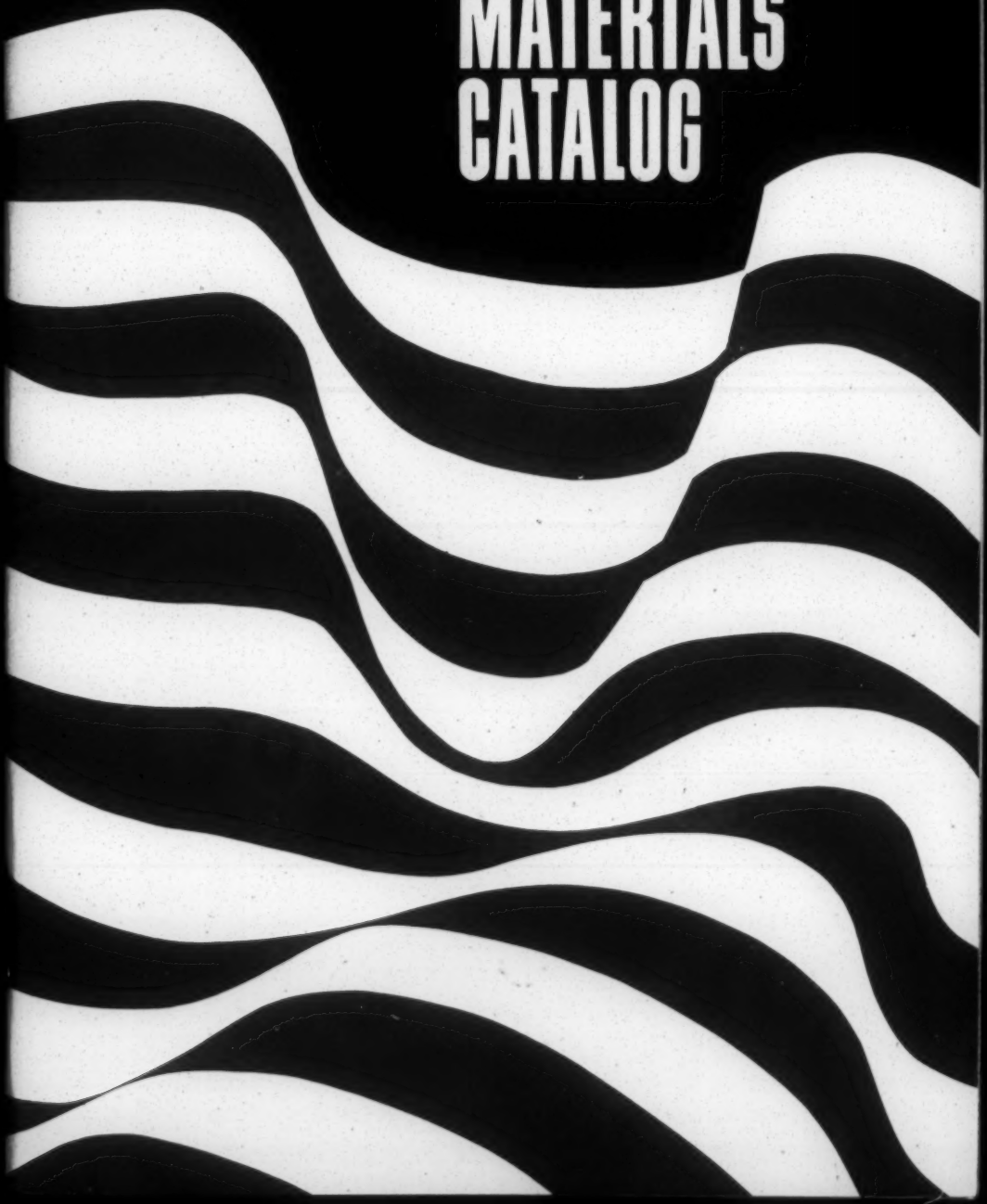
Southern politics is just now, as usual, full of curious things. Mississippi is experimenting with a Soviet style government, with the Citizens Council paralleling the state machine in emulation of a successful Communist Party. Southern governors have become the *de facto* executive directors of the state chambers of commerce, and spend their time competing with each other as supplicants for new plants. We have talked of state socialism and state capitalism, but what do we call governments whose chief affair it is to entice and propitiate business? And all over the South, battle lines draw close to each other, portentous of an epic contest which may never occur in any explicit, decisive engagement, but which will, one way or another, reach to the innermost desires of the South.

For southern conservatism is blending now with that of the nation at large in spirited defense against the dissolution of the old

unities of American life. Southern liberalism has, and this is its good luck, no choice but to accept the Negro's cause as its own. The pains of the warfare between those who are rebelling against 300 years of history and those who want to move more rapidly into the future, will probably be most acutely felt in the South; it is the South's ancient calling to deflect pain and guilt from the rest of the nation.

Negroes have hymned the American dream, but only its battle-cries. There are other parts of it and, if we read our history honestly, the Birchites and lesser breeds within the law are responsive to them. A "nice" home; people like ourselves; Jesus, and "our" church; the righteousness of property. America is on its way, not to a confrontation with its dream, but to a study of it, a mining of its content. The cutting edge of one drill is the radical right, and the other is the Negroes. It is in the South that each will probably cut most deeply. We are likely to learn a lot about ourselves, these next few years, as the drills cut away.

'64 DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN MATERIALS CATALOG



11/61

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director James M. Dabbs, President

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BLANDING, Roland Brawley Hall (Clark College) JA. 5-0339	0
BOND, Jane M. 2222 Telehurst Street, S. W. 753-6508	21
COOK, Bernice 401 Simpson Terrace, N. W. SY. 4-0587	0
DUNBAR, Leslie W. 1529 Berkely Lane, N. E. ME. 4-0182	22
FEAGANS, Janet 5 Forsyth Street, N. W. 522 - 8764	5
JOHNSON, Mildred F. 2706 Collier Drive, N. W. 799 - 8832	24
KNOX, Mrs. Luesta 1206 P'tree Street, N. E. Apartment A 2 874 - 5864	6
LEVINE, Jean 6455 Bridgewood Valley Rd., N. W. BL. 5-0112	26
LONG, Maggie 120 LaFayette Drive, N. E. TR. 4-5831	29
MANDERSON, Marge 1420 P'tree Street, N. E Apartment #4 TR. 5-6277	28
MORGAN, Nobbie H. Route 1, Box 10 Winston, Ga. WH. 2-4398	5
MILLER, Dottie 2222 Telehurst Street, SW 753-6508	21
~~MOSS, James A.~~ ~~25 Burbank Drive, N.W.~~ ~~753 - 1485~~	~~25~~
PATTERSON, Barbara 3955 Live Oak Drive Doraville, Ga. 451-1919	27
RILLING, Paul P. O. Box 1852 PO. 1 - 1406	20
SMITH, Janet 1073 W. P'tree St. N. E. Apartment # 2 TR. 6-4503	21
TILLY, Mrs. M. E. 1013 Highland View, N. E. TR. 2-2951	7
COLES, Robert, Dr. 35 Lombardy Way, N. E. 873-4485	

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Anthony, Paul
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return to VEP

MAY 31 1962

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Executive Secretary
*EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 28, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for your letter of May 22, 1962.

East Texas is certainly a strategic area in which to work in Texas. We certainly will be most happy to distribute educational material on the project.

For your information, I am enclosing an which was made by Mr. Gould Beech of the voting May 5th here in Harris County. Mr. Beech is a member of our organization and as he says he is "hep" on politics.

Anything that we can do, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Ethel Dumbauld
(Mrs.) George Dumbauld
Executive Secretary

Enclosure

CANDIDATES WHO HAD LIBERAL SUPPORT WON WHEN THE PUBLIC---

Knew the issues---and the candidates---

YARBOROUGH (first in Governor's Race)
KILGARLIN
COLE
ECKHARDT
WHITFIELD
ELLIOTT

CONSERVATIVES WON WHEN---

(a) They were incumbents---

Floyd
Grover
Garrison
Shipley
W. H. Miller
McDavid

(b) A combination of billboard and advertising money, and more people who were willing to "swallow the conservative icket whole", together with the growing strength of the John Birch Society and the F.I.A. made it possible for unknown conservatives to win---

Duggan
Whatley

IN THE RUN-OFF, TWO NEW LIBERALS ARE RUNNING FOR THE FIRST TIME---BASS and HARRISON, and face two CONSERVATIVES ALSO RUNNING FOR THE FIRST TIME: Keith and Shutt. A LIBERAL RUNNING FOR THE SECOND TIME, BROOKS, FACES A CONSERVATIVE RUNNING FOR THE SECOND TIME, Kohler.

WHY DID SO MANY OF THE LIBERAL LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES LOSE?

1. The growing strength of the John Birch-F.I.A. secret organizations. This has cut into Liberal strength in the North Side, East End, North Shore, Southeast and Pasadena boxes.

2. The fact that more Conservatives were incumbents.

3. The Lack of voting machines. 300 voting machines had been assigned the Republicans, and increased Republican voting made lines shorter in Conservative precincts which got their same pro-rata share of machines based on total registration.

4. Lines were longest at the predominantly Negro precincts.

   This contributed directly to the loss of some legislative positions to Conservatives; for example:

   CLYDE MILLER received a total of only 8,204 votes in the 41 predominantly Negro boxes.

   Only one-third of the Negro voters who voted in these 41 precincts voted for CLYDE MILLER.

   MILLER's opponent, Grover, received 1,883 votes in these same boxes, indicating that Conservatives can win support even for candidates whose records are so bad that the Houston Press opposes them!

   The real loyalty of Negro voters is shown by the fact that they voted 70% for YARBOROUGH!

   MILLER lacked only 4,400 votes of being elected.

SIGNIFICANT FACTS ABOUT BARBARA JORDAN'S CAMPAIGN:

1. MISS JORDAN got more votes than any other HCCO-HCD backed candidates except ECKHARDT and WHITFIELD, who are incumbents, and CLYDE MILLER, who had been in the Legislature previously and who was in a two-man race. (BARBARA JORDAN had two opponents, and in many predominantly Liberal boxes, Shock, a Church of Christ minister, split the vote.)

2. In the white boxes, those who voted for the HCD slate voted strongly for MISS JORDAN, and she trailed the other first-time candidates by only a small percentage. This was true in River Oaks, Box 135, where there are traditionally about 50 voters who vote for the Liberal candidates---MISS JORDAN got a few more votes than some of the other first-time candidates.

   It was true also in the North Side boxes, East End boxes, and Pasadena boxes.

3. Slightly more than half of all of the votes BARBARA JORDAN received came from white voters.

4. Only 47% of the registered Negro voters voted. Of these about 10% failed to vote for MISS JORDAN.

5. All of the first-time Liberal candidates either LOST, or are in run-offs---MISS JORDAN included. It was not a matter of Liberals electing other candidates and failing to support MISS JORDAN. BILL SHEAD, for example, got only 2,672 votes in the IDENTICAL white boxes than she did. HARRISON received 5,500 more, PHILPOT 5,800 more (despite the fact that he had organized support outside of the HCD).

6. The basic Liberal ticket would seem to have had about 28,000 votes in the white boxes. MISS JORDAN received all but 4,700 of these votes.

7. Where BARBARA JORDAN'S votes came from:

22,090	41	boxes
1,528	7	mixed boxes
22,773		white boxes

There is a growing effort to persuade Negro voters to join in supporting conservative and ultra-conservative candidates.

"The Liberals let BARBARA down" is being repeated by those who are leading the movement to get Negro support for Conservative candidates. There is no law which will prevent the spread of this lie. The facts, however, may help.

There is also some disappointment among those who backed losing Liberal candidates, who point out that MISS JORDAN received more than twice as many votes in white boxes than any of the other Liberal candidates received in Negro boxes.

Both arguments are pointl ss, and can only damage the cause of decency and fairness in government.

The important fact is that there is a big job to be done in the future in getting the issues to <u>all</u> voters.

###

HOW MANY PEOPLE VOTED?

(May 5, 1962)

	REGISTERED	VOTED	% VOTED
41 Boxes	57,382	26,866	46.8%
7 Mixed Boxes	8,232	4,210	50%
Pleasantville-Clinton	3,332	1,999	73%
Baytown	1,848	1,023	55%
Acres Homes	4,732	2,412	51%
North Shore	5,992	2,836	47%
East End	4,676	2,200	47%
Southwest	7,970	3,576	45%
Northeast	3,892	1,742	45%
North Side-Oak Forest	6,188	2,302	37%

GOVERNOR'S RACE

May 5, 1962

41 BOXES

YARBOROUGH	16,995	70%
Connally	4,526	18%
Wilson	1,815	7%
Daniel	976	4%
Walker	361	--
Formby	117	--
TOTAL:	24,800	

MAJOR VOTING GROUPS

May 5, 1962

	TOTAL	41 BOXES	7 MIXED BOXES	WHITE BOXES
STIDHAM	38,845	7,040	999	30,975
Floyd	69,559	2,977	1,237	64,319
ECKHARDT	67,219	10,089	1,647	55,683
Cummings	48,911	1,210	755	46,946
CLYDE MILLER	53,999	8,204	1,454	44,213
Grover	58,202	1,915	859	55,512
COOK	42,292	7,253	1,107	34,018
Garrison	64,658	2,036	1,070	61,369
SHEAD	32,870	6,041	1,005	25,744
W.H. Miller	67,300	3,135	894	63,197
Lambright	12,800	1,173	432	11,240
PHILPOT	37,699	7,343	1,073	29,281
Shipley	61,720	1,338	799	59,640
Kilgore	15,174	1,394	617	13,130
BASS	42,211	6,697	1,059	34,455
Keith	41,778	1,900	783	39,015
Smith	26,005	779	418	24,808
WHITFIELD	56,238	7,605	1,206	47,376
McPhail	48,512	1,715	836	46,002
McGEHEE	36,386	5,963	1,132	30,304
Duggan	66,852	1,763	1,009	64,123
JORDAN	46,291	22,090	1,298	22,893
Whatley	66,779	632	1,175	64,967
Shock	13,313	160	320	12,851
HARRISON	36,108	6,328	872	28,907
Shutt	50,177	664	529	48,974
Melder	12,061	1,270	395	10,456
Clements	11,213	978	466	9,779
BROOKS	39,843	6,888	1,132	31,613
Kohler	53,425	2,085	936	50,404
McAfee	12,165	556	195	11,414
Gordon	9,052	991	209	7,841

LIBERAL CANDIDATES

(May 5, 1962)

41 Boxes: (209, 192 & 195); (157, 109 & 169); (161, 48 & 202); (259 & 164); (186, 144, 168, 230 & 253); (159, 196, 47, 201 & 138); (21, 198, 24, 19, 30, 85, 136, 210, 193, 247 & 25); (31, 68, 240, 158 & 271):

1.	JORDAN	22,090
2.	ECKHARDT	10,189
3.	CLYDE MILLER	8,204
4.	WHITFIELD	7,646
5.	PHILPOT	7,375
6.	COOK	7,253
7.	STIDHAM	7,060
8.	BROOKS	6,888
9.	BASS	6,397
10.	HARRISON	6,372
11.	SHEAD	6,011
12.	McGEHEE	6,009

Mixed Boxes: (42, 46, 80, 167, 212, 208 & 228)

1.	ECKHARDT	1,966
2.	CLYDE MILLER	1,719
3.	WHITFIELD	1,550
4.	JORDAN	1,528
5.	COOK	1,414
6.	BROOKS	1,397
7.	PHILPOT	1,356
8.	BASS	1,280
9.	McGEHEE	1,212
10.	HARRISON	1,181
11.	STIDHAM	1,181
12.	SHEAD	1,026

White Boxes: --

1.	ECKHARDT	55,675
2.	WHITFIELD	47,411
3.	CLYDE MILLER	44,334
4.	BASS	34,541
5.	COOK	34,108
6.	BROOKS	31,907
7.	STIDHAM	31,056
8.	McGEHEE	30,543
9.	PHILPOT	29,270
10.	HARRISON	28,812
11.	SHEAD	26,073
12.	JORDAN	23,301

TOTAL VOTE

ECKHARDT	67,219	BROOKS	39,843
WHITFIELD	56,238	STIDHAM	39,014
CLYDE MILLER	53,881	PHILPOT	37,699
JORDAN	46,291	McGEHEE	37,495
COOK	42,378	HARRISON	36,108
BASS	42,211	SHEAD	32,870

SAMPLING OF BOXES BY SECTION

(May 5, 1962)

	NORTHEAST (105,225, 98, 108)	NORTH SIDE-OAK FOREST (44, 206, 189, 244,	EAST END (172, 154, 211, 137)	NORTH SHORE (266, 150, 163, 208)	SOUTHWEST (129, 135, 182, 215, 255)
Registered	3,892	6,188	4,676	5,992	7,970
VOTED	(1,742)	(2,302)	(2,200)	(2,836)	(3,576)
% Voted	45%	37%	47%	47%	45%
YARBOROUGH	764	748	775	1,518	475
Connally	284	555	412	370	947
Daniel	288	630	526	416	1,100
Wilson	117	150	153	146	212
Walker	239	444	265	293	654
Formby	26	41	34	51	134
STIDHAM	558	545	599	1,075	577
Floyd	655	1,361	1,062	931	2,337
ECKHARDT	855	1,207	1,100	1,550	1,071
Cummings	435	867	680	604	2,043
CLYDE MILLER	762	962	967	1,410	774
Grover	510	1,068	795	689	2,226
COOK	577	652	745	1,103	606
Garrison	858	1,253	935	874	2,273
SHEAD	455	453	545	925	520
W H Miller	673	1,355	994	908	2,317
Lambright	157	233	210	288	172
PHILPOT	534	433	640	1,433	481
Shipley	553	1,252	876	635	2,341
Kilgore	210	355	278	221	226
BASS	603	709	681	1,100	648
Keith	416	809	724	617	1,158
Smith	205	451	334	362	1,155
WHITFIELD	777	1,052	894	1,283	971
McPhail	426	866	725	659	1,869
McGEHEE	526	563	642	976	509
Duggan	628	1,288	967	878	2,444
JORDAN	352	419	467	829	428
Whatley	644	1,324	1,051	994	2,340
Shock	191	565	242	314	188
HARRISON	548	523	587	1,032	454
Shutt	437	911	674	622	2,029
Clements	113	229	236	212	227
Melder	133	290	311	186	239
BROOKS	558	534	670	1,132	544
Kohler	532	1,127	804	691	1,806
McAfee	131	236	201	163	314
Gordon	79	170	123	139	276

41 BOXES -- BY AREA

(May 5, 1962)

	3rd & 4th WARDS (21, 198, 24, 19, 30, 85, 136, 210, 193, 247, 25)	5th WARD (159, 160, 47, 201, 138, 196, 48, 202, 16)	LIBERTY-KASHMERE (186, 144, 168, 230, 253)	PLEASANTVILLE-CLINTON (259, 164)
Registered	15,102	11,620	9,856	3,332
VOTED	(7,031)	(5,257)	(4,026	(1,999)
% Voted	46%	44%	41%	73%
YARBOROUGH	4,117	5,257	2,488	1,292
Connally	1,797	675	389	277
Daniel	303	306	141	49
Wilson	185	710	451	216
Walker	88	70	86	14
Formby	19	28	31	6
STIDHAM	1,959	918	970	421
Floyd	801	610	486	242
ECKHARDT	2,743	1,606	1,440	702
Cummings	554	171	154	59
CLYDE MILLER	2,392	1,183	1,160	518
Grover	576	347	248	110
COOK	2,120	914	971	445
Garrison	567	348	387	142
SHEAD	1,689	765	763	350
W H Miller	954	69	455	224
Lambright	263	221	144	76
PHILPOT	1,938	1,512	990	597
Shipley	450	253	154	68
Kilgore	364	279	194	103
BASS	1,831	948	859	424
Keith	528	458	242	136
Smith	200	211	110	64
WHITFIELD	2,079	1,013	1,026	474
McPhail	430	471	207	110
McGEHEE	1,778	811	770	352
Duggan	582	317	246	113
JORDAN	5,695	4,229	3,178	1,682
Whatley	263	101	92	31
Shock	49	25	19	7
HARRISON	1,836	769	783	365
Shutt	233	116	121	35
Clements	259	191	130	74
Melder	332	251	167	96
BROOKS	1,932	937	876	454
Kohler	599	258	362	161
McAfee	161	114	64	28
Gordon	314	185	138	62

(Continued)

41 BOXES -- BY AREA (Continued)

(May 5, 1962)

	ACRES HOMES (157, 169, 109)	SUNNYSIDE (31, 68, 240, 158, 271)	BAYTOWN (248, 250, 251)	HEIGHTS (209, 192, 195)
Registered	4,732	7,980	1,848	2,912
VOTED	(2,412)	(3,767)	(1,023)	(1,351)
% Voted	51%	47%	55%	46%
YARBOROUGH	1,689	2,364	930	788
Connally	263	705	26	322
Daniel	50	133	25	43
Wilson	30	112	14	37
Walker	23	38	6	27
Formby	10	18	1	8
STIDHAM	587	1,146	610	348
Floyd	83	532	52	89
ECKHARDT	751	1,517	662	474
Cummings	46	150	9	43
CLYDE MILLER	608	1,212	606	404
Grover	131	371	27	73
COOK	587	1,163	611	352
Garrison	118	318	34	77
SHEAD	562	960	577	274
W H Miller	188	502	66	151
Lambright	57	169	19	63
PHILPOT	395	1,146	683	325
Shipley	63	194	10	57
Kilgore	98	235	23	74
BASS	578	1,027	632	312
Keith	99	294	26	77
Smith	40	89	3	20
WHITFIELD	697	1,254	651	369
McPhail	95	222	20	77
McGEHEE	514	935	482	149
Duggan	89	241	14	17
JORDAN	2,032	2,991	968	697
Whatley	30	82	3	3
Shock	10	23	0	1
HARRISON	624	1,071	581	266
Shutt	23	73	13	27
Clements	59	166	10	67
Melder	79	189	16	63
BROOKS	639	1,145	670	151
Kohler	92	250	16	85
McAfee	38	85	7	33
Gordon	48	153	9	38

###

May 22, 1962

Mrs. George Dumbauld
Executive Secretary
The Houston Council on
Human Relations
3605 Fannin Street
Houston 4, Texas

Dear Mrs. Dumbauld:

Thank you for your letter of May 9 regarding registration problems in the State of Texas.

There was some question at first as to whether or not the Voter Education Project would do any work at all in the State of Texas, but we finally concluded that we would include East Texas as a part of the area in which we would work. We have not yet established any line of distinction as to what constitutes East Texas.

We will be printing a lot of educational material at an early date, and I am sure that the Houston Council could assist the Project by distributing these materials in your area to aid the educational phase which you mentioned. We do not have our long-range plans for Texas developed at this time, but we will keep you advised as those plans progress.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

copy to Paul Rilling

MAY 11 1962

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*Executive Committee

3605 FANNIN STREET
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS
JACKSON 4-5084

May 9, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Please forgive me for not writing sooner after receiving the article for release on the Voter Education Project.

In Texas there is no problem regarding voter registration --to the extent that there is no discrimination and anyone paying their poll tax can vote. Some people feel that this may become a problem if we do away with the poll tax.

Our problem in Texas and certainly in Houston is voter education--education as to the importance of the individual in securing a poll tax and then voting and the weight he/she carries in the all important function as a good citizen.

Mr. Rilling is aware of the unique situation that we have in Texas with the staff person being on a city council rather than a state council. I am wondering if this might be a cooperative endeavor on the part of the two groups with the load being carried through this office. This might be the first step toward coordinating our efforts, as well as getting an important task done. Also, the NAACP is certainly not a strong group locally and the efforts of this group might be coordinated with ours.

For your information: 1960 Census Harris County population was 1,243,158 and of that 246,351 or nearly 20% is Negro. In 1962 in Harris County the total paying poll tax and exemptions were 357,000 and 60,000 of these were negroes. In the voting May 5, only 23,000 Negroes voted.

I shall be looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. George Dumbauld

(Mrs.) George Dumbauld
Executive Secretary

cc: Field Department
Southern Regional Council

May 9, 1962

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Sincerely yours,

Mrs. George Dumbauld

(Mrs.) George Dumbauld
Executive Secretary

cc: Field Department
Southern Regional Council

May 22, 1962

Mr. Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary
North Carolina Council
on Human Relations
121 East Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of May 18 in which you sent us information pertaining to voter registration efforts in North Carolina. We appreciate receiving the names and addresses of the organizations mentioned in your letter.

We have not made a grant to the North Carolina State Conference of Branches, N.A.A.C.P. as such, but we have made a grant to the national office of N.A.A.C.P. with the understanding that a portion of the grant will be spent toward voter registration efforts in North Carolina. The National Urban League will carry on a registration program in Winston-Salem, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will work in Elizabeth City and Chowan County. N.A.A.C.P. has promised to work in High Point, Fayetteville, Charlotte, Rocky Mount, Wilmington, and Edenton.

We are pleased at the reports which we have been getting regarding the registration effort in Durham, since we made a grant to the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs to assist in this project.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

Copy to Paul Rilling

MAY 21 1962

"To strive through education, research, information and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of North Carolina without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the cause of intergroup friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state."
—from article II of the bylaws.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 301
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

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May 18, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Paul Rilling has asked the directors of State Councils on Human Relations to write you regarding voter registration efforts in our state and to suggest what organizations are best equipped to carry on this work.

I understand that the state NAACP has already received a grant from the project. In addition to the NAACP and its local chapters, I might suggest some other local groups which might be interested in voter education work:

Greensboro Citizens Association
Henry E. Frye, President
P. O. Box 401
Greensboro, N. C.

Asheville-Buncombe County Citizens Organization
Rosella Hill
Allen High School
Asheville, N. C.

Raleigh Citizens Association
Dr. Grady Davis
Shaw University
Raleigh, North Carolina

I understand that a very good voter registration project is now underway in Durham, sponsored either by the NAACP or the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. John H. Wheeler is chairman of the latter.

MORE

Of course, the League of Women Voters is active in most communities in this state, and voter registration is a part of their program. Here in Charlotte they have been setting up stations in shopping centers, urging people to register.

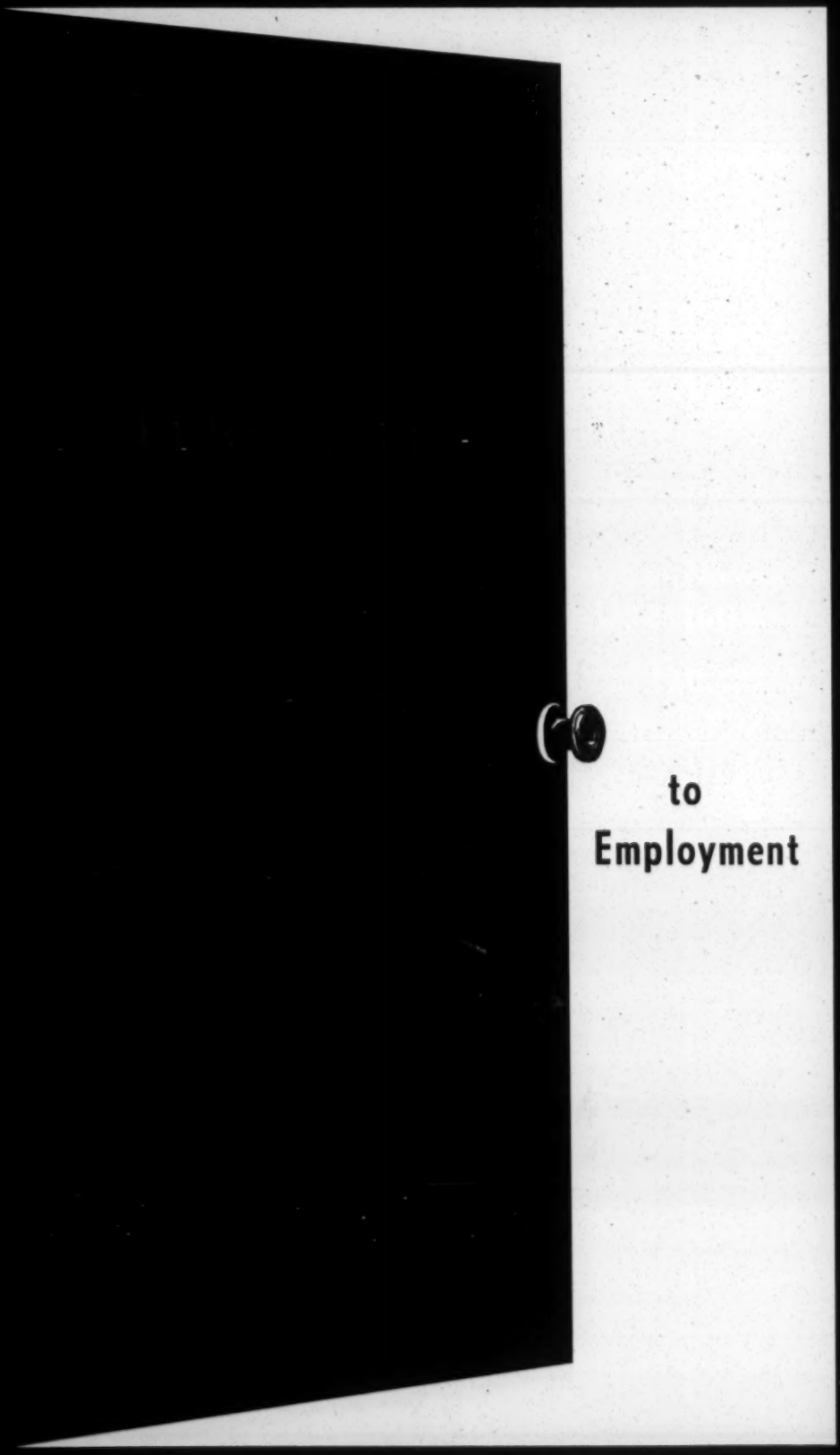
This is about all the information I can give you at the present time, but I will keep the project in mind and send any further information that may come to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

Harry S. Jones

Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary

HSJ/b



to
Employment

This pamphlet is published by the
Georgia Council on Human Relations
as part of its continuing program to guarantee the
opportunities and safeguard the rights of all Georgians.

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Exec. Director

Opening the Door to Employment

The Civil Rights law makes it possible for a Negro to eat where he wishes, patronize the hotel of his choice, go to the movies when he pleases. These are giant steps forward. But practically speaking, what good are they to the Negro who does not have the price of a meal or a hotel room or a theater ticket?

What is needed to make them meaningful is the assurance that a Negro can get a job on his merits so that he can pay his own way. For until Negroes are financially free, the social and political freedoms they are winning will have little reality.

Some Negro leaders are reluctant to enter the employment struggle now. They say:

"We're having a tough enough time with school desegregation or public accommodations without getting involved in employment."

"Let's face it. We would be selling something we don't have. There simply aren't enough qualified Negroes in our town for white collar jobs."

"When the employment provisions of the Civil Rights law take effect, we won't have to organize for jobs. Washington will handle it."

To such objections we would answer:

1. The winning of jobs will accelerate advances all along the line. The struggle for equal education, voting and public accommodations will be enhanced, not neglected.

2. If there is a lack of qualified Negro personnel, you can help remedy it. What more important project could you undertake?

3. The federal government may pass laws, but unless there is community acceptance of those laws, they will be ignored. An employment project helps to create such a favorable community climate. But more important, organizing for better jobs is a do-it-yourself community undertaking which increases the pride and self-respect of every Negro.

These three conclusions are not idle speculation. They are based on the experience here in Georgia of three cities where Negroes organized for equal employment. In Atlanta, Macon and Brunswick — a large city, a medium-sized city and a small town — they proved it can be done.

What did they do? What problems did they run into? Would their techniques apply to your town? The stories vary. But each may contain some new way of working, some new approach which would be useful to other Georgia leaders in opening the doors to employment.

ATLANTA: OPERATION BREADBASKET

The Atlanta operation is based roughly on the techniques used by a group of Philadelphia ministers with the same name. Early in 1963 it organized to work exclusively for employment opportunities. It involves 400 Negro ministers of every denomination. Among the most active leaders in Operation Breadbasket is Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, Assistant Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. The techniques described are those he has personally participated in or observed.

Getting Started: A local minister acted as convener, calling and chairing the first meeting. At that time, three "call" men, each of a different denomination, were elected to get other ministers to join in. Each of these "call" men has sufficient prestige to guarantee a good response from Atlanta's Negro ministers.

Selecting Targets: What business is most likely to employ Negroes? Obviously one whose products Negroes buy. Whether it is a grocery store or department store or manufacturing plant, management will not want to antagonize a large percentage of its customers by denying Negro applicants a fair shake at employment.

Seasonal fluctuations must also be taken into account. In the retail field, management is most likely to be cooperative at peak buying periods like Easter or Christmas when refusal to hire Negroes could send regular customers buying elsewhere. Similarly, in a manufacturing plant, regular seasonal lay-offs would be a poor time to press for new hiring.

Selecting good targets at the right time is a prime requisite for successful negotiation.

Preparing to Negotiate: Once a target has been selected, a negotiating committee is appointed. The negotiating committee makes an appointment with management. Before that appointment, it gathers as much information as possible from people who work there, or have worked there and from general community knowledge of this particular business. Based on this information, a list of questions is prepared *in advance* of the meeting, designed to get more information and to probe the attitudes of management.

At a pre-appointment caucus, the negotiating committee appoints its spokesmen to avoid repetition and speechmaking. Those who are not experienced negotiators thus have an opportunity to observe the spokesmen so that at some future negotiation they can be spokesmen themselves.

The negotiating committee may number anywhere from five to eight people. Operation Breadbasket found that when a large number of negotiators met with management, those with no roles to play stood around restlessly. Inexperienced members, impressed by an elegant office or a forceful manner, or for lack of something better to do, unconsciously nodded agreement with everything management said. This must be avoided, for it puts the spokesmen under a dangerous psychological handicap.

The First Meeting: This first meeting simply sets the stage. No actual negotiations are conducted; no requests for hiring made. First, the committee drives home its credentials, making clear that through its members and their pulpits, they represent the Negro population of the city. (This does not mean that in your town an employment campaign must be organized by ministers. It can be a coalition of organizations or of civic leaders or just one organization doing the job — whatever best suits your setup.)

Next, the committee seeks information on hiring and upgrading practices. It also makes a point of finding out practices concerning physical facilities such as lunch rooms, lockers, rest-rooms and the like. For it is as much concerned with eliminating discrimination on the job as with hiring.

A tour of the plant or store on this first visit is a big help. Observant eyes will see much that management withholds. For instance management may say that it has taken down every "Whites Only" sign and there is no more discrimination in use of facilities. A tour of the plant reveals, however, that all the janitors and porters are assigned one restroom and all the assembly line workers are assigned another. And guess what? All the janitors and porters turn out to be Negroes.

After the meeting, the committee studies its information and presents its recommendations for hiring, upgrading and use of facilities to the parent body. It accepts, rejects, adds to or subtracts from the recommendations. When general agreement is reached, the negotiating committee is ready for the second meeting.

The Second Meeting: The negotiating committee arrives with requests for a specific number of workers to be hired or upgraded. If there is discrimination in the plant, correction is suggested. The committee indicates a reasonable time to comply — say two weeks.

It is customary in trade union negotiations for the union to present a much larger demand than it really wants. This gives the union something to bargain with and gives the appearance of reasonableness by settling for less. This is a perfectly legitimate technique which may fit your situation.

But Breadbasket does not work this way. They have found that management is not above trying to drive a wedge into the committee's unity by private offers. For instance, a national firm hired a negotiator's sister for a good job in a northern city in the hope that the negotiator would influence the rest of the committee to modify its hiring requests in Atlanta. Other firms offer gifts to negotiators or promise to hire relatives, friends or parishioners of the negotiators. Management is aware that while the negotiators may not succumb to such temptations, their mere existence is enough to cast doubt on the negotiating committee's integrity and to weaken the community's confidence in it.

For this reason, Breadbasket decides in advance how many persons should be recommended for employment *and then sticks with it.* In some circumstances, the committee might agree to consider substitute promotions and upgradings, but these must have the approval of the parent body.

How does management react to these meetings? Initially, resistance commonly takes these forms:

"We're working on a tight budget and may lay people off."
"We have such a low job turnover that we rarely do any hiring."

"I've got nothing against hiring Negroes personally, but my employees will never stand for it."

And of course, the grand-daddy of all alibis:

"This isn't the time for it."

How does the negotiating committee cope with such attitudes? First, by having in hand information about hiring and upgrading before the meeting, it is able to expose subterfuges and deceptions about company practices. Getting the facts is essential.

Second, by pointing out the successful experiences of other companies, it is able to allay fears about employee acceptance. It can suggest ways for management to make that acceptance trouble-free.

Third, and most persuasive, it points out that consumer acceptance of the product makes the business grow. If the Negro community should become disaffected, the business could be permanently damaged. (The first fact the committee should research is what percentage of the company's market is Negro.) A soft-drink company for example, by its refusal to negotiate employment, found that thousands and thousands of Negroes shifted to a rival drink. Even when they hired Negroes as drivers and salesmen, they failed to recapture 25% of their Negro customers, who had simply gotten out of the habit of drinking their product.

This soft-drink company has learned an expensive lesson. It has told other businessmen of its experience, which of course has proved helpful in subsequent negotiations.

How Successful is Breadbasket? Breadbasket's first target was, appropriately enough, the bread industry. Through the methods described above, more than sixty Negroes were hired in non-traditional jobs, adding a quarter of a million dollars to the Negro economy. After that, it negotiated successfully with soft drink companies, shoe outlets and large department stores — roughly 750 new jobs. But the influence it has had on the hiring policies of other businesses is incalculable.

MACON: SOME NEW WRINKLES ADDED

In Macon, a year and a half of planning went into opening the doors to employment. A steering committee, including representatives of 98% of the Negro ministers, directed the movement. But unlike Atlanta, this was not a movement run exclusively by ministers. It involved all Negro organizations, including clubs and fraternal associations. Both white and Negro members of the Georgia Council on Human Relations played important parts in its activities.

The steering committee divided responsibility by the Committee system: Training and Placement, Negotiating, Conferences and Contacts, Public Relations, and Picketing.

Training: Breadbasket had no training programs. They felt there were enough qualified Negroes on hand and enough non-traditional jobs available for the question of training to be deferred until later on.

Macon, with a smaller variety of businesses and a smaller supply of qualified personnel available made training a prime necessity. The steering committee enlisted the aid of seven volunteer teachers (six Negro, one white)

to teach Business Math and English, refresher courses in typing and shorthand and the use of business machines.

These volunteer courses trained over 150 students. But they served an even more important function. They convinced Macon's vocational school of the need for business classes. Now the public vocational school has classes which are turning out qualified personnel regularly. The National Cash Register Company also trained workers to use their machines — registers, accounting machines, calculators, etc.

Negotiating — Conferences and Contacts: Most of the jobs available in Macon are in retail stores. Therefore the Negotiating Committee worked through the Merchants' Association. The Committee realized that negotiating takes many weeks — they could not hand the Merchants Association an ultimatum and let it go at that. They began their exploratory negotiations many months before their target date, leaving time for the training program to take effect so they could answer the charge of "No qualified applicants."

By dealing with the Merchants Association as a body, they sought to obtain simultaneous hiring of Negroes in many stores so no businessman could complain: "Why am I being singled out first?"

In addition, fifteen others were trained to conduct conferences with individual merchants. This was done to help iron out the problems of each manager or owner in hiring or upgrading or use of facilities. But these managers understood that their stores were part of a united effort.

Public Relations: The Negotiating Committee operated with confidence because it knew that the Negro community fully understood and approved its activities. The Public Relations Committee arranged weekly mass meetings which moved from church to church, large and small. At these meetings, the final goals were explained and the day-to-day problems discussed. Regular notices gave the names of businesses which had employed Negroes. Naturally, Negro customers traded more heavily with the merchants on the list. This positive approach made merchants anxious to get their names on this honor roll.

Picketing Committee: In spite of some progress through negotiation, it finally became necessary to use pickets. This was not a haphazard action, but carefully disciplined to get community support and compliance.

First, the Picketing Committee cleared arrangements with the police well in advance.

Pickets were neatly dressed and instructed on keeping good order.

Picketing began the day after Thanksgiving, the big sale day which traditionally marks the start of the Christmas shopping season. One hundred twenty-five pickets went to twelve stores at a time.

Observers and messengers kept constant touch with picket headquarters, relaying new instructions and information as necessary.

Placards carried out the picketing theme: "We want to work where we spend our money."

Customers stayed away from the picketed stores in droves — Estimates range from forty to fifty per cent loss of normal Thanksgiving Sale trade.

After only a day and a half of picketing, the merchants called for a conference and immediately began hiring Negroes. In the following six

weeks, one hundred Negroes began working where no Negro had ever worked before. And since New Year of 1963, the number has increased week by week and many more than the original one hundred are working today.

Operation Breadbasket refined the negotiating technique. Macon added the new wrinkles of: Emphasis on Training, Keeping the Community Informed, Discipline, Well-Timed Picketing.

BRUNSWICK: NEW PATTERNS FOR OLD

Brunswick is a small South Georgia town — 21,700 people of whom 8,900 are Negro. Here the techniques employed are entirely different. There is no community-wide organization of ministers working specifically for jobs. The push for jobs is one part of a broad spectrum of demands — for open public accommodations, for voter registration, for desegregated education, for better housing.

All of these demands are being handled by the NAACP under the leadership of Rev. J. C. Hope, a young, energetic Baptist minister.

Brunswick's white community has a somewhat better understanding of Negro aspirations than many South Georgia towns, partly because of the Urban Renewal Program. When the program first began about three years ago, Negroes testified at open hearings. They talked not only about their housing needs, but what they were up against in employment, training and education.

White politicians listened and learned. As one result, the city government hired a Negro — a well-qualified housing expert — as assistant manager of the Urban Renewal Program. He and his secretary are the only white-collar city employees in South Georgia.

Brunswick has a Bi-racial Commission, with white members appointed by the white Chamber of Commerce and Negro members appointed by the Negro Chamber of Commerce. Several of the Negro members are active in the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

The Bi-racial Commission acts as a buffer between the Merchants Association and the Negro leadership. The Negroes put their job demands to the Commission. The merchants submit their counter-proposals. Working in secret, the Commission hands down its hiring recommendations. These can be accepted or rejected by either side.

Brunswick's Bi-racial Commission — the first in the state, appointed in 1960 — is a help in reducing tension. But it by no means guarantees equal job opportunities to Negroes. The old problems of management resistance and lack of qualified people must still be solved.

Training: Here as elsewhere, the failure of Negro high schools to offer standard commercial courses results in a lack of people trained beyond the semi-skilled stage. The Brunswick NAACP is meeting this need by conducting a training school for retail cashiers and clerks with the assistance of the National Cash Register Company. They now have from 75 to 100 trainees on file.

Federal Resources: It is worth remembering that in addition to volunteer training courses such as conducted in Macon and Brunswick, the federal government provides vocational and on-the-job training under the Manpower Development and Training Act. It provides for allowances to

trainees and financial assistance for training programs set up by private employers. Your local office of the State Employment Service will have details about how to participate in the program. Also, the United States Department of Labor in Washington will send information on request.

Jobs in Industry: Although Brunswick is a small town, it has several large industrial plants: sea-food picking and packing, paper and building materials, chemical plants including the big Hercules Powder Company. The Brunswick NAACP has conducted a survey of these plants and found that they are complying with the President's Executive Order on Equal Employment Opportunities issued in June, 1963.

If there are such large industrial plants in your area, you will want to find out whether they hold federal contracts or federal sub-contracts. If they do, they are required to hire without discrimination under penalty of losing the government's business.

Getting Results: Since industry in Brunswick is hiring without discrimination, negotiations were directed solely to local merchants. But in Brunswick, as in Macon, negotiation went just so far. It finally became necessary to picket. Two grocery stores in Negro neighborhoods were picketed for three successive weekends. At the end of that time, both hired Negro clerks. A third grocery store got the message too, and without waiting for pickets also hired a Negro clerk.

As a result of NAACP activity under Dr. Hope's leadership, there are now about fifteen Negroes in clerks and cashiers jobs. The hiring of these people has broken down some traditional prejudices. For example, a leading merchant hired a Negro as a maid, but told her that if the customers were Negroes to go ahead and sell. Now she sells to all comers and her commissions are as high as any salesperson's in the store.

* * * *

We have described briefly how three communities are opening the door to equal employment. Each is different, but the common denominator in all is the determination of the Negro leadership to act *now*.

Each community found negotiating slow and arduous — a process which does not pay off in newspaper headlines or the excitement of a demonstration or mass desegregation of a public facility. But Negro leaders willingly invested their time in employment because they know it pays rich long-range dividends in dignity and self-respect.

The Georgia Council on Human Relations freely offers its assistance to any group in the state seeking equal job opportunities. We invite you to consult with our staff members:

Rev. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Assistant Director of the Georgia Council and one of the chief architects of Operation Breadbasket.

Mr. Jac Wasserman, who as Field Director of the National Sharecroppers Fund, is thoroughly familiar with federal manpower programs, including such resources as apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs.

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director, with a formidable knowledge of negotiations and all phases of community activity.

For the Council, like all forward looking Georgians, is firmly committed to the goal of new and better jobs for Negroes.

Georgia Council on Human Relations • 5 Forsyth Street, N. E. • Atlanta, Ga.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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*Addresses of the officers are given in the attached list of the members of the Council. All organizations and positions are shown for identification purposes only.

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The Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw, South Carolina

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First Baptist Church
318 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

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2308 Sanders Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

The Rev. Hubert Beckwith
Congregational Christian Church
of Fairfax County
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Annandale, Virginia

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Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

The Rev. W. C. Brooke
St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church
P.O. Box 4211
Roanoke, Virginia

The Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini
Bishop, The Catholic Church
123 North West Street
Jackson, Mississippi

I. H. Burney, Secretary
Afro-American Life Insurance Co.
P.O. Box 660
Jacksonville, Florida

Irving E. Carlyle
Attorney
Wachovia Bank Building
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

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Pulaski Heights Christian
Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Paul Christopher,
Regional Director, AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

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Atlanta, Georgia

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Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

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8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

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Ryan Consolidated Petroleum
Corporation
3400 Republic National Bank
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Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Douglas Jackson
Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Mrs. Charles White
2209 Southmore Boulevard
Houston 4, Texas

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Palmetto State Teachers Assn.
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

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222 Thompson Building
Hot Springs, Arkansas

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Louisville Urban League
608 W. Walnut Street
Louisville, Kentucky

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548 N. E. Fourth Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

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405 Clifton Heights
Newport, Tennessee

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Professor
School of Social Work
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

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Vermont American Corporation
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Durham, North Carolina

Raymond Wheeler, M.D.
Doctors Building
1012 Kings Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina

Bell I. Wiley
Historian
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Miss Josephine Wilkins
387 South Milledge Avenue
Athens, Georgia

H. Franklin Williams
Vice President
The University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Paul Williams, Past President
SRC
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

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Atlanta, Georgia

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Southern Baptist Seminary
Wake Forest, North Carolina

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Washington 7, D.C.)
Charlottesville, Virginia

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Interdenominational Theological
Center
671 Beckwith Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

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P.O. Box 140
Lebanon, Tennessee

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
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Atlanta, Georgia

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Public Affairs Programs
Radio Station WHAS
Louisville, Kentucky

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Nashville, Tennessee

Charles A. Shaw, President
Watchtower Life Insurance Co.
2206 Dowling Street
Houston, Texas

Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Center
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

The Very Rev. Msgr. Alexander
O. Sigur
P.O. Box 532
S. L. I. Station
Lafayette, Louisiana

J. Edwin Smith
Attorney
505 Scanlan Building
Houston, Texas

J. Ray Shute
Businessman
317 E. Windsor Street
Monroe, North Carolina

The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson
Christ Episcopal Church
3841 Hibiscus Street
Miami 33, Florida